

111th commencement ceremony

ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

SYRACUSE, NEW YORK

JUNE 6, 1965

Congressman Hanley
Secretary Harlan Cleveland
Jean Bailey
Secretary Connor
Mayor Walsh
President Rosemary Park
(Barnard College)

Congressman + Mrs Hanley
Secretary Harlan Cleveland + Mrs

^{Tawney}
Chancellor Tolley, Members of the Board of

Trustees, distinguished deans and faculty, members
of the Class of 1965, parents, and distinguished guests:

∠ The honor you have done me today is ~~most~~
deeply appreciated. ∠ I am especially delighted that
the Chancellor and the Board of Trustees extended
their invitation as a result, in part, of a vote of the
Senior Class.

Particularly
~~always~~ I have always been friendly to votes, and I am
pleased when votes are friendly to me. I do
not, of course, know against whom I was running,
but I trust that it was some worthy Republican --
~~all too~~
of which this State has many.

(X) my thanks for the Honorary Degree - for myself
and others - ~~the~~

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My presence here today is particularly
satisfying because this year marks the 40th
Anniversary of the founding of the Maxwell
School. Syracuse University has made many
contributions to scholarship and to professional
excellence in a wide variety of fields. But, as
one who has devoted his life to the public
service, I want to express my personal ~~gratitude~~ ^{thanks}
and the gratitude of the United States government
for the work of the Maxwell School. Harlan Cleveland
ASST - Sec of State

In addition to Maxwell's outstanding contributions
to social science scholarship and the upgrading of
"the public service," its undergraduate course in
Public Affairs and Citizenship is world famous.

Your Chancellor tells me that more than
20,000 Syracuse undergraduates have taken this
course over the past generation --

Medicine
Engineering
Communication
Social Welfare

Sec
Comm
Dept of Comm

20,000 citizens who have been educated to
their continuing personal responsibilities for the
preservation and extension of human freedom, ~~on~~
~~this globe.~~ < It is difficult to think of a more
fundamental contribution which a university can
make to society.

yes, My congratulations go to the Maxwell School
for what it has already accomplished, and for what
I know it will continue to accomplish in the years
ahead.

< As a former university teacher, I am aware of
the pitfalls of commencement speeches. It is so
easy to follow the formula: < The world is in a mess,
the older generation has failed, It is up to the
graduating class to put things right. < But platitudes
rarely change attitudes, and baneful criticism and
vapid exhortations are cheap substitutes for hard

thought and analysis.

✓ I prefer to take my stand on the proposition that the American people, working through democratic institutions, have met, are meeting, and will continue to meet the complex problems of our age.

✓ If we still have a long way to go -- in achieving human equality, in securing international and domestic tranquility, in extending the benefits of our technical genius to all citizens in the American republic and to all mankind -- let us glory in the *and be inspired* *by the* unfinished agenda.

✓ Let us glory in the fact that we still possess the wit and the wisdom to continue making our American democratic system responsive to the terribly complex problems of this turbulent age.

I want to discuss with this graduating class the importance of one of the great Constitutional instruments at the disposal of the American people in the business of making democracy work. I refer to the institution of the United States Congress.

What I have to say, I think, needs saying because all too many of our citizens take an indifferent, *cynical*, or even a hostile, view toward the legislative branch.

This is not to under-estimate the need for strong and able Presidential leadership or for wise and humane judicial decisions. It is, however, to reaffirm the vital role of Congress in our Constitutional system. — *Representative govt.*

Few persons can deal directly with either a President or a Supreme Court. But any person can communicate with his elected representatives in Washington.

∟ The members of Congress provide a direct
link between the national government and the
almost 195 million persons who comprise this
republic.

∟ Surely this connection is vital in keeping our
national government responsive to the needs and
opinions of the American people.

Graduate School - ∟ I have found Congressional service to be a
remarkable form of higher education. ∟ My teachers
have been Presidents and department heads,
constituents and the press, and, above all, a group
of wise and distinguished colleagues in both Houses.

∟ I cannot in a few minutes convey to you all
that I have learned from these teachers. But,
perhaps I can suggest some lessons in democratic
theory and practice which I have gained from my
collegial experiences in Congress.

↳ The first lesson has to do with the creative and constructive dimension to the process of compromise. - *Compromise without loss of Principle!*

9 There are 100 members of the United States Senate; 435 members of the House. They come from states and districts as diverse as Nevada and New York, Alaska and Alabama. No two states or regions of the United States have identical *needs* interests or prejudices.

↳ One of the jobs of Congress is to reconcile such differences through the process of compromise and accommodation.

↳ What sometimes seem to the untutored eye to be legislative obstructionisms are often no more than the honest expressions of dedicated representatives -- trying to make clear the attitudes

and interests of their states and regions.

As Sir Richard Grenfell once observed:

"Mankind is slowly learning that because two men
differ neither need be wicked."

From the earliest days of this Republic -- at
the Constitutional Convention of 1787 -- the leaders
of this nation have maintained an unwavering
commitment to moderation. If our founding fathers
had not understood the need to overcome extremes
in drafting our Constitution, this noble experiment
in the art of self-government would have surely
foundered on the rocks of dissention and discord.

As in the deliberations of the Constitutional
Convention, the heart of Congressional activity are
skills of negotiation -- of honest bargaining among
equals.

Consensus is obtained by ^{agreement through} constructive dialogue based on mutual respect and understanding

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↳ My willingness to compromise -- and I have done so more times than I can count -- is the respect I pay to the dignity of those with whom I disagree.

↳ Through reasonable discussion, through taking into account the views of many, Congress amends and refines legislative proposals so that once a law is passed it reflects the collective judgment of a diverse people. This is Consensus.

↳ Surely this is a remarkable service. Surely, the habits of accommodation and compromise are of universal consequence. These are the skills and attitudes so desperately needed on the larger stage of world conflict.

↳ World order and the rule of law will be secure on this earth only when men have learned to ~~cope~~ Cope with the continuing conflicts of peoples and nations through peaceful processes of legislative bargaining and negotiation.

Dogma
Doctrine

✓ A second lesson I have learned from my Congressional teachers ^{is} ~~in~~ the importance of the Congressional role of responsible surveillance. There are roughly 70 separate departments and agencies of the Federal government. Some are small; some are large. All are engaged in carrying out the will of the people as expressed through Congress.

✓ In the interests of efficiency, economy, and responsiveness, these departments and agencies need a continuing critical review by the committees and Houses of Congress. The genius of our founding fathers is nowhere more in evidence than in those sections of the Constitution which provide for checks and balances.

✓ Through its review of the executive budget in the appropriations process, ^{yes,} through committee investigations, through advice and consent on

appointments and treaties, and through informal
discussion, Congress seeks to improve and to
support the executive branch of the government.

↳ This exercise in freedom protects and extends personal
freedom. If legislative voices are occasionally

strident, citizens should take stock of what their
world would be like if no legislative voices were

heard at all. *Decision in a Democracy, demands
Discussion, Debate & even Dissent.*

↳ We know what happens in countries without
independent and constructively analytical legislatures.

↳ Mankind invented a word for such systems
centuries ago. The word is "tyranny."

↳ But there is one other ~~critical~~ lesson I have learned from
my Congressional teachers: the creative joy of

politics. ↳ Each Congress is devoted in substantial
measure to the development of new public policies
designed to promote the general welfare and the

yes, at times, the Congressional process exasperates and confounds us. at times it is clumsy, slow, and unresponsive to what some of us feel is an urgent need. Its strength and weakness is that it is Representative & a human institution. It reveals in its conduct and make-up, all the cross current of the social, economic & political forces in our country. It is like a huge mirror suspended over the the ~~the~~ Nation - reflecting & revealing us for what we are - our prejudices, our ideals; our ~~to~~ fears and our hopes; our poverty & our wealth - there it is! P

To be sure, we should seek to constantly improve the rules, the operating machinery of Congress - but ultimately the Congress will behave on the spirit of the country.

national security of this nation. Congress is
not a battlefield for blind armies that clash by
night. It is a place where national objectives
are sought -- where Presidential programs are
reviewed -- where great societies are endlessly
debated and implemented.

*It is a Public
forum operating
in the light
of day - ~~not~~*

↳ If, as Emerson once wrote, Congress is a
"standing insurrection," it is a standing insurrection
against the ancient enemies of mankind: war, poverty,
ignorance, injustice, sickness, environmental
ugliness, economic and personal insecurity.

↳ Few careers open such remarkable opportunities
for translating dreams into reality. ↳ A new bill, a
creative amendment, a wise appropriation, may mean
the difference between health and sickness, jobs and
idleness, peace and war for millions of human beings,

↳ Stemming from ancient parliamentary origins,
the main job of Congress is to redress grievances,
to right wrongs, to make freedom and justice living
realities for all. ↳ What higher calling exists? This
is the essence of politics; to translate the concerns
and the creative responses of a vast citizenry into
effective and humane laws.

↳ I cannot conclude without a personal note.

For almost 20 years, Congress has been my home.

↳ As Vice President, my relationships with my former
colleagues are inevitably more formal and more
intermittent than in past years. ↳ Yet I can say
unashamedly that I cherish them dearly. ↳ I have
seen their weaknesses as they have seen mine.

↳ I have on occasion been restive of delays and
procedural anachronisms -- and so have they.

But I have seen in the Halls of Congress more idealism, more humaneness and compassion, more empathy, more understanding, more profiles of courage than in any other institution I have ever known. Like many of you today, I find it in my heart to praise and to thank my teachers.

Perhaps some of these brief words of tribute to the institution of freedom known as the U.S. Congress may stay with you. As long as Congress continues to function as a responsible and viable element in our Constitutional system, the promise of American democracy will forever endure -- the torch of freedom will forever light the path of the future.

Each of you, however, must also assume a personal responsibility for preserving freedom in these perilous times. And the nature of this responsibility is best illustrated by John Adams' *description* ~~notion~~ of the "spirit of public happiness."

It was this spirit, said Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the revolution even before it was fought -- a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action. It is a sense of joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in dedication.

An important part of the mission of this great University has been to instill in each of you this spirit of "public happiness." And it will be this dedication to public service -- found in the hearts of Americans alive today and of generations yet

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unborn -- that will insure the ultimate victory
of free men in their struggle against the forces
of tyranny ^{and} oppression. ~~and~~

- - - - -

[Transcript]

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

SYRACUSE 10, NEW YORK

OFFICE OF INFORMATION SERVICES

June 8, 1965

Ted van Dyk
Room 5121
New Senate Office Bldg.
Washington 25, D.C.

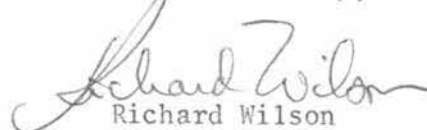
Dear Mr. van Dyk:

Enclosed is a rough transcript of Vice President Humphrey's Commencement address, as recorded during the ceremonies in Archbold Stadium June 6. Also enclosed is a copy of the citation conferring on the Vice President the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws and a tape made during the event.

We are going ahead with plans to publish the address in an attractive pamphlet, as I discussed with Mr. Julius Cahn, and would appreciate your returning as quickly as possible a corrected copy of Mr. Humphrey's address.

If there is any way anyone here can be of further assistance, please let me know.

Yours sincerely,


Richard Wilson
Director

RW:wg
Enclosures

*Returned
June 14 1965
MK*

Syracuse University News

Richard Wilson, Director
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For release at noon
Sunday, June 6, 1965

Following is the text of the honorary degree citation for Vice President Hubert Horatio Humphrey conferred by Chancellor William P. Tolley during Syracuse University's 111th Commencement.

HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY, Jr., Vice President of the United States, you exemplify the highest qualities of a public servant. After graduation from the Denver College of Pharmacy and the prospect of a comfortable career in a family business, your determination to make the fullest use of your talents led you to the University of Minnesota. There in 1939 you earned a Bachelor of Arts degree and were elected to Phi Beta Kappa at the age of twenty-eight. After receiving your Master's degree from the University of Louisiana, you returned to Minnesota as a member of the Department of Political Science.

Leaving the campus for public service you were elected Mayor of Minneapolis at thirty-four, the youngest person ever to hold this responsible office. Three years later you became United States Senator from Minnesota. As a member of the powerful committees on Foreign Relations, Government Operations, and Appropriations you quickly earned a reputation as an eloquent, fearless, and energetic proponent of progressive, liberal legislation. You were instrumental in framing proposals which led to the Peace Corps, the National Defense Education Act and the United States Arms Control and Disarmament Agency. Your signature on the nuclear test ban with Moscow in 1963 is an eloquent witness of your deep concern for the precarious peace of our times.

Understanding friend of education, brilliant student of public affairs, wise and experienced legislator, citizen of courage and integrity, you are admirably prepared for your high post by the side of our President.

And now, by action of the University Senate, the Board of Trustees concurring, and by virtue of the authority vested in me by the University of the State of New York, I confer on you the degree of Doctor of Laws, honoris causa, and admit you to all the rights and privileges thereunto pertaining. In token of our action, I present you with this diploma and direct you be invested with the hood appropriate to your degree.

#

Humphrey

Thank you, thank you, Chancellor Tolley. My thanks to you, Chancellor Tolley, deans of the many schools, colleges of this great university, members of the Board of Trustees, my colleagues in government who share this platform with me today, Secretary Connor, a graduate of this splendid university, and Secretary Harlan Cleveland, a former professor and head of the Maxwell School of this great university, Congressman Hanley, the graduates of this class of nineteen hundred and sixty-five, the parents who are here in pride and honor and my fellow Americans, and guests:

This is, as I've been reminded once again, as you have, the one hundred and eleventh commencement ceremony, not for me but for this great university. I was saying to Chancellor Tolley how difficult it is these days to be the commencement speaker and try to find a topic that is worthy of the attention and the thoughtful consideration of the graduates. I suppose I should be concerned about the faculty, but in this instance I address myself primarily to the graduates.

The honor that you have done to me today is one that is deeply appreciated, particularly in light of the announcement that has just been made as to how I was selected. I'm especially delighted that the Chancellor and the Board of Trustees extended their invitation to me as a result of the vote of the senior class. You see I've always been friendly to votes. And I'm particularly pleased when the votes and the voters are friendly to me. And what a refreshing experience, and what a way to renew the spirit of a public official, to be selected once again by votes. I might say to my friends of the graduating class, I have been on both ends of the voting spectrum, and the best end is the winning one. Now I of course have no way of knowing against whom I was running in this contest. But I trust that it was some worthy

Republican, of which this state has all too many. I hope that I didn't inspire any fear or trepidation in the heart of the Congressman.

I do want to take just for this moment the opportunity to express, a little bit prematurely, but this is one way of assuring that the ceremony comes off, my thanks for the honor that will be bestowed upon several of us here today, the honorary degrees. Now having made the announcement, there is no way that anything can go wrong.

My presence here today is particularly satisfying to me because this year marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Maxwell School. Syracuse University has made many, contributions to scholarship, and to professional excellence in a wide variety of fields. I know that this great university encompasses most all of the disciplines of intellectual life. I'm well aware of the achievements and the high standards of your college of engineering, and I well recall that only last year the President of the United States was with you on the occasion of the dedication of your new communications building. I well recall the outstanding endeavors of this university in the field of social work and social welfare. These are but a few of your achievements in the field of scholarship and professional excellence.

But as one who has by purpose and design devoted his life to the public service, I want to express my personal thanks and gratitude of the United States government for the work of the Maxwell School. Yes, I've mentioned already the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, a distinguished former dean of the Maxwell School, Harlan Cleveland, who serves his country well and faithfully and with brilliance, and the graduate of this great university, the Secretary of Commerce, who has brought new life to that department and a new sense of purpose and direction. In addition to the outstanding contributions of the Maxwell School to social science scholarship and the upgrading of public service, its undergraduate course in public affairs and citizenship is world famous. And I would recommend it to every great university in our land. Your Chancellor has told me that more than 20,000 Syracuse undergraduates have taken this course over the past generation. Think of it, 20,000 citizens who have been educated in their continuing personal responsibilities for the preserva-

tion and the extension of human freedom, and if ever there was a time that this nation needed men and women who understand their personal responsibilities to the cause of freedom and social justice, it is now.

Our nation, as never before, bears the mantle of leadership, and that mantle is not a luxury, but rather a responsibility, a burden and a duty. All the more reason then that citizens, not just the leaders, but citizens all be educated in their continuing personal responsibilities for the stewardship of human freedom. It is difficult to think of a more fundamental contribution which a university can make to free society. So my congratulations to this school. I know that it will continue to flourish and accomplish much in the years ahead.

Now I am also a refugee from the classroom, a former university teacher. Because of the precarious nature of elective life, I like to mention this in the presence of trustees and deans of faculty. And I would care not to be judged entirely on the singular performance of today, but rather on a longer exposition by the applicant at a later time.

I am well aware, as a former teacher, of the pitfalls of commencement speeches. It's so easy to follow the time-worn formula, the world is in a mess (when wasn't it, - by the way?), the older generation has failed (it generally has), and it's up to you of the graduating class to put things right, at least for a day or two. And then some day you'll be the older generation and you too can have the dubious honors that other commencement speakers would heap upon you. But platitudes rarely change attitudes. And baneful criticism and vapid exhortations are cheap substitutes for hard thought and analysis. I prefer, therefore, to take my stand on the proposition that the American people working through democratic institutions, changing institutions, have met, are meeting, and will continue to meet the most complex problems of our age. If we still have a long way to go, and we have in achieving human equality, in securing international and domestic tranquility, in extending the benefits of our technical genius to all citizens in the American republic and to all of mankind, let us at least glory in and be inspired by the magnitude of the unfinished agenda. Let us glory in the fact that we still possess the wit and the wisdom to continue making our American democratic system responsive to the terribly difficult and complex problems of this turbulent

and rapidly changing age.

Winston Churchill once was reported to have said that democracy is the worst form of government, except all others. And I suppose there is more truth than humor in that analysis of the social structure. But it is our democracy that we mold and design to our purpose. And the glory of the democracy and of the democratic faith is the courage of it, the experimentation of it, and the willingness to try to begin anew, if we should fail, to rise once again, if we should falter, to try once again, remembering with the profit that the longest journey is the first step, and the first steps towards freedom we have taken, and further steps we will take.

I want to discuss with this graduating class the importance of one of the great constitutional instruments at the disposal of the American people in the business of making this democracy work. I want to discuss with you an institution that is frequently referred to with cynicism, all too often, may I say, by the media, and all too often held in disrepute by people who know all too little about it. I refer to the institution of the Congress of the United States. What I have to say I think needs saying, because too many of our citizens take an indifferent, cynical and even hostile view toward the legislative branch. No one branch has a monopoly on wisdom or virtue, but surely each can make a contribution to the common good. This is not, when I speak of the Congress, to underestimate the need for strong and able presidential leadership, or for wise and humane judicial decisions. It is, however, once again to reaffirm the vital role of representative government, the vital role of the Congress in our constitutional system. Few persons can deal directly with either the President or the Supreme Court. But any person, personally or by mail or phone, can communicate with his elected representatives in Washington. The members of the congress, the peoples' representatives, provide a direct link between the national government, this huge structure that shows no signs of becoming smaller or less complicated, this huge structure and the almost one hundred and ninety-five million persons who comprise this Republic, and a growing population it is. Surely, this contact, this connection, is vital in keeping our national government responsive to the needs and opinions of the American people.

I have found Congressional service to be a remarkable form of higher education. It's a super graduate school in every discipline. My teachers have been presidents and department heads, constituents, press, radio, and television, and above all a group of wise and distinguished ^dcolleagues in both houses. I cannot in the few minutes that I have convey to you all that I have learned from these teachers, but it is a rich and a rewarding experience. Perhaps I can suggest some lessons in democratic theory and practice which I've gained from my collegial experiences in the Congress. The first lesson has to do with the creative and constructive dimension to the process of compromise--compromise without the loss of principle or honor. There are one hundred members of the United States Senate and 435 members of the House. They come from states and districts as diverse as Nevada and New York, Alaska and Alabama. No two states or regions of the United States have identical needs, backgrounds, interests or even prejudices. And one of the jobs of the Congress is to reconcile such differences through the process of compromise and accommodation. What sometimes seem to the naive and untutored eye to be legislative obstructionism, often are no more than the honest expressions of dedicated representatives trying to make clear the attitudes and the interests of their states and regions, sometimes trying to gain time for public understanding of vital issues. As Sir Richard Grenfell once observed: "Mankind is slowly learning that because two men differ neither need be wicked." ^c

From the earliest days of this Republic--at the Constitutional Convention--the leaders of this nation have maintained an unswerving commitment to moderation. Now if our founding fathers had not understood the need to overcome extremes in drafting our Constitution, this noble experiment of ours in the art of self-government would surely have foundered years ago on the rocks of dissention and discord.

As in the ^bdeliberations of the Constitutional Convention, the heart of Congressional activity are skills of negotiation, of honest bargaining among equals. My willingness to compromise, and I have done so more times than I can count, is the respect that I pay to the dignity of those with whom I disagree. Yes, I have come to the conclusion that possibly all of my original suggestions may not have been right. There may be others,

you know, that have solid and constructive views. Dogma and doctrine have little place in a society in which there is respect for the attitude and the opinion of others.

Through reasonable discussion, through taking into account the view of many, Congress amends and refines the legislative proposals so that once a law is passed it reflects the collective judgment of a diverse people. This is consensus, the word that is used so much in these days. Consensus is nothing but agreement, obtained by a constructive dialogue between persons of different points of view based upon mutual respect and understanding. Surely this is a remarkable service for a people that aspire to orderly progress. Surely the habits of a combination and compromise are of universal consequence. These are the very skills and attitudes so desperately needed on the larger stage of world conflict, and possibly our difficulties on that world stage can be better understood when we recognize that where there are despotic forms of government or dictatorships, the art of negotiation and compromise has been sacrificed to power, to arrogance, and to the strong will of the man who knows he is right. We possibly have some teaching to do before the processes of peace may reach a maturity and an achievement.

World order and the rule of law will be secure on this earth only when men have learned to cope with the continuing conflicts of peoples and nations through the peaceful processes of bargaining and negotiation. And might I admonish my fellow Americans that we too need to be cognizant of the differences in other lands, that we seek no pax Americana, we seek no trademark Made in the USA, we seek above all to negotiate, to accommodate, to adjust so that peoples realize their hopes in their way.

A second lesson that I have learned from my Congressional teachers is the importance of the Congressional role of responsible surveillance. There are roughly 70 separate departments and agencies in the Federal government. Now if you should notice two cabinet officers wince a bit, as I speak of Congressional surveillance, may I say that I have not been long from the chambers of the Congress. I am not fully purified as yet in the executive climate. There are roughly 70 departments, some are small, some are large. All are engaged, however, in doing what they believe is carrying out the will of the people as expressed by the Congress. In the interest of efficiency, economy, and responsiveness, these departments and agencies need, even if they don't want it, a continuing

critical review, constructively critical it is to be hoped, by the committees and the houses of Congress. The genius of our founding fathers is nowhere more in evidence than in that section or those sections of the Constitution which provide for checks and balances. Uncomfortable as those checks and balances may be sometimes to those who seek to administer, through its review of the executive budget, in the appropriations process, yes through committee and subcommittee investigations, through advice and consent on appointments and treaties, and through informal discussion, Congress seeks to improve and to support the executive branch of our government. My fellow Americans, I know that this cross(?) examination can be interpreted in other lands as division in our ranks, but it appears to me that it is more important that the American people know what is being done in their country, that they have the opportunity to reflect upon the policies and the decisions that are to be made, than it is that we should always have the image abroad of having a sort of monolith mind. I am not that worried. Let those who feel that we may discuss too often and that we may argue too much, let them remember that freedom is hammered out on the anvil of discussion, dissent, and debate, which ultimately yields to a decision that can be supported by the public.

This exercise in Congressional freedom protects and extends personal freedom. And that is our goal. If legislative voices are occasionally strident, and they are, citizens should take stock of what their world would be like if no legislative voices were heard at all.

Now we know what happens in countries without independent and constructively analytical legislatures.

Mankind invented a word for such systems centuries ago, and the word is as old as its practice--tyranny.

There's only one other lesson that I've learned from my Congressional teachers: the creative joy of politics. I can say in personal testimonial that I would not give my life to it unless I found in it a sense of fulfillment and joy. Each Congress is devoted in substantial measure to the development of new public policies designed, as our Constitution, says, to promote the general welfare and provide for the common defense, the national security of this nation.

Congress is not a battlefield for blind armies that clash by night; it is a public forum operating in the light of day for men of reason. It is a place where national objectives are sought, where presidential programs are reviewed, where great societies are endlessly debated and implemented. Oh yes, I know at times the Congressional process exasperates and confounds us, it's clumsy, sometimes it's slow and unresponsive to what some of us believe is urgent need, Its strength and its weakness is the fact that it is representative of our country, of our human institutions. It reveals in its conduct and makeup all of the crosscurrent of social, economic, and political forces. It is like a huge mirror suspended over the nation, reflecting and revealing us for what we are-- dirty face and all at times, our prejudices as well as our ideals, our fears and our hopes, our poverty and our wealth. There it is in the Congress representative of the people. Oh, to be sure we should seek to constantly improve its rules and its institutions of operating machinery, but ultimately, my fellow Americans, the Congress will behave as the nation behaves, the Congress will represent the spirit of the American people.

It was Emerson who once wrote that Congress is a "standing insurrection." You don't need a revolution here; you have one built in. It is a standing insurrection against the ancient enemies of mankind: war, and poverty, and ignorance, and injustice, and sickness, environmental ugliness, and economic and personal insecurity.

Now, the graduates of this class, few careers offer such remarkable opportunities for translating dreams into reality. Congressman Hanley, I am not seeking opposition to you, I am merely encouraging this group of fine graduates to take a new interest in the affairs of state, in government, in public life. A new bill, a creative amendment, a wise appropriation, may mean the difference to this generation and generations ahead, between health and sickness, jobs and idleness, peace and war for millions of human beings.

And stemming from ancient parliamentary origins, the main job of Congress is to redress the grievances, to right the wrongs, to make freedom and justice living realities for all. What higher calling, I ask you, exists than this? This is the essence of politics: to translate the concerns and the creative responses of a vast citizenry into effective and humane laws. And, I submit, no country does it better than ours. Our competence in

field of self-government is the envy of mankind.

I cannot conclude without a personal note. For almost 20 years, Congress has been my home. As Vice President, my relationships with my former colleagues are inevitably a bit more formal and more intermittent than in past years. Yet I can say unashamedly that I cherish them dearly. I have seen their weakness and they have seen mine.

I have been on occasion restive of delays and procedural anachronisms--and so have they. But I have seen in the Halls of Congress more idealism, more humaneness, more compassion, more profiles of courage than in any other institution that I have ever known. And like many of you today, I find in my heart to praise and to thank my teachers.

Perhaps some of these words of tribute to the institution of freedom known as the United States Congress may stay with you. I hope so; I know it well; I respect it greatly. As long as the Congress of the United States continues to function as a responsible and viable element in our Constitutional system, the promise of American democracy will forever endure--the torch of freedom will forever light the path of our future.

Each of you, however, must also assume a personal responsibility for preserving freedom in these perilous times. This is not the business of someone else, it is your business. Freedom is the personal commitment and responsibility of each and everyone. And the nature of this responsibility, I think, is best illustrated by John Adams' notion of the spirit of public happiness.

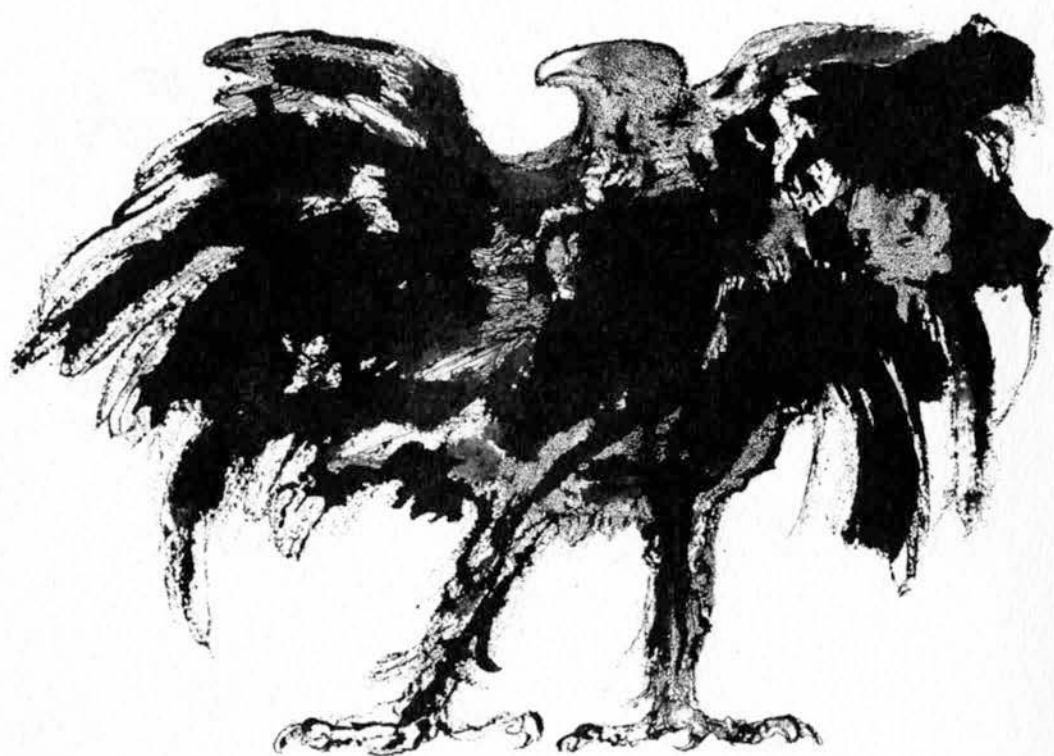
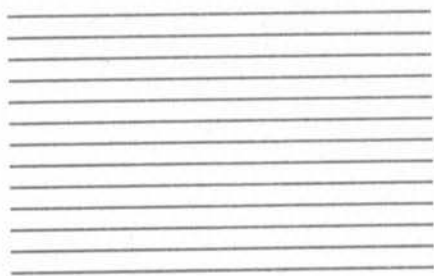
It was this spirit, said John Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the revolution even before it was fought--a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action. It is a sense of joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in whole-hearted dedication.

An important part of the mission of this great University has been to instill in each of you this spirit of public happiness. And it will be this dedication to the public service--found in the hearts of Americans alive today and the generations yet unborn--that will insure the ultimate victory of free men in their struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression.

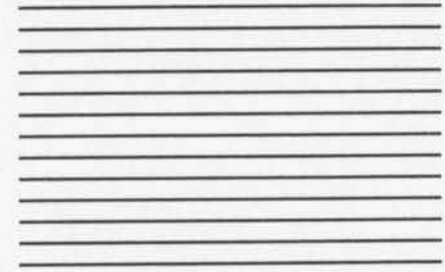
Your work is ahead of you. The time awaits no man. Seize this opportunity to serve the cause of mankind.

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[June 6, 1965]



DRAWING BY LEONARD BASKIN, MUNSON-WILLIAMS-PROCTOR INSTITUTE, UTICA, NEW YORK, GIFT OF THE ARTIST.



ADDRESS TO THE CLASS OF 1965

CONGRESS

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States of America

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY



We're singularly honored today to have so distinguished a guest. Because students are important at Syracuse University we consult each year with the officers of the senior class and ask them their choice of a commencement speaker. And this morning, ladies and gentlemen, by the unanimous action of the senior class, the Vice President of the United States.

William P. Tolley

WILLIAM PEARSON TOLLEY

CHANCELLOR | SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

JUNE 6 | 1965

SUNDAY JUNE 6, 1965

Thank you, thank you, Chancellor Tolley. My thanks to you, Chancellor Tolley, deans of the many schools, colleges of this great university, members of the Board of Trustees, my colleagues in government who share this platform with me today, Secretary Connor, a graduate of this splendid university, and Secretary Harlan Cleveland, a former professor and head of the Maxwell School of this great university, Congressman Hanley, the graduates of this class of nineteen hundred and sixty-five, the parents who are here in pride and honor, and my fellow Americans, and guests:

This is, as I've been reminded once again, as you have, the one hundred and eleventh commencement ceremony, not for me but for this great university. I was saying to Chancellor Tolley how difficult it is these days to be the commencement speaker and try to find a topic that is worthy of the attention and the thoughtful consideration of the graduates. I suppose I should be concerned about the faculty, but in this instance I address myself primarily to the graduates.

The honor that you have done to me today is one that is deeply appreciated, particularly in light of the announcement that has just been made as to how I was selected. I'm especially delighted that the Chancellor and the Board of Trustees extended their invitation to me as a result of the vote of the senior class. You see, I've always been friendly to votes. And I'm particularly pleased when the votes and the voters are friendly to me. And

what a refreshing experience, and what a way to renew the spirit of a public official, to be selected once again by votes. I might say to my friends of the graduating class, I have been on both ends of the voting spectrum, and the best end is the winning one. Now I of course have no way of knowing against whom I was running in this contest. But I trust that it was some worthy Republican, of which this state has all too many. I hope that I didn't inspire any fear or trepidation in the heart of the Congressman.

I do want to take just for this moment the opportunity to express, a little bit prematurely, but this is one way of assuring that the ceremony comes off, my thanks for the honor that will be bestowed upon several of us here today, the honorary degrees. Now having made the announcement, there is no way that anything can go wrong.

My presence here today is particularly satisfying to me because this year marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Maxwell School. Syracuse University has made many contributions to scholarship and to professional excellence in a wide variety of fields. I know that this great university encompasses most all of the disciplines of intellectual life. I'm well aware of the achievements and the high standards of your college of engineering, and I well recall that only last year the President of the United States was with you on the occasion of the dedication of your new communications building. I know the outstanding endeavors of this university in the field of social work and social

welfare. These are but a few of your achievements in the field of scholarship and professional excellence.

But as one who has by purpose and design devoted his life to the public service, I want to express my personal thanks and gratitude of the United States government for the work of the Maxwell School. Yes, I've mentioned already the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, a distinguished former dean of the Maxwell School, Harlan Cleveland, who serves his country well and faithfully and with brilliance, and the graduate of this great university, the Secretary of Commerce, who has brought new life to that department and a new sense of purpose and direction. In addition to the outstanding contributions of the Maxwell School to social science scholarship and the upgrading of public service, its undergraduate course in public affairs and citizenship is world famous. And I would recommend it to every great university in our land. Your Chancellor has told me that more than 20,000 Syracuse undergraduates have taken this course over the past generation. Think of it, 20,000 citizens who have been educated in their continuing personal responsibilities for the preservation and the extension of human freedom—and if ever there was a time that this nation needed men and women who understand their personal responsibilities to the cause of freedom and social justice, it is now.

Our nation, as never before, bears the mantle of leadership, and that mantle is not a luxury, but rather a responsibility, a burden and a duty. All the more reason then that citizens, not just the

leaders, but citizens all be educated in their continuing personal responsibilities for the stewardship of human freedom. It is difficult to think of a more fundamental contribution which a university can make to free society. So my congratulations to this school. I know that it will continue to flourish and accomplish much in the years ahead.

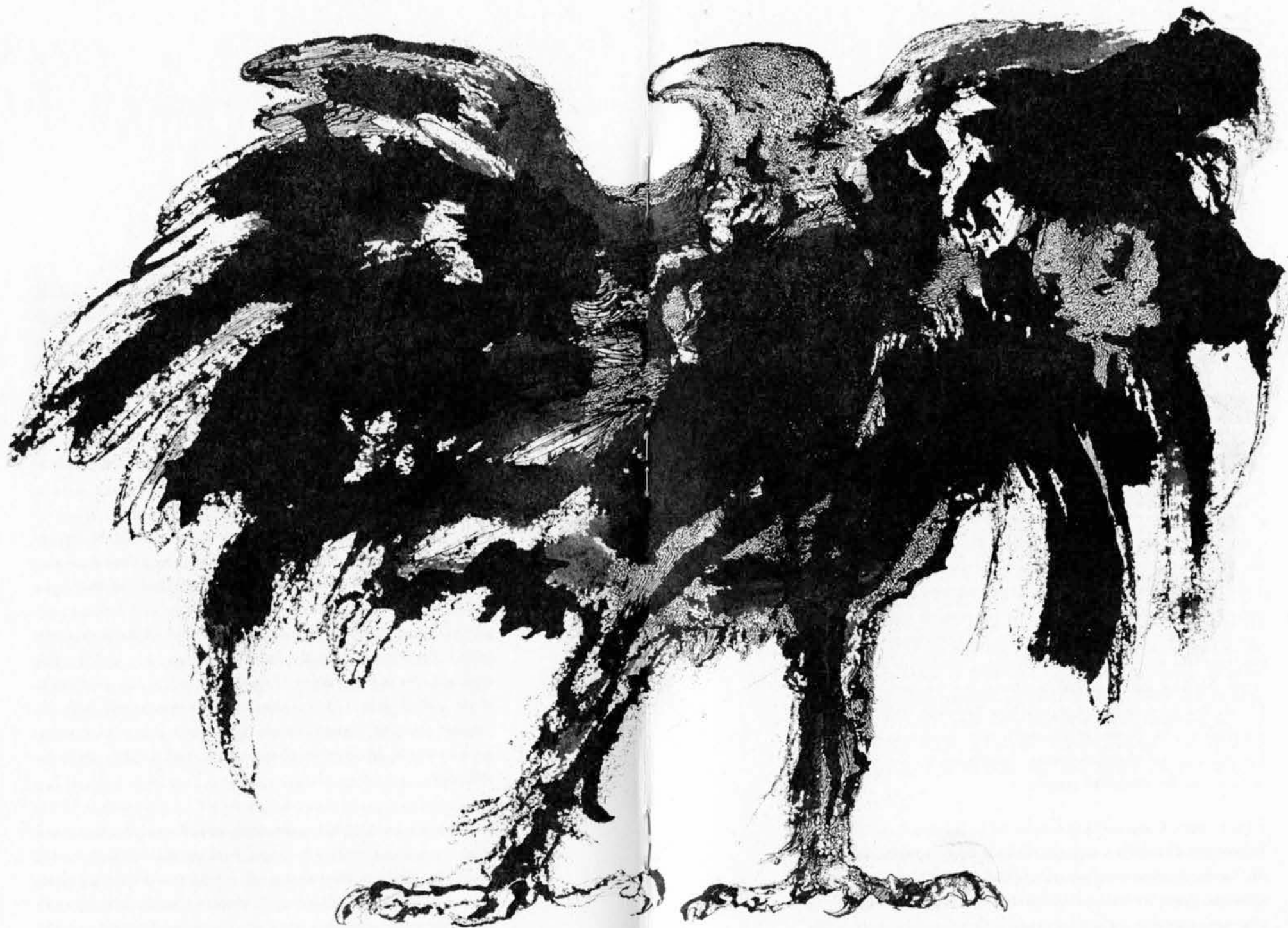
Now, I am also a refugee from the classroom, a former university teacher. Because of the precarious nature of elective life, I like to mention this in the presence of trustees and deans of faculty. And I would care not to be judged entirely on the singular performance of today, but rather on a longer exposition by the applicant at a later time.

I am well aware, as a former teacher, of the pitfalls of commencement speeches. It's so easy to follow the time-worn formula, the world is in a mess (when wasn't it, by the way?), the older generation has failed (it generally has), and it's up to you of the graduating class to put things right, at least for a day or two. And then some day you'll be the older generation and you too can have the dubious honors that other commencement speakers would heap upon you. But platitudes rarely change attitudes. And baneful criticism and vapid exhortations are cheap substitutes for hard thought and analysis. I prefer, therefore, to take my stand on the proposition that the American people working through democratic institutions, changing institutions, have met, are meeting, and will continue to meet the most complex problems of

our age. If we still have a long way to go, and we have in achieving human equality, in securing international and domestic tranquility, in extending the benefits of our technical genius to all citizens in the American republic and to all of mankind, let us at least glory in and be inspired by the magnitude of the unfinished agenda. Let us glory in the fact that we still possess the wit and the wisdom to continue making our American democratic system responsive to the terribly difficult and complex problems of this turbulent and rapidly changing age.

Winston Churchill once was reported to have said that democracy is the worst form of government, except all others. And I suppose there is more truth than humor in that analysis of the social structure. But it is our democracy that we mold and design to our purpose. And the glory of the democracy and of the democratic faith is the courage of it, the experimentation of it, and the willingness to try to begin anew, if we should fail, to rise once again, if we should falter, to try once again, remembering with the prophet that the longest journey is the first step, and the first steps towards freedom we have taken, and further steps we will take.

I want to discuss with this graduating class the importance of one of the great constitutional instruments at the disposal of the American people in the business of making this democracy work. I want to discuss with you an institution that is frequently referred to with cynicism, all too often, may I say, by the media,



and all too often held in disrepute by people who know all too little about it. I refer to the institution of the Congress of the United States. What I have to say I think needs saying, because too many of our citizens take an indifferent, cynical and even hostile view toward the legislative branch. No one branch has a monopoly on wisdom or virtue, but surely each can make a contribution to the common good. This is not, when I speak of the Congress, to underestimate the need for strong and able presidential leadership, or for wise and humane judicial decisions. It is, however, once again to reaffirm the vital role of representative government, the vital role of the Congress in our constitutional system. Few persons can deal directly with either the President or the Supreme Court. But any person, personally or by mail or phone, can communicate with his elected representatives in Washington. The members of the Congress, the people's representatives, provide a direct link between the national government, this huge structure that shows no signs of becoming smaller or less complicated, this huge structure and the almost one hundred and ninety-five million persons who comprise this Republic, and a growing population it is. Surely, this contact, this connection, is vital in keeping our national government responsive to the needs and opinions of the American people.

I have found Congressional service to be a remarkable form of higher education. It's a super graduate school in every discipline. My teachers have been presidents and department heads, constituents, press, radio, and television, and above all a group of wise and distinguished colleagues in both houses. I cannot in the

few minutes that I have convey to you all that I have learned from these teachers, but it is a rich and a rewarding experience.

Perhaps I can suggest some lessons in democratic theory and practice which I've gained from my collegial experiences in the Congress. The first lesson has to do with the creative and constructive dimension to the process of compromise—compromise without the loss of principle or honor. There are one hundred members of the United States Senate and 435 members of the House. They come from states and districts as diverse as Nevada and New York, Alaska and Alabama. No two states or regions of the United States have identical needs, backgrounds, interests or even prejudices. And one of the jobs of the Congress is to reconcile such differences through the process of compromise and accommodation. What sometimes seem to the naive and untutored eye to be legislative obstructionisms, often are no more than the honest expressions of dedicated representatives trying to make clear the attitudes and the interests of their states and regions, sometimes trying to gain time for public understanding of vital issues. As Sir Richard Grenfell once observed: "Mankind is slowly learning that because two men differ neither need be wicked."

From the earliest days of this Republic—at the Constitutional Convention—the leaders of this nation have maintained an unswerving commitment to moderation. Now, if our founding fathers had not understood the need to overcome extremes in

drafting our Constitution, this noble experiment of ours in the art of self-government would surely have foundered years ago on the rocks of dissension and discord.

As in the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention, the heart of Congressional activity are skills of negotiation, of honest bargaining among equals. My willingness to compromise, and I have done so more times than I can count, is the respect that I pay to the dignity of those with whom I disagree. Yes, I have come to the conclusion that possibly all of my original suggestions may not have been right. There may be others, you know, who have solid and constructive views. Dogma and doctrine have little place in a society in which there is respect for the attitude and the opinion of others.

Through reasonable discussion, through taking into account the view of many, Congress amends and refines the legislative proposals so that once a law is passed it reflects the collective judgment of a diverse people. This is consensus, the word that is used so much in these days. Consensus is nothing but agreement, obtained by a constructive dialogue between persons of different points of view, based upon mutual respect and understanding. Surely this is a remarkable service for a people that aspire to orderly progress. Surely the habits of accommodation and compromise are of universal consequence. These are the very skills and attitudes so desperately needed on the larger stage of world conflict, and possibly our difficulties on that world stage can be

better understood when we recognize that where there are despotic forms of government or dictatorships, the art of negotiation and compromise has been sacrificed to power, to arrogance, and to the strong will of the man who knows he is right. We possibly have some teaching to do before the processes of peace may reach a maturity and an achievement.

World order and the rule of law will be secure on this earth only when men have learned to cope with the continuing conflicts of peoples and nations through the peaceful processes of bargaining and negotiation. And might I admonish my fellow Americans that we too need to be cognizant of the differences in other lands, that we seek no pax Americana, we seek no trademark Made in the USA, we seek above all to negotiate, to accommodate, to adjust so that peoples realize their hopes in their way.

A second lesson that I have learned from my Congressional teachers is the importance of the Congressional role of responsible surveillance. There are roughly seventy separate departments and agencies in the Federal government. Now if you should notice two cabinet officers wince a bit, as I speak of Congressional surveillance, may I say that I have not been long from the chambers of the Congress. I am not fully purified as yet in the executive climate. There are roughly seventy departments, some are small, some are large. All are engaged, however, in doing what they believe is carrying out the will of the people as expressed by the Congress.

In the interest of efficiency, economy, and responsiveness, these departments and agencies need, even if they don't want it, a continuing critical review, constructively critical it is to be hoped, by the committees and the houses of Congress. The genius of our founding fathers is nowhere more in evidence than in that section or those sections of the Constitution which provide for checks and balances. Uncomfortable as those checks and balances may be sometimes to those who seek to administer, through its review of the executive budget, in the appropriations process, yes, through committee and subcommittee investigations, through advice and consent on appointments and treaties, and through informal discussion, Congress seeks to improve and to support the executive branch of our government. My fellow Americans, I know that this cross-examination can be interpreted in other lands as division in our ranks, but it appears to me that it is more important that the American people know what is being done in their country, that they have the opportunity to reflect upon the policies and the decisions that are to be made, than it is that we should always have the image abroad of having a sort of monolith mind. I am not that worried. Let those who feel that we may discuss too often and that we may argue too much, let them remember that freedom is hammered out on the anvil of discussion, dissent, and debate, which ultimately yields to a decision that can be supported by the public.

This exercise in Congressional freedom protects and extends personal freedom. And that is our goal. If legislative voices are

occasionally strident, and they are, citizens should take stock of what their world would be like if no legislative voices were heard at all.

We know what happens in countries without independent and constructively analytical legislatures. Mankind invented a word for such systems centuries ago, and the word is as old as its practice—tyranny.

There's one other lesson that I've learned from my Congressional teachers: the creative joy of politics. I can say in personal testimony that I would not give my life to it unless I found in it a sense of fulfillment and joy. Each Congress is devoted in substantial measure to the development of new public policies designed, as our Constitution says, to promote the general welfare and provide for the common defense, the national security of this nation.

Congress is not a battlefield for blind armies that clash by night; it is a public forum operating in the light of day for men of reason. It is a place where national objectives are sought, where presidential programs are reviewed, where great societies are endlessly debated and implemented. Oh yes, I know at times the Congressional process exasperates and confounds us, it's clumsy, sometimes it's slow and unresponsive to what some of us believe is urgent need. Its strength and its weakness is the fact that it is representative of our country, of our human institutions. It reveals

in its conduct and makup all of the cross-current of social, economic, and political forces. It is like a huge mirror suspended over the nation, reflecting and revealing us for what we are, dirty face and all at times, our prejudices as well as our ideals, our fears and our hopes, our poverty and our wealth. There it is in the Congress representative of the people. Oh, to be sure, we should seek to constantly improve its rules and its institutions of operating machinery, but ultimately, my fellow Americans, the Congress will behave as the nation behaves, the Congress will represent the spirit of the American people.

It was Emerson who once wrote that Congress is a "standing insurrection." You don't need a revolution here; you have one built in. It is a standing insurrection against the ancient enemies of mankind: war, and poverty, and ignorance, and injustice, and sickness, environmental ugliness, and economic and personal insecurity.

Now, graduates of this class, few careers offer such remarkable opportunities for translating dreams into reality. Congressman Hanley, I am not seeking opposition to you, I am merely encouraging this group of fine graduates to take a new interest in the affairs of state, in government, in public life. A new bill, a creative amendment, a wise appropriation, may mean the difference to this generation and generations ahead, between health and sickness, jobs and idleness, peace and war for millions of human beings.

And stemming from ancient parliamentary origins, the main job of Congress is to redress the grievances, to right the wrongs, to make freedom and justice living realities for all. What higher calling, I ask you, exists than this? This is the essence of politics: to translate the concerns and the creative responses of a vast citizenry into effective and humane laws. And, I submit, no country does it better than ours. Our competence in the field of self-government is the envy of mankind.

I cannot conclude without a personal note. For almost twenty years, Congress has been my home. As Vice President, my relationships with my former colleagues are inevitably a bit more formal and more intermittent than in past years. Yet I can say unashamedly that I cherish them dearly. I have seen their weakness and they have seen mine.

I have been on occasion restive of delays and procedural anachronisms—and so have they. But I have seen in the Halls of Congress more idealism, more humaneness, more compassion, more profiles of courage than in any other institution that I have ever known. And like many of you today, I find in my heart to praise and to thank my teachers.

Perhaps some of these words of tribute to the institution of freedom known as the United States Congress may stay with you. I hope so; I know it well; I respect it greatly. As long as the Congress of the United States continues to function as a

responsible and viable element in our Constitutional system, the promise of American democracy will forever endure—the torch of freedom will forever light the path of our future.

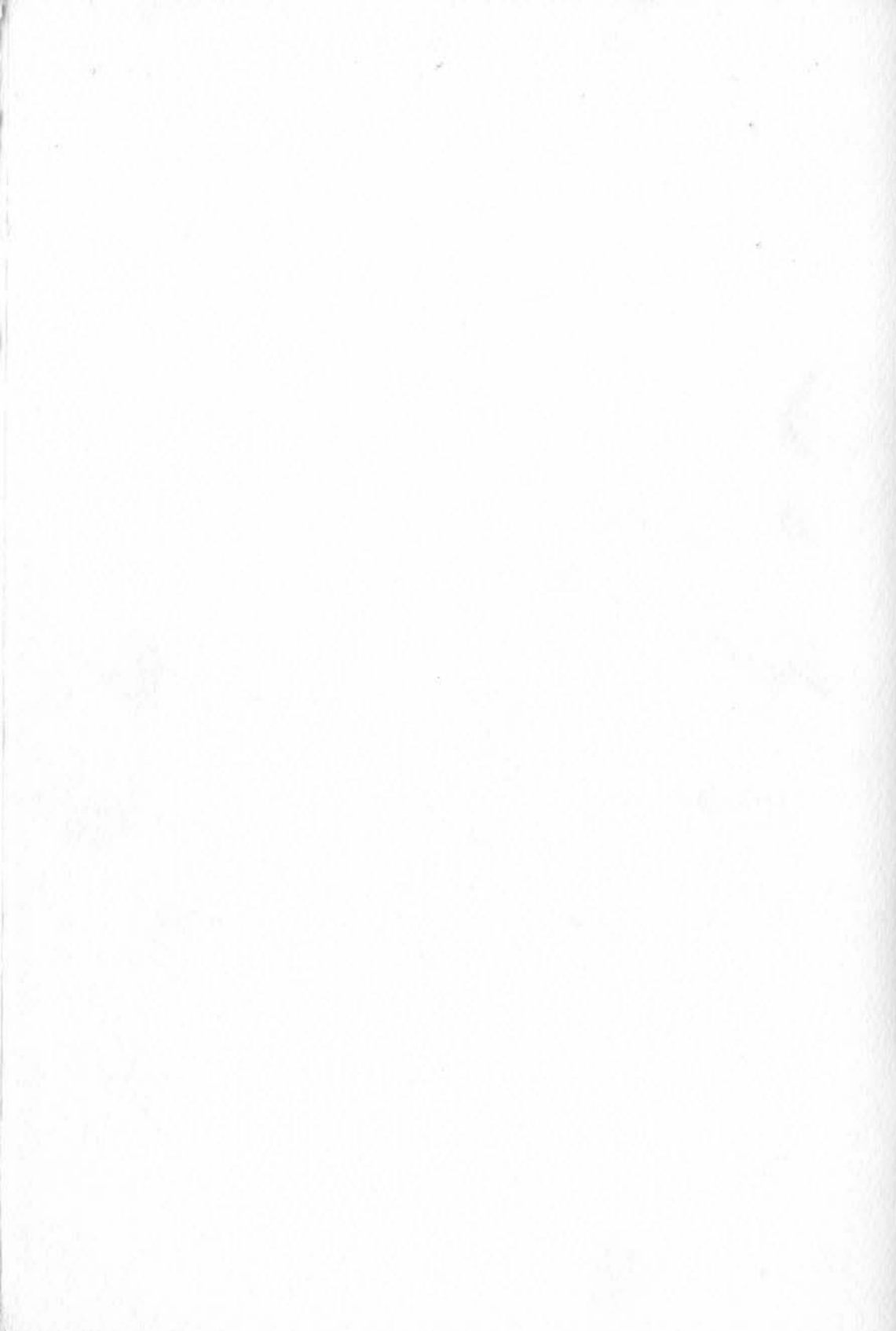
Each of you, however, must also assume a personal responsibility for preserving freedom in these perilous times. This is not the business of someone else, it is your business. Freedom is the personal commitment and responsibility of each and every one. And the nature of this responsibility, I think, is best illustrated by John Adams' notion of the spirit of public happiness.

It was this spirit, said John Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the revolution even before it was fought—a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action. It is a sense of joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in whole-hearted dedication.

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