REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY may DUKE UNIVERSITY u wi APRIL 24, 1965 - Ucher Ketobe-in theme today is this CU students, my What can we Americans ask of each other in 1965? Where are we bound in life? What is our place in the world? It was only thirty years ago that millions of Americans asked 14theles 1 "Brother, can you spare a dime?" Perplato Our great friend Carl Sandburg tells about those times. "The man in the street is fed with lies in peace, gas in war,

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just around the corner from you trying to sell the only thing he has to sell,

the power of his hand and brain to labor for wages, for pay, for cash of the realm.

And there are no takers,

he can't connect."

No, my fellow students -- and we are all students in this world, for the learning process never stops -- no, there were no takers then, and there were millions of us who could not connect.

I saw all of it as a young man -- a young man the age of most of you in this audience. I saw my neighbors and people in South Dakota losing their farms, their businesses, their health, their hope.

All we had was dust and desperation. We didn't worry much then about: "Have you gone Cunard in the off-season?" "Why is the Fastback the most exciting

news in America?"

"Have you cleaned with a White Tornado?" No. We worried then about shelter ... clothing ... and holding onto work and life.

Thank God those times are past.

But to my generation they will always be fresh and real. And a reminder that our precious democratic society once tottered on the edge.

This nation thirty years ago was divided, deeply divided: Have and have-not, business and labor, North and South, black and white, farm and city, left and right. But in face of disaster and revolution we united -- united, I might add, under brilliant leadership -- to face our common foes First, economic crisis at home. Then, totalitariamism and barbarism abroad.

We did not have to be asked what we could do for each other and for our country. We had to fight for survival.

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The nature of this vision has much to do with my question here today: What can we Americans ask of each other in 1965?

In this time of prosperity, is the Great Society to be a welfare state? Some may think so. But that is not the vision of President Johnson We see the Great Society as a state of opportunity.

No government owes every man a living. But a just government of, by and for the people <u>does</u> owe every man an <u>opportunity</u> to enjoy the blessings of life.

**Good,** The Great Society is based on the proposition that every man shall have that opportunity. If you examine the legislative program in this Congress ... if you listen to the words of our President ... if you look into your own heart you cannot escape the conclusion that we are succeeding, we are breaking through in our efforts to provide all American the are worken with that precious opportunity.

Yes Some, once receiving it, may squander it.

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exhilirating experience of gaining and using <u>knowledge</u>. (And may I digress for a moment to say that true education depends more than anything else on the quality of teaching. I may be venturing here into dangerous ground, but I with say that there must thus be an appropriate balance between research and teaching).

The education bills passed by this Congress Actualization will contribute to the long-term, lasting health of this nation. So will a dozen other bills which will come from this Congress, acting out the will

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and social change and we stand united That we shall not drop the torch of

## international leadership.

For there are voices in America today which say that America is overextended in the world ... that other people's problems needn't be our problems ... that we ought to close up shop overseas and enjoy our fruits here in the Good Old U.S.A. When that time comes, this nation is doomed. Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not? Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do not? Who in the world can set the example, can offer the needed hand, if we do not? We live in a time when everything is complex, when there are no more rapid and easy answers.

We live in a time when we must exert our

patience as never before.

Let me spell it out: Have we the patience, for instance, to work, sacrifice and bleed five thousand miles from home -- in Vietnam -- for months and perhaps years ahead without guarantee of final success? I can tell you that the forces of totalitarianism have that patience.

For the forces of totalitarianism do not plan to blow the world to pieces. They plan to pick it up piece-by-piece as we progressively tire and withdraw.

But, as President Johnson declared in his historic speech at Johns Hopkins University;

"We will not be defeated. "We will not grow tired. "We will not withdraw."

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We will not sacrifice small nations in (173 o'3 - 1174b)the false hope of saving ourselves. We will defend the cause of freedom wherever it may be threatened.

But at the same time, with equal determination, we will pursue each possibility of lasting and just peace. The pursuit of peace resembles the building of a great cathedral. It is the work of generations. In concept it requires a master architect; in execution, the labors of many. And it requires, function, the labors of many.

Thus I call on you as the generation coming to leadership to be strong and persevering: strong in defense of justice and in opposition to tyrrany... persevering in seeking a goal of peace for all men.  $\int$  I return then once more to my question: What can we Americans ask of each other in 1965? I am essentially a religious person.

My fellow students, the big struggle in the world -- and at home -- today is not over the forms of production. These shift and change. The struggle is about man's relationship to man ... and man's relationship to a higher and nobler force.

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W. can ark af each other To fight discrimination because it violates the precepts of our democratic society and Judeo/Christian ethic. Haines Hofrat To pursue justice because it is basic to our religious and ethical heritage. X To pursue an honorable peace because it is the greatest gift we can the to our children. state is the most important thing worth preserving in this world. We can do all t is within our grasp -perhaps for the first time in history. Solow Yes, the first step toward these things is the longest journey And we have made that And the second step. And now we take a third. We are privileged each year, each decade, each generation in our time to take a new step.

How fortunate we are to live in this dramatic and creative period of change, of challenge, of opportunity. How great is our responsibility to achieve excellence of mind and spirit to do the tasks that must be done. generation appeal Make no little plans. Have no little dreams. Do not set your standards and goals by those our standards and goals by Challenge the impossible. in Space ing 10. Wear helios m. nes

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## INFORMATION

FROM THE PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE -ON-EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY Washington 25, D. C.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY DUKE UNIVERSITY, APRIL 24, 1965

My fellow students, my theme today is this: What can we Americans ask of each other in 1965?

Where are we bound in life?

What is our place in the world?

It was only thirty years ago that millions of Americans asked of each other:

"Brother, can you spare a dime?"

Our great friend Carl Sandburg tells about those times.

"The man in the street may live now just around the corner from you trying to sell the only thing he has to sell, the power of his hand and brain to labor for wages, for pay, for cash of the realm. And there are no takers, he can't connect."

No, my fellow students --- and we are all students in this world, for the learning process never stops -- no, there were no takers then, and there were millions of us who could not connect.

I saw all of it as a young man -- a young man the age of most of

you in this audience. I saw my neighbors and people in South Dakota losing their farms, their businesses, their health, their hope.

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We didn't worry much then about:

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"Why is the Fastback the most exciting news in America?"

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No. We worried then about shelter ... clothing ... and holding onto work and life.

Thank God those times are past.

But to my generation they will always be fresh and real. And a reminder that our precious democratic society once tottered on the edge.

This nation thirty years ago was divided, deeply divided: Have and have-not, business and labor, North and South, black and white, farm and city, left and right. But in face of disaster and revolution we united -- united, I might add, under brilliant leadership -- to face our common foes. First, economic crisis at home. Then, totalitariamism and barbarism abroad.

We did not have to be asked what we could do for each other and for our country. We had to fight for survival.

Most of you here today were born after those crises had passed. You have lived in time of prosperity. You have not known what my generation knew.

But your young generation has <u>not</u> turned inward on itself or satisfied itself with material pleasures.

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You have responded to the needs of <u>these</u> times and you have done it in magnificent fashion.

You are the volunteer generation.

There are now 10,000 volunteers serving in the Peace Corps ... with more than 3,000 already returned and another 100,000 waiting for their chance to participate.

When VISTA -- the Volunteers in Service to America -- was launched, there were 3,000 inquiries on its first day of business.

And I know that in most of the minds here today there is the question: What can  $\underline{I}$  do to serve my country and my fellow man?

President Lyndon Johnson held his first Presidential appointment at 27 and his first political office at 29. As he has said:

"No one knows more than I the fires that burn in the hearts of young.men who yearn for the chance to do better what they see their elders not doing well ... or not doing at all."

Old men dream dreams, but young men see visions.

Today in our country there is a vision of a Great Society.

The nature of this vision has much to do with my question here today: What can we Americans ask of each other in 1965?

In this time of prosperity, is the Great Society to be a welfare state? Some may think so. But that is not the vision of President Johnson. Neither is it my vision.

We see the Great Society as a state of opportunity.

No government owes every man a living. But a just government of, by and for the people <u>does</u> owe every man an opportunity to enjoy

- 3 -

the blessings of life.

The Great Society is based on the proposition that every man shall have that opportunity.

If you examine the legislative program in this Congress ... if you listen to the words of our President ... if you look into <u>your</u> <u>own heart</u> you cannot escape the conclusion that we are succeeding, we are <u>breaking through</u> in our efforts to provide all American men and women with that precious opportunity.

Some, once receiving it, may squander it. But <u>all</u> Americans must have the chance --a chance now denied to many -- to make something better of their lives and the lives of their children.

Only a few days ago this Congress passed a great bill which is a basic investment toward achieving that equality of opportunity: the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. Thomas Jefferson was right. We cannot be both ignorant and free.

This Act in itself is accomplishment enough to satisfy an ordinary Congress. But it will be followed soon by passage of the Higher Education bill.

These bills together will help build classrooms. They will provide funds for libraries and textbooks and teaching materials. They will provide funds for research in teaching techniques and development of community education centers.

They will above all, I hope, give new inspiration to teacher and student alike in the exhilirating experience of gaining and using <u>knowledge</u>. (And may I digress for a moment to say that true education depends more

- 4 -

than anything else on the quality of teaching. I may be venturing here into dangerous ground, but I must say that there must thus be an appropriate balance between research and teaching).

The education bills passed by this Congress will contribute to the long-term, lasting health of this nation. So will a dozen other bills which will come from this Congress, <u>acting out the will of the</u> <u>American people</u>.

For the American people, in unprecedented peacetime consensus and unity, have made known their purposes.

We today stand united as Americans in agreement:

That all Americans shall have truly equal education.

That all Americans shall have truly equal voting rights.

That we shall provide adequate medical care to our people.

That we shall make our cities better places in which to live and work in safety and health.

That we shall preserve this nation's beauty, history, and natural resources.

That we shall open our doors again to immigrants who can enrich and lend new vitality to our national life.

That we shall help our urban and rural Americans alike adjust to technological revolution and social change.

That we shall not drop the torch of international leadership.

For there are voices in America today which say that America is overextended in the world ... that other people's problems needn't be our problems ... that we ought to close up shop overseas and enjoy our fruits here in the Good Old U.S.A.

When that time comes, this nation is doomed. Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not? Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do not? Who in the world can set the example, can offer the needed hand, if we do not?

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Let me spell it out: Have we the patience, for instance, to work, sacrifice and bleed five thousand miles from home -- in Vietnam --for months and perhaps years ahead without guarantee of final success? I can tell you that the forces of totalitarianism have that patience.

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"We will not be defeated. "We will not grow tried. "We will not withdraw."

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But at the same time, with equal determination, we will pursue each possibility of lasting and just peace. The pursuit of peace resembles the building of a great cathedral. It is the work of generations. In concept it requires a master architect; in execution, the labors of many. It requires patience.

Thus I call on you as the generation coming to leadership to be strong and persevering: strong in defense of justice and in opposition to tyranny...persevering in seeking a goal of peace for all men.

I return then once more to my question: What can we Americans ask of each other in 1965?

I am essentially a religious person. I am not ashamed of it. I believe that God created man in His own image. I believe that there is a spark of the **divine** in every person. And I believe in the meaning of human dignity.

My fellow students, the big struggle in the world -- and at home -- today is not over the forms of production. These shift and change. The struggle is about man's relationship to man ... and man's relationship to a higher and nobler force.

I say that what we can ask of each other is this:

To fight poverty because poverty destroys the human spirit and human dignity.

To fight discrimination because it violates the precepts of our democratic society and Judeo/Christian ethic.

To pursue justice because it is basic to our religious and ethical heritage.

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To pursue an honorable peace because it is the greatest gift we can give to our children.

So that there can be no question that <u>man</u> ---and not the state -- is the most important thing worth preserving in this world.

We can do it. It is within our grasp --perhaps for the first time in history.

Yes, the first step toward these things is the longest journey. And we have made that step. And the second step. And now we take a third.

We are privileged each year, each decade, each generation in our time to take a new step.

How fortunate we are to live in this dramatic and creative period of change, of challenge, of opportunity. How great is our responsibility to achieve excellence of mind and spirit to do the tasks that must be done.

I appeal, therefore, to you the generation of 1965:

Make no little plans.

Have no little dreams.

Do not set your standards and goals by those of your mother and father.

Do not set your standards and goals by those of this time. Challenge the impossible. Do what cannot be done. Thirty years ago it was "Brother, Can you spare a dime?" Today we reach the stars.

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My friends, I ask of you: Believe in the perfection of man ... make a better life for our people ... save the peace ... build a Great Society to last for generations beyond us.

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