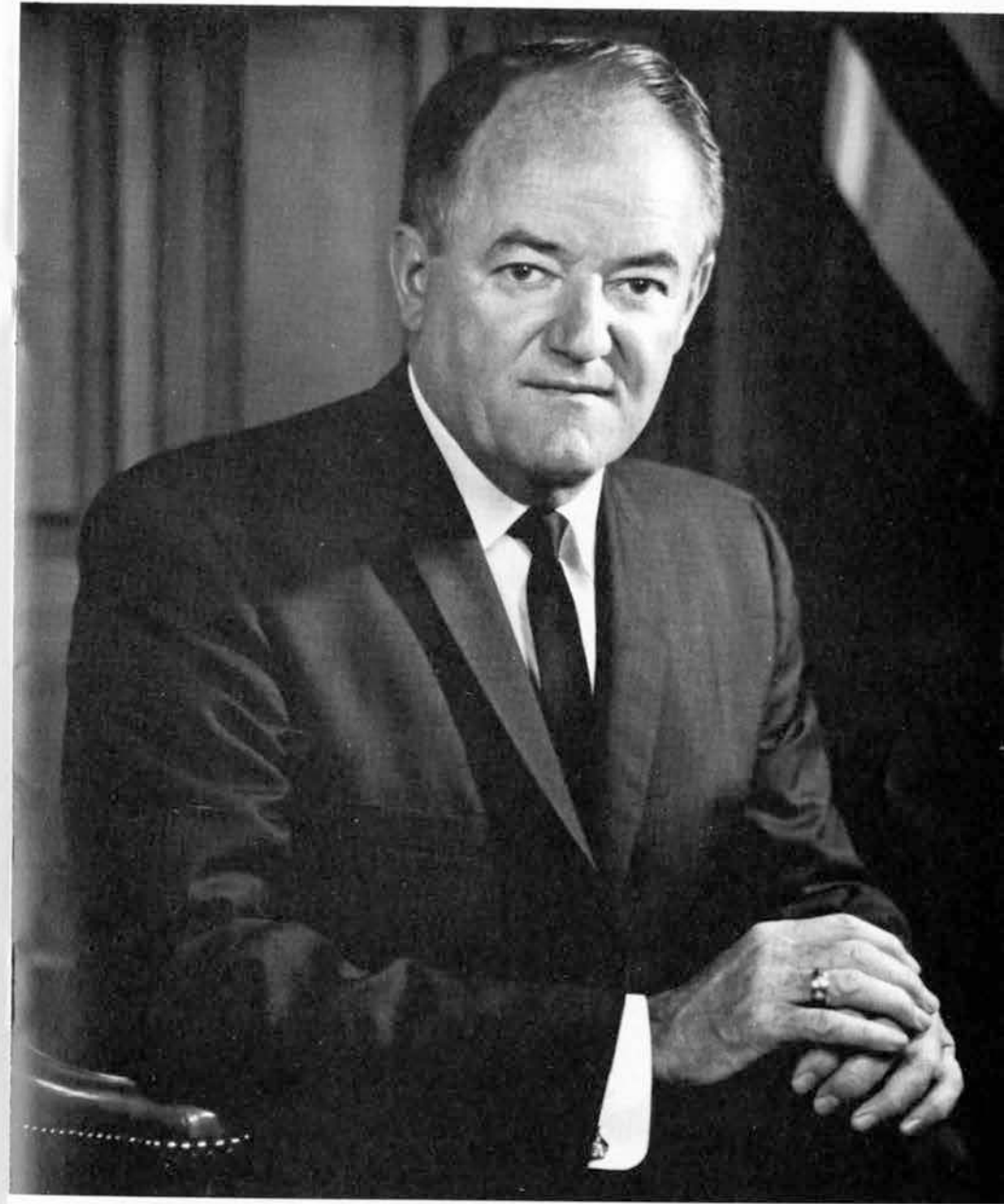


Address by
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
before
ROTC Graduates
University of Minnesota
Minneapolis
June 11, 1966



"Today you begin your service in the most powerful military establishment yet known to man. You can be rightfully proud of your new responsibility. But as you serve, I ask you to know and to ponder the cause that you uphold. I ask you to remember the promise of America."



Today, you receive your commissions as officers in the service of your country. As such, you will be associated with military power far beyond that ever seen before on earth.

A little more than a year ago, at Johns Hopkins University, our President spoke of military power. "We often say how impressive power is," he said. "But I do not find it impressive at all. The guns and the bombs, the rockets and the warships, are all symbols of human failure. They are necessary symbols. They protect what we cherish. But they are witness to human folly."

I think that few Americans would disagree with what President Johnson said—few, particularly, among those who wear our nation's military uniform.

Our Military Leaders

It is to the eternal credit of this country that some of our finest military officers have been great civilians at heart. I think of General Eisenhower, General Bradley, and General Marshall, to mention just a few. No Americans have demonstrated a greater dedication to freedom and a greater respect for civilian authority than these men.

There is something else that needs to be said about our military men. They are nation-builders as well, and they are engaged in this task in many places on this earth—building schools, teaching, opening health centers, doing the works of peace as well as of war.

No Arrogance in U.S. Power

I have heard it said that our country today suffers from an "arrogance of power."

I dispute that.

If anything, our country has been—in my generation and yours—perhaps overhesitant in the necessary application of its power.

As a people, we abhor the use of force. We oppose coercion. We suspect those who give orders. We live by the creed, and rightly so, that each person and each nation should have maximum freedom to pursue individual destiny—so long as that pursuit does not trample on the rights of others.

In our time, there has been some trampling. And, because of our hesitancy in the use of power, we have sometimes waited too long to respond to it—yes, with tragic result.

And I don't mean this just in the international sense.

It took us a long time in this century to get very excited about trampling going on among our fellow citizens.

Positive Efforts for the Oppressed

But we ultimately did respond, and we are responding still.

We did not respond merely in the sense of punishing transgressors. No, we responded, and are responding, with positive laws, actions, and ideas to lift the oppressed.

There is no negative philosophy behind our efforts today to give the Negro American an unfettered chance to get an even break in life. Nor is there anything negative about our efforts, in America's urban ghettos, to make the walls come tumbling down . . . nor in our efforts to help young children, from families bent by generations of poverty, break out of desperate spirals of despair and hopelessness.

We do, however, maintain police forces. And—unless the Great Society, this better America that we work and pray for, comes to full achievement sooner than any of us think—we'll need them for some time to come.

This does not mean that we are committed to the use of force—it is evidence, rather, that the business of democracy is still unfinished.

Reaction to Overseas Challenges

If our reaction time has been slow at home, it has been slower in the world.

Let us be frank: It took two disastrous world wars to convince us that we had better take an interest in what was happening around us.

Since the end of World War II, we *have* engaged ourselves. I will not recite today the accomplishments of the Marshall Plan, of Point Four, of Food for Peace. Nor will I speculate about what might have happened in the world had we not stood firm in Berlin, in Korea, or in the Cuban missile crisis.

Each one of these decisions carried with it the possibility of war—and in the case of Korea, the actuality of war. The

role of leadership is not an easy one. It is hard and dangerous, but it is necessary.

Yet we only begin to appreciate the massive tasks which still face us ahead.

Challenge in Vietnam

Today there is a challenge from totalitarianism in Southeast Asia. There is, in Vietnam, a shooting war.

I have no doubt that there will inevitably be a settlement in Vietnam—although there may be much pain and heartbreak in between.

But, even if peace were to come tomorrow in Vietnam, we would face a world still on the verge of daily explosion.

For we live in a world where there exist ideologies openly in opposition to man's independence and self-determination.

World Nuclear Peril

We live in a world where, if a button were pushed at this moment, this city would disappear in a half-hour's time.

We live in a world—and this is the most important of all—where two-thirds of our fellow men live in such abject poverty that it is beyond our imagination.

What chance is there for the future of peace and of the human family in such an environment?

How shall we respond?

We must respond with the commitment of our power.

The Full Range of Power

I do not mean military power alone.

I mean the power of our free economic system. I mean the power of our well-trained and dedicated people. I mean the power of our compassion. I mean the power of our ideas.

More powerful than any army is an idea whose time has come.

The Revolution of Human Freedom

The idea of our time is that of our own American Revolution: That men ought to have the right to govern themselves . . . that men should be able to make their own choices, to chart their own lives.

This is the real revolution in the world. It has little to do with Karl Marx or with the racial supremacists or with the people who march in jackboots.

This is the revolution of human freedom.

And, if you put your ear to the ground, you can hear the tramping feet of that revolution from a million villages around this earth. People are on the march. They will not be denied.

Nor shall they be.

Whether oppression exists in an Asian rice field, where a man's home is burned, his crop stolen, his son kidnapped; whether it exists in a comfortable, well-lighted motel along an American highway where a Negro father, his wife and children are turned away from lodging . . . we cannot turn our eyes.

"Monuments" To Justice

Our monuments need not be, after all, a thousand lost golf balls.

Our monuments can be a nation and a world where there will be no knocks at the door at night . . . where there will be no armies of occupation . . . where there will be no breadlines, no political prisons, no swastikas and slogans of hate . . . where no man's skin, or last name, or religion will be a mark against him.

Our monuments can be a nation and world where each young man knows that, so long as he respects the rights of others, the future lies open ahead . . . that he may go where he wishes . . . say what he pleases . . . that he may be himself . . . that he may make his place in life, without any taps on the shoulder.

These are the tasks for American power.

These are the tasks to be undertaken, not with arrogance but with humility and determination.

Your New Responsibility

Today, you begin your service in the most powerful military establishment yet known to man. You can rightfully be proud of your new responsibility.

But, as you serve, I ask you to know and to ponder the cause that you uphold. I ask you to remember the promise of America. I ask you to know the precious ideal that depends upon you for its protection. It is the ideal that men were born to be free. You are the guardians of that ideal—the protectors not only of our own freedom, but the freedom of others, both those who presently have it and those who aspire to it.

Dr Wilson

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

ROTC GRADUATES

JUNE 11, 1966

*army
navy
airforce*

It is the tradition of the University of Minnesota that the recipients of honorary degrees not give speeches.

It is probably a good idea. Someone must have realized years ago that the university risked embarrassment if those being honored had a chance to publicly expose themselves.

However, the regents of the university did not outsmart Hubert Humphrey. I may not have a chance to talk at the ceremony, but I do have my chance to talk here.

I do promise not to talk long.

ROTC -

- 2 -

Today you ^{will} receive your commissions as officers in the service of your country. As such, you will be associated with military power far beyond that ever seen before on earth. - ROTC Training for Leadership

A little more than a year ago, at John Hopkins University, our President spoke of military power. "We often say how impressive power is," he said. "But I do not find it impressive at all. The guns and the bombs, the rockets and the warships, are all symbols of human failure. They are necessary symbols. They protect what we cherish. But they are witness to human folly."

I doubt that few Americans would disagree with what President Johnson said -- few, particularly, among those who wear our nation's military uniform.

I have heard it said that our country today suffers from an "arrogance of power".

our
military
Civil
Action
Unit

Education
Diplomats
Congress

I dispute that.

If anything, our country has been -- in my generation and yours -- perhaps overhesitant in the necessary application of its power.

As a people, we abhor the use of force. We oppose coercion. We suspect those who give orders. We live by the creed, and rightly so, that each person and each nation should have maximum freedom to pursue individual destiny -- so long as that pursuit does not trample on the rights of others.

In our time there has been some trampling. And, because of our hesitancy in the use of power, we have sometimes waited too long to respond to it -- yes, with tragic result.

And I don't mean this just in the international sense.

*no
Fascism
Communism
Nazis
Dictatorship*

It took us a long time in this century to get very excited about trampling going on among our fellow citizens.

↳ But we did respond, and we are responding still.

↳ We did not respond in the sense of punishing transgressors. No, we responded, and are responding, with ~~ten thousand~~ positive laws, actions, ^{and} ideas designed to lift the oppressed.

↳ There is no negative philosophy behind our efforts today to give the Negro American an unfettered chance to get an even break in life. Nor is there anything negative about our efforts, in America's urban ghettos, to make the walls come tumbling down . . . nor in our efforts to help young children, from families ^{scrapped} bent by generations of poverty, ^{to} break desperate spirals of despair and hopelessness.

↳ We do, however, maintain police forces.

And -- unless the Great Society comes to full achievement sooner than any of us think -- we'll need them for some time to come.

↳ If our reaction time has been slow at home, it has been slower in the world.

↳ Let us be frank: It took two disastrous world wars to convince us that we had better take an interest in what was happening around us.

↳ Since the end of World War II, we have engaged ourselves. I will not recite today the accomplishments of the Marshall Plan, of Point Four, of Food for Peace. *- H.M.N.*
Nor will I speculate about what might have happened in the world had we not stood firm in Berlin, in Korea, or in the Cuban missile crisis.

↳ Yet we only begin to appreciate the massive tasks which still face us ahead.

Today there is a challenge from totalitarianism in Southeast Asia. There is, in Vietnam, a shooting war.

I have no doubt that there will inevitably be a settlement in Vietnam -- although there may be months of pain and heartbreak in-between.

But, even if peace were to come tomorrow in Vietnam, we would face a world still on the verge of daily explosion.

For we live in a world where there exist ideologies openly in opposition to man's independence and self-determination.

We live in a world where, if a button were pushed at this moment, this city would disappear in a half-hour's time.

∟ We live in a world -- and this is the most important of all -- where two-thirds of our fellow men live in such abject poverty that it is beyond our imagination.

∟ The future of peace and of the human family stands what chance in such an environment?

∟ How shall we respond? —

∟ We must respond with the commitment of our power.

∟ I do not mean military power alone.

I mean the power of our free economic system.

I mean the power of our well-trained and dedicated people.

I mean the power of our compassion. I mean the power of our ideas.

∟ More powerful than any army is an idea whose time has come.

∟ The idea of our time is that of our own American Revolution: That men ought to have the right to govern themselves . . . that men should be able to make their own choices, to chart their own lives.

∟ This is the real revolution in the world. It has little to do with Karl Marx or with the racial supremacists or with the people who march in jackboots.

This is the revolution of human freedom.

∟ And, if you put your ear to the ground, you can hear the tramping feet of that revolution from a million villages around this earth. People are on the march. They will not be denied.

~~Nor shall they be.~~

Whether oppression exists in an Asian rice field, where a man's home is burned, his crop stolen, his son kidnaped; whether it exists in a comfortable, well-lighted motel along an American highway where a Negro father, his wife and children are turned away from lodging . . . we cannot turn *away and close* our eyes.

Our monuments need not be, after all, a thousand lost golf balls.

Our monuments can be a nation and a world where there will be no knocks at the door at night . . . where there will be no armies of occupation . . . where there will be no breadlines, no political prisons, no swastikas and slogans of hate . . . where no man's skin, or last name, or religion will be a mark against him.

(x) Maya Johnson
Proust Darland
- DICK Griggs

Bill Montague

John Blatnick

Gerald Heaney

Enrollment

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1966 4400

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Our monuments can be a nation and world
where each young man knows that, so long as he
respects the rights of others, the future lies open
ahead . . . that he may go where he wishes . . .
say what he pleases . . . that he may be himself

Thomas Wolfe
... that he may make his place in life, without
any taps on the shoulder.

*→ This is the meaning
of America.*

These are the tasks for American power.

These are the tasks to be undertaken, not with
arrogance but with humility and determination.

Today you begin your service in the most
powerful military establishment yet known to man.

But as you serve, know the cause you uphold.

Know the responsibility you carry. Know the precious
idea that depends on you for its protection -- the idea
that man was intended to be free.

REMARKS BY HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES,
AT 1966 PRE-COMMISSIONING CEREMONY, - ROTC
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Thank you, Dr. Wilson, Dean Shepherd, Father Garrelts, Captain Marshall, Colonel Beard, Major Gill and the other officers of the armed forces, faculty members of the University, and the reserve officers, those that soon will be commissioned, those that have prepared themselves for this role of leadership, and friends and fellow Minnesotans.

I consider this a rather singular privilege and honor to be invited to participate in this Pre-Commissioning Ceremony. I felt this way when I served as a member of the United States Senate. I feel it even more so as your Vice President. Only a few days ago, it was my privilege to be at West Point, an occasion that I shall long remember. I have visited all of our academies -- the Army, the Navy, the Air Force -- I have been to our Marine bases, I have been to the Coast Guard, yes, the Merchant Marine, and every time I see a group of young men who are preparing themselves for leadership responsibilities I say, in all reverence, a note of thanks and of gratitude to the Divine Providence, because truly this nation needs leadership now and in the days ahead that is prepared and trained and dedicated.

You know, it is the tradition of the University of Minnesota that the recipients of honorary degrees not give speeches. And since I have been informed through the propaganda grapevine that I might receive such a degree tonight, I thought I ought to take advantage of any opportunity that might be afforded me to say a word. I suppose, however, that now this tradition of not giving speeches when you receive an honorary degree is a good one.

You know, someone must have realized years ago that the University risked embarrassment if those being honored had a chance to publicly expose themselves.

However, the Regents of the University did not outsmart Hubert Humphrey. I may not have a chance, Dr. Wilson, to talk at the ceremony tonight, but I do have my chance to talk here, and out of gratitude for that chance, I promise not to talk too long.

Today you men before me will receive your commissions as officers in the service of your country. And as such, you will be associated with military power far beyond that ever known or ever seen before on this earth.

A little more than a year ago, at Johns Hopkins University, your Commander-in-Chief and our President spoke of our military power. Here is what he said. "We often say how impressive power is, but I do not find it impressive at all. The guns and the bombs, the rockets and the warships, are all symbols of human failure. They are necessary symbols. They protect what we cherish. But they are witness to human folly."

I doubt that very few Americans would disagree with what President Johnson had to say -- few, particularly, among those who wear our nation's military uniform. It is to the eternal credit of this country that the finest military officers that we have are truly great civilians at heart. When you think of men of the stature of General Eisenhower, General Bradley, General Marshall, just to mention a few, I submit that there have never been people that had a greater love of liberty, a greater dedication to freedom, and a greater respect for civilian authority than these men. And there is something else that needs to be said of our military. It is not just a military of fighting men. It is a military of building men, and these men before me, President Wilson, will do, I am sure, as others have done and as many are doing now in many places on this earth. They will be having to give life and not take it. They will be building schools. They will be opening health centers. They will be teaching. They will be nation building. And I must submit that one of the unique qualities

of the American defense structure is that it does defend precious values and it does build. I commend the reserve officer training corps for giving us men of this quality, because the truth is that most of the officers of our armed forces today are from ROTC or from the training that takes place within the military establishment itself. And you have given a might good account of yourselves. The nation owes every one of you a debt of gratitude. So keep it in mind now what I have said about the necessity of a military establishment even though it does reveal man's folly. May I just share with you a few of my thoughts today about the times in which we live. You see, I have heard it said, and you have too, that our nation today suffers from an "arrogance of power."

I dispute that.

If anything, our country has been -- in my generation and yours -- perhaps overhesitant in the necessary application of power.

As a people, we abhor the use of force. We oppose coercion. We even suspect those who give orders. We live by the creed, and rightly so, that each person and each nation should have the maximum freedom to pursue individual destiny -- so long as that pursuit does not trample on the rights of others. But in our time there has been some trampling on the rights of others -- Nazism, fascism, militarism, communism, dictatorship -- and a terrible toll has been paid. Because of our hesitancy in the use of power, we have sometimes waited too long to respond to it -- with tragic result.

Now I'm not speaking only of military power. And I don't mean this just in the international sense.

For example, it took us a long time in this century to get very excited about the trampling that was going on among our fellow citizens.

But, ultimately, we did respond, and we are responding still.

We did not respond in the sense of punishing transgressors. No, we responded, and are responding, with positive laws -- hundreds of them, thousands of actions and ideas designed to aid and to lift the oppressed.

There is no negative philosophy behind our efforts today to give the Negro American an unfettered chance to get an even break in life. Nor is there anything negative about our efforts, in America's urban ghettos, the shame of our nation, to make the walls come tumbling down....nor in our efforts to help young children, from the families that are bent and crippled by generations of poverty, to break that desperate spiral of despair and hopelessness. These are acts of commitment and of fulfillment of the American promise.

We do, however, of course, have to maintain police forces, even in our communities. And -- unless the Great Society, this better American that we hope for and pray for, comes to full achievement sooner than any of us think -- we're going to need police forces for some time to come. But the police force does not mean that we're committed to force. It is only a manifestation of the unfinished business of democracy.

Now if our reaction time has been slow at home, and it has^{, it has} been slower in the world.

Let us be very frank with one another: It took two disastrous world wars to convince us that we had better take an active interest in what was happening around this world.

Since the end of World War II, we have taken an interest and we have engaged ourselves. Tuesday of this week, I spent the day at the United Nations. This is a revelation of the engagement that we have made with the world, the interest that we have now in this world of ours. I will not recite today the accomplishments of the Marshall Plan, of Point Four, of the Alliance for Progress,

of Food for Peace, or even of the United Nations, but they are all manifestations of or all examples of our involvement with the world that we cannot escape and one indeed that we ought not to try to escape from. Nor will I speculate about what might have happened in this world had we not stood firm in Berlin, and ran the risk of confrontation with an enemy, or in Korea, where we did have to face the enemy on the battlefield, or in the Cuban missile crisis. Every decision may I say to those who look back on those decisions, every one of them filled with the possibility of struggle and war. One of them brought war. I mention this because I think it is time that the American people understand that the role of leadership is not an easy one. It is dangerous, and it is hard work, but it is necessary. Yet we only began to appreciate the massive tasks which still face us in the days ahead. But we should be unafraid of those tasks.

Today there is the challenge and the aggression from totalitarianism in Southeast Asia. There is, in fact in Vietnam, a shooting war.

I have no doubt that there will inevitably be a settlement in Vietnam, of course -- although I must say to you there may be months of pain and heart-break in between. But that area will be permitted to make its own choice, to have self-determination. The aggression will be checked. But, even if peace were to come tomorrow in Vietnam, we would still face a world on the verge of daily explosion.

For we live in a world where there exist ideologies openly in opposition to man's independence and self-determination, and these are active ideologies, militant.

We live in a world where, if a button were pushed at this moment, this entire city, this whole metropolitan area, would disappear in a half-hour's time.

We live in a world -- and this is the most important of all -- where two-thirds of our fellow men live in such abject poverty that it is beyond our imagination. And a world of want is a dangerous world. A world of continuing despair is a world filled with the possibility of destruction. The greatest menace to peace today is want and poverty and despair of the two-thirds of the population of this globe.

The future of peace and of the human family is at stake, and we ask ourselves how does that future stand a chance in such an environment as I have portrayed?

How shall we respond? And it will do no good for us to say that it isn't our responsibility. While it is not ours entirely, much has been given unto us and much is expected of us. The role of leadership is not one of luxury and leisure. It is one of responsibility. It is not a cloak of comfort but the robe of responsibility. And you cannot take pride in leadership for America and not also recognize that you take on the burdens of the world.

So how shall we respond? I say to all of my fellow Americans that we must respond with the commitment of our power.

Now I do not mean military power alone, because military power alone avails nothing.

I mean instead the power of our free economic system put to work in a world that needs help. I mean the power of our well-trained and dedicated people put to work at home and abroad. I mean the power of our compassion in a world that yearns for someone to care. And I mean the power of our ideas, because they're the right ideas.

More powerful than any army is an idea whose time has come.

The idea of our time is that of our American revolution: That men ought to have the right to govern themselves..... that men should be able to make

their own choices, to chart their own lives without coercion, without being forced.

Now this is the real revolution in the world, and it has little to do with Karl Marx or with Lenin or with the racial supremacists or with the people who march in jackboots.

The real revolution is the revolution of human freedom.

And, if you'll just put your ear to the ground, you can hear the tramping feet of that revolution from a million villages on this earth. The people are on the march, and they will not be denied.

Nor should they be.

Whether oppression exists in an Asian rice field, where a man's home is burned, his crop stolen, his son kidnaped; whether it exists in a comfortable, well-lighted motel along an American highway where a Negro father, his wife and children are being turned away from lodging.....we cannot turn away and close our eyes. To do so would be morally wrong, and above all this nation should be moral.

Our monuments, therefore, need not be a thousand lost golf balls.

Our monuments can be a nation and a world where there will be no knock at the door at midnight....where there will be no armies of occupation.....where there will be no breadlines, no political prisons, no swastikas and slogans of hate.....where no man's skin, or last name, or religion will be a mark against him.

Our monuments can be a nation and a world where each young man knows that, so long as he respects the rights of others, the future lies open to him, the road is clear ahead.....that he may go where he wishes.....say what he pleases.....that he may be himself.....and that he may make his place in life, without any tap on the shoulder.

To me, this is the meaning of America. Thomas Wolfe, a respected American author, put it this way, and I believe that this spells out what our country is all about. "To every man, regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live and to work, to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him." This is the promise of America. That's what America means to me, and it means that to hundreds of millions of people across the face of this earth.

Now these, therefore, are the tasks for American power. These are the tasks to be undertaken, not with arrogance, but with humility and determination.

Today you men begin your service, I repeat, in the most powerful military establishment yet known to man. And you can be rightfully proud, but as you serve in your role of responsibility, I ask you to ponder and to know the cause that you uphold, to remember the promise of America. Know the responsibility that you carry and know that precious idea that depends on you for its protection. What idea? The idea that man was intended to be free and that you are, in part, guardians of that idea, protectors, not only of our freedom, but of the freedom of others who seek it, aspire to it, or may have it.

My congratulations to each and every one of you.



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