

Address of Vice President
Hubert H. Humphrey
COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

Fordham University
NEW YORK, NEW YORK

June 9, 1965



The student . . . a man of his nation . . . a man of his time



Woodrow Wilson once said that "every man sent out of a university should be a man of his nation as well as a man of his time."

A university graduate today who would be both a man of his nation and a man of his time must understand that the moral unity and interdependence of mankind, which has for centuries been the basis of Western civilization, has now become a physical fact of our lives.

We have long understood that the brotherhood of all human beings implies responsibility for our neighbor. But today, in an age where science and technology have shrunk our physical neighborhood, no crisis is wholly foreign to us, no curse or blessing is received in isolation. In this world, responsibility for our fellow man is inescapable.

In this contemporary era—where technology has led to a rapid multiplication of social relationships—interdependence has replaced solitary individualism as the central fact of our lives.

INSTITUTIONALIZE MORAL NEEDS

As Barbara Ward has noted: "In a world society in which hate is institutionalized in war and self-interest in our web of economic relations, we can hardly survive unless we also institutionalize the moral needs of man for community, for compassion, for dedication, and, let us not fear the word, for love."

Because the "greatness of our institutions" has not matched "the grandeur of our intentions," we are witnessing both in our nation and in our world a revolution of peoples against what Emmanuel Mounier called the "established disorder." Everywhere we see populations caught between soaring hopes and immovable traditions.

In our nation this has produced the Negro revolution, a revolution against centuries of indifference and neglect, of oppression and exploitation. It is a revolution that is not over—indeed it has only begun.

But it is a revolution that we know now is destined to succeed.

Its success is assured because the people of this nation have realized that the perpetuation of a separate Negro nation in our midst, a nation whose people have been "deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred" in President Johnson's phrase—is morally intolerable.

While peaceful protest and legal redress of grievances have been important, in the end moral indignation has been decisive in bringing recognition of



the validity of the Negro revolution in the United States.

Pursuit of justice has triumphed over narrow self-interest. Justice has triumphed because modern prophets—from John LaFarge to Martin Luther King—have aroused our consciences and incited our action against an "established disorder" based on racism, the most pernicious form of injustice to arise in our time.

VIRTUE IN POLITICAL ORDER

In pursuing justice—the supreme virtue in the political order—an equally important challenge for a man of our time is that posed by the growing disparity between rich nations and poor, the widen-

ing gap between the affluent minority and the impoverished masses of the human race.

A central fact of this decade—which will loom larger and larger for graduates of the class of 1965—is that Western societies are exceedingly rich—and almost all others are exceedingly poor.

A small fraction of the human race living around the North Atlantic enjoys per capita incomes of 1,000 to 2,800 dollars per year. Two-thirds of humanity subsists on a per capita income of less than 200 dollars per year.

It may be accidental—but it is surely not irrelevant—that most of the first group are white and most of the second are colored.

Since 1960, the gap between the two groups has accelerated. To understand why it has been growing, one need only recall that in 1964 the United States added 30 billion dollars to its gross national



product—the equivalent of 50 percent of the total national income of Latin America and 100 percent of the income of Africa.

The relevance of this problem to the university graduate of today, and the obligation of nations that are rich and advanced toward those that are poor and undeveloped, was spelled out in bold language by Pope John XXIII in his encyclical *Mater et Magistra*. He stated:

“The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

This is particularly true since, given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist.”

He concluded: “We are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to educate one’s conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world’s goods.”

Just as our generation has inherited the responsibility for bringing to fulfillment the Negro revolution at home, it lies with your generation to insure the triumph of the revolution against crushing poverty around the world.



We who live in the Western world have a special responsibility, for it was we who launched the technological revolution that has produced dazzling wealth in the midst of squalor.

We not only initiated the technological revolution but we have spread it to the world at large. And today we tolerate—by limited exertion if not by inaction—inconceivable disparities of wealth and destitution.

REDUCTION OF INEQUITIES

As we in the United States are among those “more blessed with this world’s goods,” to use the Pope’s phrase, we have a special obligation to take the lead in reducing these inequities.

It is obvious that problems of poor nations will not be solved by external efforts alone. No transfer of resources from the rich nations to the poor will alone be sufficient.

It requires a massive effort by local leaders in a country to end the shocking inequality between privileged and impoverished, between glittering capitals and festering slums, between privileged urban enclaves and neglected rural areas.

It requires not only the availability of technical resources—but vision and will and determination on the part of those who would break the tyranny of poverty and bring to their peoples the wonders of the modern world.

But our recognition of this fact should not blind us to the compelling truth that nations that are poor

and undeveloped stand little chance of success without the help of those which are rich.

It is not necessary here to engage in a detailed analysis of the process of development in undeveloped nations. Once we recognize the existence of a universal common good and of international social justice—and show a willingness to commit ourselves to it—the technical problems of assistance can be solved. Not without difficulty—but they can be solved.

Trade, aid and private investment all will be needed to meet the requirements of developing nations—that is, if the poor nations of the world are to have a chance of breaking the ancient cycle.

Despite our efforts since World War II to accelerate economic and social development, we are just standing still.

During the past three years we have failed to progress at all: indeed we are slowing down.

Yet each day we learn anew that the disorder which persists cannot be ended by political maneuver or military power, alone.

We learn anew of outbreaks of violence and turbulence, of peaceful revolutions turned into violent ones. We learn anew of disorder which invites Communism—which so often comes as the scavenger of ruined revolutions.

We now know that peace can be threatened by other forces than armies crossing borders and bombs and missiles falling from the sky. Peace can be threatened by social and economic deprivation, by

destitution and hunger. If we are concerned about "peace-keeping" in all its aspects, then we dare not ignore this explosive threat which can erupt at any time.

And it is time we learn that peace-keeping pertains not only to military forces and United Nations machinery. Peace-keeping pertains to every force that disturbs or threatens to disturb the peace of mankind.

We must strengthen every economic institution we have—and develop new ones if need be. If our existing financial and development institutions—all formed two decades ago with the establishment of the United Nations—need to be supplemented or modified, we should not hesitate to do so.

THE FATE OF ALL

In our interdependent world, disorder due to economic deprivation and underdevelopment is the concern of all—the rich nations and the poor. When a crisis erupts—whether in the Congo or in Santo Domingo—the fate of all is affected.

Only by a massive assault—carefully planned and superbly orchestrated—can social and economic progress be made. Only by a massive assault can the burden of hunger and disease which brings disorder later be lifted from the peoples of mankind.

Congress must be convinced of this. The doubts about the foreign aid program in recent years must be replaced by a new insight into our obligation, a new resolution to do the job that needs to be done.



Our European friends—though they have expanded their programs during the past decade—still do far less than their capacity allows.

Similarly, unless we and the other wealthy nations of the northern hemisphere are willing to do our part to revise world trading patterns to take into account the problems of new developing nations, they stand no chance of achieving economic viability through peaceful means. And as we know better each day, if peaceful revolution is impossible, violent revolution is inevitable.

Once we recognize the dimensions of the problems, we must then resolve to do the job that needs to be done—to expend the resources necessary. And we need to do this—not just because it is in our own interest, not just because of the Communist challenge—but as President Kennedy said in his Inaugural message—"because it is right."

When one looks back on the landmarks of the Negro revolution in our time—such as the Civil

Rights Act of 1964—some of the causes can now be clearly delineated. There can be no doubt that justice triumphed over injustice . . . the conscience of the present over the memory of the past because men and women with consciences formed by a Juda-Christian tradition took their convictions seriously and translated them into action. This in the end was the difference between failure and success.

If a peaceful revolution against world poverty and the chaos that follows from it is to be won, it will require the same aroused action from men and women of religious inspiration—and all developed countries. It will require men and women who are determined to lead the rich peoples of the world to fulfill their obligations to the poor.

It is the task of both the graduation class of 1965 and of our generation to convince the legislatures and the executives—not only of the United States but of Europe as well—that moral imperatives as well as physical security require a substantial commitment to long range economic and technical assistance to the developing nations of the world.

We must do this out of compassion—for we *are* our brother's keeper. And we also do it out of self-interest as well—for our lot is their lot, our future their future, our peace their peace.

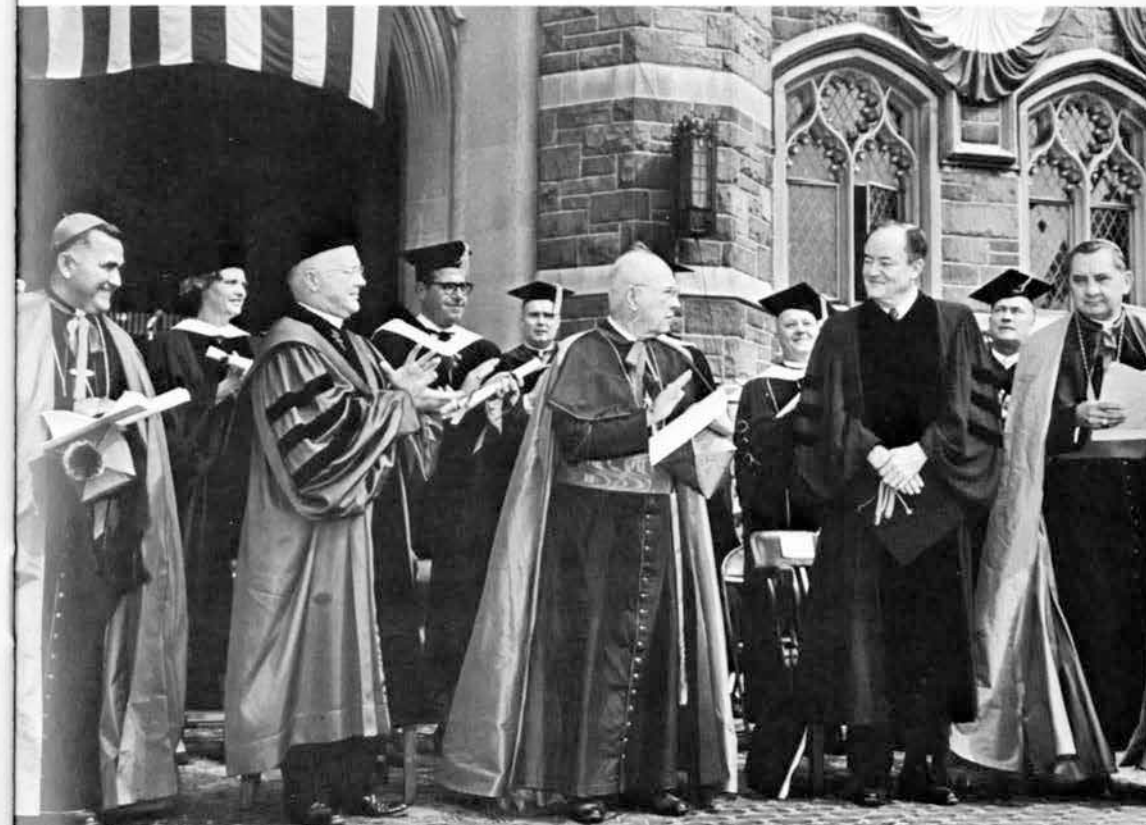
In pursuing the global war on poverty, we must remember that it is not just a matter of satisfying physical needs and raising material standards of living. What is equally important is to inspire hope

among both the leaders and the mass of the people, hope of a better day to come.

In approaching the problem of poverty and chaos in an interdependent world, we should be guided by the vision of a great man who died here in New York ten years ago, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

Through this vision we can come to understand that the growing interdependence of mankind caused by the technological revolution can lead to a world civilization in which both persons and nations find their individuality enhanced, find their mutual dependence and mutual fate a condition to be welcomed rather than a threat to be feared.

Our concern about economic chaos and disorder, about world poverty and deprivation is a part of our



larger concern about world peace. All men profess to seek peace. But peace is like a flower—it needs fertile soil to grow. It cannot grow in the rocks of bitterness and poverty, in the dry sands of backwardness and despair. It needs the fertile soil of education and food, of health and hope.

PEACE, THE WORK OF GENERATIONS

Peace is too important to be the exclusive concern of the great powers. It requires the attention of all—small nations and large, old nations and new.

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.

The pursuit of peace requires time—but we must use time as a tool and not as a crutch.

We realize that the hopes and expectations which may be aroused can not all be satisfied in the immediate future. What can be accomplished in a limited time will always fall short of expectations.

This should not discourage us. What is important is that we be prepared to give some evidence that progress toward peace—progress in the global war on poverty—is being made, that some of the unsolved problems of peace can be met in the future.

It is the challenge to your generation to convert the hopes for peace, the hopes for progress, the hopes for social justice for all into reality. With the benefit of four years in a great university, I am confident you will succeed.

President Freeze
Cardinal Spellman

Your Eminence Cardinal Spellman
Your Excellencies
Archbishop Afontay
Bishop Suanstrom

ADDRESS OF VICE PRESIDENT

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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~~Father Freeze~~

Reverend Vice
Rector ^{Fr.} Freeze

Tubularians

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Getting Days
McAuliffe
White

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↳ Pursuit of justice has triumphed over narrow self-interest. Justice has triumphed because modern prophets -- from John LaFarge to Martin Luther King -- have aroused our consciences and incited our action against an "established disorder" -- *based*

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As we in the United States are among those "more blessed with this world's goods," to use the Pope's phrase, we have a special obligation to take the lead in reducing these inequities.

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And it is time we learn that peace-keeping pertains not only to military forces and United Nations machinery. Peace-keeping pertains to every force that disturbs or threatens to disturb the peace of mankind.

We must strengthen every economic institution we have -- and develop new ones if need be. If our existing financial and development institutions -- all formed two decades ago with the establishment of the United Nations -- need to be supplemented or modified, we should not hesitate to do so.

In our interdependent world, disorder due to economic deprivation and underdevelopment is the concern of all -- the rich nations and the poor. When a crisis erupts -- whether in the Congo or in Santo Domingo -- the fate of all is affected.

Only by a massive assault -- carefully planned and superbly orchestrated -- can social and economic progress be made. Only by a massive assault can the

burden of hunger and disease which brings disorder later be lifted from the peoples of mankind.

Congress must be convinced of this. The doubts about the foreign aid program in recent years must be replaced by a new insight into our obligation, a new resolution to do the job that needs to be done.

Our European friends -- though they have expanded their programs during the past decade -- still do far less than their capacity allows.

Similarly, unless we and the other wealthy nations of the northern hemisphere are willing to do our part to revise world trading patterns to take into account the problems of new developing nations, they stand no chance of achieving economic viability through peaceful means. And as we know better each day, if peaceful revolution is impossible, violent revolution is inevitable.

Once we recognize the dimensions of the problems, we must then resolve to do the job that needs to be done -- to expend the resources necessary. And we need to do this -- not just because it is in our own interest, not just because of the Communist challenge -- but as President Kennedy said in his inaugural message -- "because it is right."

When one looks back on the landmarks of the Negro revolution in our time -- such as the Civil Rights Act of 1964 -- some of the causes can now be clearly delineated. There can be no doubt that justice triumphed over injustice . . . the conscience of the present over the memory of the past because men and women with consciences formed

by a Juda-Christian tradition took their convictions seriously and translated them into action. This in the end was the difference between failure and success.

If a peaceful revolution against world poverty and the chaos that follows from it is to be won, it will require the same aroused action from men and women of religious inspiration -- and all developed countries. It will require men and women who are determined to lead the rich peoples of the world to fulfill their obligations to the poor.

It is the task of both the graduation class of 1965 and of our generation to convince the legislatures and the executives -- not only of the United States but of Europe as well -- that moral imperatives as well as physical security require a substantial commitment to long range economic and technical assistance to the developing nations of the world.

We must do this out of compassion -- for we are our brother's keeper. And we also do it out of self-interest as well -- for our lot is their lot, our future their future, our peace their peace.

In pursuing the global war on poverty, we must remember that it is not just a matter of satisfying physical needs and raising material standards of living. What is equally important is to inspire hope among both the leaders and the mass of the people, hope of a better day to come.

In approaching the problem of poverty and chaos in an interdependent world, we should be guided by the vision of a great man who died here in New York ten years ago, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

Through this vision we can come to understand that the growing interdependence of mankind caused by the technological revolution can lead to a world civilization in which both persons and nations find their individuality enhanced, find their mutual dependence and mutual fate a condition to be welcomed rather than a threat to be feared.

Our concern about economic chaos and disorder, about world poverty and deprivation is a part of our larger concern about world peace. All men profess to seek peace. But peace is like a flower -- it needs fertile soil to grow. It cannot grow in the rocks of bitterness and poverty, in the dry sands of backwardness and despair. It needs the fertile soil of education and food, of health and hope.

Peace is too important to be the exclusive concern of the great powers. It requires the attention of all -- small nations and large, old nations and new.

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.

The pursuit of peace requires time -- but we must use time as a tool and not as a crutch.

We realize that the hopes and expectations which may be aroused cannot all be satisfied in the immediate future. What can be accomplished in a limited time will always fall short of expectations.

This should not discourage us. What is important is that we be prepared to give some evidence that progress toward peace -- progress in the global war on poverty -- is being made, that some of the unsolved problems of peace can be met in the future.

It is the challenge to your generation to convert the hopes for peace, the hopes for progress, the hopes for social justice for all into reality. With the benefit of four years in a great university, I am confident you will succeed.

5/12/65

6-9-65

The Interdependence of Mankind

Address by Vice President Humphrey¹

Woodrow Wilson once said that "every man sent out of a university should be a man of his nation as well as a man of his time."

A university graduate today who would be both a man of his nation and a man of his time must understand that the moral unity and interdependence of mankind, which has for centuries been the basis of Western civilization, has now become a physical fact of our lives.

We have long understood that the brotherhood of all human beings implies responsibility for our neighbor. But today, in an age where science and technology have shrunk our physical neighborhood, no crisis is wholly foreign to us, no curse or blessing is received in isolation. In this world, responsibility for our fellow man is inescapable.

In this contemporary era—where technology has led to a rapid multiplication of social relationships—interdependence has replaced solitary individualism as the central fact of our lives.

As Barbara Ward has noted:

In a world society in which hate is institutionalized in war and self-interest in our web of economic relations, we can hardly survive unless we also institutionalize the moral needs of man for community, for compassion, for dedication, and, let us not fear the word, for love.

Because the "greatness of our institutions" has not matched "the grandeur of our intentions,"² we are witnessing both in our nation and in our world a revolution of peoples against what Emmanuel Mounier called

the "established disorder." Everywhere we see populations caught between soaring hopes and immovable traditions.

In our nation this has produced the Negro revolution, a revolution against centuries of indifference and neglect, of oppression and exploitation. It is a revolution that is not over—indeed it has only begun.

But it is a revolution that we know now is destined to succeed.

Its success is assured because the people of this nation have realized that the perpetuation of a separate Negro nation in our midst—a nation whose people have been "deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred"—in President Johnson's phrase—is morally intolerable.

While peaceful protest and legal redress of grievances have been important, in the end moral indignation has been decisive in bringing recognition of the validity of the Negro revolution in the United States.

Pursuit of justice has triumphed over narrow self-interest. Justice has triumphed because modern prophets—from John LaFare to Martin Luther King—have aroused our consciences and incited our action against an "established disorder" based on racial hatred, the most pernicious form of injustice to exist in our time.

¹ Made at commencement exercises at Fordham University, New York, N.Y., on June 9.

² As-delivered text of remarks made by President Johnson at the Alfred E. Smith memorial dinner at New York, N.Y., on Oct. 14, 1964. White House press release dated Oct. 14.

The Revolution Against Poverty

In pursuing justice—the supreme virtue in the political order—an equally important challenge for a man of our time is that posed by the growing disparity between rich nations and poor, the widening gap between the affluent minority and the impoverished masses of the human race.

A central fact of this decade—which will be larger and larger for graduates of the class of 1965—is that Western societies are exceedingly rich and almost all others are exceedingly poor.

A small fraction of the human race living around the North Atlantic enjoys per capita incomes of \$1,000 to \$2,800 per year. Two-thirds of humanity subsists on a per capita income of less than \$200 per year.

It may be accidental—but it is surely not irrelevant—that most of the first group are white and most of the second are colored.

Since 1960 the gap between the two groups has accelerated. To understand why it has been growing, one need only recall that in 1964 the United States added \$30 billion to its gross national product—the equivalent of 50 percent of the total national income of Latin America and 100 percent of the income of Africa.

The relevance of this problem to the university graduate of today, and the obligation of nations that are rich and advanced toward those that are poor and undeveloped, was spelled out in bold language by Pope John XXIII in his encyclical *Mater et Magistra*. He stated:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes members of the same family requires political responsibilities enjoying an abundance of material resources not to remain indifferent to those political problems whose citizens suffer from poverty, hunger, and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

"This is particularly true since, given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is impossible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist.

He concluded:

"We are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to educate our conscience to the sense of responsibility which

weighs upon each and every one, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods.

Just as our generation has inherited the responsibility for bringing to fulfillment the Negro revolution at home, it lies with your generation to insure the triumph of the revolution against crushing poverty around the world.

The Responsibility of the Western World

We who live in the Western World have a special responsibility, for it was we who launched the technological revolution that has produced dazzling wealth in the midst of squalor.

We not only initiated the technological revolution but we have spread it to the world at large. And today we tolerate—by limited exertion if not by inaction—inconceivable disparities of wealth and destitution.

As we in the United States are among those "more blessed with this world's goods," to use the Pope's phrase, we have a special obligation to take the lead in reducing these inequities.

It is obvious that problems of poor nations will not be solved by external efforts alone. No transfer of resources from the rich nations to the poor will alone be sufficient.

It requires a massive effort by local leaders in a country to end the shocking inequality between privileged and impoverished, between glittering capitals and festering slums, between privileged urban enclaves and neglected rural areas.

It requires not only the availability of technical resources but vision and will and determination on the part of those who would break the tyranny of poverty and bring to their peoples the wonders of the modern world.

But our recognition of this fact should not blind us to the compelling truth that nations that are poor and undeveloped stand little chance of success without the help of those which are rich.

It is not necessary here to engage in a detailed analysis of the process of development in undeveloped nations. Once we recog-

nize the existence of a universal common good and of international social justice—and show a willingness to commit ourselves to it—the technical problems of assistance can be solved. Not without difficulty—but they can be solved.

Trade, aid, and private investment all will be needed to meet the requirements of developing nations—that is, if the poor nations of the world are to have a chance of breaking the ancient cycle.

Despite our efforts since World War II to accelerate economic and social development, we are just standing still. During the past 3 years we have failed to progress at all; indeed, we are slowing down.

Yet each day we learn anew that the disorder which persists cannot be ended by political maneuver or military power alone. We learn anew of outbreaks of violence and turbulence, of peaceful revolutions turned into violent ones. We learn anew of disorder which invites communism—which so often comes as the scavenger of ruined revolutions.

Peace Threatened by Economic Deprivation

We now know that peace can be threatened by other forces than armies crossing borders and bombs and missiles falling from the sky. Peace can be threatened by social and economic deprivation, by destitution and hunger. If we are concerned about “peacekeeping” in all its aspects, then we dare not ignore this explosive threat which can erupt at any time.

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³ BULLETIN of Feb. 6, 1961, p. 175.

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