

FOR RELEASE SUNDAY AM's  
MAY 28, 1967

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
COMMENCEMENT -- COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS  
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA  
MAY 27, 1967

"We should live in our age, know it, be in touch with it . . . our work is in the present and not in the past."

Those words were not spoken last week, but in 1897 by the founder of this college, Archbishop John Ireland.

In Archbishop Ireland's time, the old frontier was fading before the new industrial revolution.

Individual relationships were yielding to struggle between capitol and labor.

The industrial revolution, and the resulting urbanization of society, were destroying the bonds of human solidarity which had bound Americans together in a largely rural society.

Archbishop Ireland was among the first to see that the critique of industrial exploitation -- and the plea for social justice -- contained in Pope Leo XIII's encyclical "Rerum Novarum" applied to the United States as well as to Europe.

Monsignor John A. Ryan, a Professor at St. Thomas College, exposed the moral hollowness of the prevailing laissez faire philosophy, and played an important role in achieving a general recognition in the United States that social justice -- not unrestrained profit-seeking -- should be the guiding norm for society.

For Monsignor Ryan, and others, recognized that men needed each other, and that man's interdependence, increasingly a physical fact of life, was also a moral necessity.

Pope Leo XIII, Archbishop Ireland and Monsignor Ryan addressed themselves to the problem of social justice in a national context. Today we must focus on justice in a global setting.

Pope Paul in his new encyclical on "The Development of Peoples" has stated the situation clearly: "Today the principal fact we must all recognize is that the social question has become world-wide."

Yes, the world has become a "village planet."

But, regrettably, too many of our loyalties and institutions remain tribal, not planetary.

To replace the tribal community with a global community requires the growth of new loyalties . . . the establishment of new institutions . . . and the acceptance of new obligations.

In building such a global community, we face one clear and overwhelming challenge: The widening gap between the rich nations and the poor.

Everywhere we see people caught between soaring hopes and immovable traditions.

Everywhere we see a revolution against what Emmanuel Mounier called the "established disorder."

And we know that, in today's world, peace can be threatened by social and economic deprivation, by destitution and hunger as well as by armies crossing borders and bombs falling from the sky.

How do we meet this threat? Pope Paul VI has rightly stated that "Development is the new name for peace."

But "development" cannot be limited to economic growth. It must promote the good of the whole man.

"Development" is not just a matter of eliminating hunger, or even of reducing poverty. The struggle against physical destitution is not enough.

It is a question rather of building a world where each man, no matter what his race, religion or nationality, can live a fully human life . . . a world where each man may be freed from the servitude imposed on him by other men or by natural forces he is unable to control.

It is a question, in short, of building a world where freedom is not an empty word.

In this striving for real development, we who live in the Western world have a special responsibility.

It was we who launched the technological revolution that has produced such dazzling wealth in the midst of squalor.

It is we who have spread it to the world at large.

And today we tolerate -- by limited exertion if not by inaction -- inconceivable and growing disparities of wealth and destitution.

The hard facts are these:

In this world, only some 800 million people have per-capita income of over 750 dollars a year.

Another 400 million earn between 250 and 750 dollars a year.

The remaining 2.2 billion earn less than 250 dollars per year. (And almost half of these earn less than 100 dollars a year)

Does anyone think this disparity can continue without the eventual outbreak of serious violence and war -- without new Cubas, Congos and Dominican Republics?

How are we going to close this gap?

It will require determined effort by local leaders to mobilize local resources.

And by "local resources" I mean not just material resources. I mean, also, resources of vision and will and determination on the part of leaders who would bring their nations into the 20th century.

But no matter how much the poor nations help themselves, we cannot evade the fact that they 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. 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.

In the final analysis the most difficult questions which you and I must answer -- are those stated bluntly by Pope Paul in his encyclical:

"Let each one examine his conscience, a conscience that conveys a new message of our times. Is he prepared to support out of his own pocket works and undertakings organized in favor of the most destitute? Is he ready to pay higher taxes so that the public authorities can intensify their efforts in favor of development? Is he ready to pay a higher price for imported goods so that the producer may be more justly rewarded? Or to leave this country, if necessary and if he is young, in order to assist in this development of the young nations?"

History has shown that man will pay a high price for the victories of war. It remains to be seen whether he will sacrifice for the development required for peace.

We are challenged, then, today to transfer the standard which has become an accepted norm in modern national societies to the international community. This is revolutionary doctrine.

It will entail, among other things, revision of the existing North-South pattern of international trade.

As Pope Paul's encyclical pointed out: "An economy of exchange can no longer be based solely on the law of free competition. Freedom of trade is fair only if it is subject to the demands of social justice."

The Pope's admonition has already been heeded to some degree in the Kennedy Round trade negotiation. In that negotiation the rich nations have agreed to a new program of food aid for the poor. And they are now considering the immediate extension of trade concessions to the developing countries which will not be fully extended to the developed for another five years.

But this is only a beginning.

As we prepare for the next meeting of the United Nations Conference on Trade and Development, to be held in New Delhi in 1968, we must re-examine many of our old basic premises.

For instance, President Johnson has already indicated that we are ready now to explore the possible benefit of temporary preferential tariff advantages for all developing countries in the markets of all the industrialized countries.

What about development assistance aside from trade?

The United States -- and other developed nations -- are contributing less than .7 of one per cent of their Gross National Product today. We stand guilty, just as others do.

I know there are experts who claim the poor nations cannot usefully absorb too much more.

But the World Bank estimates that developing nations can efficiently absorb twice the amount of capital today as a decade ago. Yet the trend in contributions continues downward.

Not only is the amount of financial assistance inadequate.

There is the obvious need for achieving a better balance between population and available resources.

Debt burdens have mounted to staggering heights.

And trained talent is steadily drained from developing countries -- depriving them of not only technical talent but of their natural political and social leaders as well.

As we celebrate this June the 20th anniversary of the Marshall Plan, I believe the industrialized nations of the world must renew their determination to provide aid at the level that it is needed.

I say the World Bank is right. According to present rates of economic growth, the foreign aid contribution of developed countries could well be doubled.

As we look toward the next decade, we should not exclude the possibility that the Soviet Union and Eastern European countries can cooperate in carrying this burden.

The participation of the Soviet Union in the World Bank's consortia for India and Pakistan would be a welcomed first-step -- which could lead to broader participation in the future.

If we are to meet this challenge in all its aspects, 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.

To make the moral weight of the Church felt at the grassroots level, the Pope established in January of this year a Papal Commission on Justice and Peace.

Working with parallel national secretariats, and cooperating closely with the World Council of Churches, the Commission on Justice and Peace can do much to mobilize public support for the development of efforts ahead.



We know that basic social injustices will be corrected -- whether the race problem in our nation, or the poverty problem in our world -- only when public opinion has been aroused. Our experience has shown that justice has triumphed over injustice . . . the conscience of the present over the memory of the past, only after men and women of conscience formed in a Judeo-Christian tradition took their convictions seriously and translated them into action.

Closing the gap between rich and poor is not something to be achieved in a period of months or even years. We must avoid becoming what the poet Meredith called "too soon despairers." But we must close that gap -- 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."

Finally, may I add this: We should be careful not to confuse a recognition of the moral unity and interdependence of mankind with the political messianism of a nation, class or race.

Our acceptance of the obligation to help the poor does not mean that we have either the obligation or intention to impose our political and social institutions on other countries or continents.

Our recognition of our responsibility carries with it no claim that power and virtue are synonomous, that the power of the most powerful must be harnessed to spread one version of virtue. It does not imply that any one nation can claim to be the engine that makes the moral universe go around.

It is the task of both the graduation class of 1967 and of our generation to convince the legislatures and the executives -- of all developed nations -- 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.

"Development is the new name for peace."

All men profess to seek peace. But peace is like a flower -- it needs fertile soil in which 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, and of health and hope.

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.

It is our task today, and it will be yours tomorrow, to bring men closer to the day when social justice for all is no longer a dream but a reality, all over this world.

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① Baseball Team  
Dubuque

② Sen McCarthy

# REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

COMMENCEMENT

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS

ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

MAY 27, 1967

Your Excellencies  
Trustees of  
the College

Your Excellencies  
Archbishop Bing

Bishop Shannon

Bishop Schledewyler  
Schlod-Ireland

③ msgr O'Donnell  
msgr Murphy  
President of St. Thomas

Trustees - Faculty  
Students

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↳ Pope Paul <sup>VI</sup> in his new encyclical on "The Development of Peoples" has stated the situation clearly: "Today the principal fact we must all recognize is that the social question has become world-wide." (I discussed this encyclical)

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~~This is the Challenge of the last third of the 20th Century.~~



↳ In building such a global community, we face one clear and overwhelming challenge: The widening gap between the rich nations and the poor. *This is the challenge of the last third of the 20th century.*

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It is a question rather of building a world where each man, no matter what his race, religion or nationality, can live a fully human life ... a world where each man may be freed from the servitude imposed on him by other men or by natural forces <sup>that</sup> he is unable to control.

← { It is a question, in short, of building a world where freedom is not an empty word, *and where aggression is no longer tolerated.*

*and* { In this striving for real development, we who live in the Western world have a special responsibility.

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# # #

*use this*

St. Thomas College Commencement  
May 27, 1967

Ladies and Gentlemen, it is a privilege for me to present to you the Vice President of the United States, The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

VICE PRESIDENT: Thank you. Thank you, very much. Thank you, Monsignor Murphy, the distinguished President of St. Thomas College; Your Excellency Archbishop Benz. May I say how pleased we all are tonight. Bishop Shannon and Bishop Audwiler, members of the faculty of St. Thomas, trustees, our friend Monsignor O'Donnell, students and graduates.

First of all, may I tell you that I did say to Monsignor O'Donnell that he could interrupt my Commencement Address if he had any baseball scores that were worthy of your listening. If he doesn't interrupt, you'll know that it's either a tie game or we're not doing too well. Secondly, I should like to bring you the greetings of a very distinguished public servant that holds a special sense of warmth and affection in his heart for this great college and I refer to the senior United States Senator from Minnesota, Senator Eugene McCarthy who would like to be remembered on this occasion as any other occasion. And then may I say to the

graduates that an occasion such as this is one where you are talked at, it's not necessary for you to listen, it's in a form for discussion and I hope the topic is worthy of your attention. I thought tonight that I would share with you an experience, or at least the substance of an experience, that Mrs. Humphrey and I had about seven weeks ago in Rome in the Vatican when it was our privilege to have a fine visit with His Holiness Pope Paul VI, and when it was my privilege to have a personal, private audience with him on a range of subjects of vital concern to humanity, but above all, the encyclical which had just been released and published on the development of mankind and the discussion that we had on that memorable occasion for me, at least, of that all important encyclical. And it's within that framework that I come to you this evening, and I'm sure you know that I'm delighted to be here. This is home. It means a great deal to Muriel and myself to be amongst our friends and to know that we are present on an occasion that means so much to the graduates, to those who are completing their course of study at this great college and to the parents and friends of those graduates.

I wonder how many of you remember this quotation--  
"we should live in our age, know it, be in touch with it,

our work is in the present and not in the past." Now, those words were not spoken last week nor last year, but in fact in 1897 by the Founder of this college, His Excellency Archbishop John Ireland. In Archbishop Ireland's time the old frontier was fading before the new industrial revolution that was engulfing America, individual relationships were yielding to struggle between Capital and labor. The industrial revolution and the resulting urbanization of society which we now experience were eroding the bonds of human solidarity which had bound Americans together in a largely rural society. Just another way of saying that great change had set in and at with change in the economy there were great changes in social relationships. Archbishop Ireland was among the first to see that the critique of industrial exploitation and the plea for social justice contained in Pope Leo XIII's encyclical "Rerum Novarum" applied to the United States as well as to Europe. And then there was Monsignor John A. Ryan. I believe he was a professor at a neighboring institution of learning at the St. Paul Seminary. He exposed in his time what he thought was the moral hollowness of the prevailing laissez-faire philosophy of the economy, and he played an important role in achieving a general recognition in the United States that



social justice not merely unrestrained topic-making and seeking should be the guiding norm for society. Now these were men with vision, compassionate men, brilliant men, for Monsignor Ryan and others recognized that men needed each other and that man's interdependence increasingly a physical fact of life was also a moral necessity. And what purpose is there for a college other than to underscore the moral necessities of our time and of the future? Pope Leo XIII, Archbishop Ireland, Monsignor Ryan, and others addressed themselves to the problem of social justice in the national context. They had a tremendous impact upon public policy and upon public and private practices. Today, however, we must focus on justice, social justice at a much broader arena in a global setting because the world of today is our neighborhood and it is an ever shrinking one. Pope Paul VI in his new encyclical on The Development of Peoples has stated the situation clearly, and can I just digress for a moment to say that His Holiness was kind enough to present me an autographed copy of the encyclical as it was written in its original text in Latin. I had to say to him with great candor that my four years of high school Latin and my months of pharmaceutical Latin had eroded and I at that point was reminded that it was also available in

English translation and one was properly and promptly presented to me. But Pope Paul stated the situation this way--today the principal fact we must all recognize is that the social question, as he put it, has become world-wide. I spent about 45 minutes with His Holiness, most in which we discussed this encyclical because I happen to believe that the encyclical, The Development of Peoples, is one of the truly great pronouncements of our time. Oh, I'm well aware of Pacem in Terris and the beloved Pope John XXIII. I have read these encyclicals and studied them because they like those of Pope Leo XIII will make public policy, they will affect the lives of this graduating class, they will either affect the lives or the lives of all of us will be more uncertain than they are even today. Yes, the world has become a village planet but regrettably many of our loyalties and institutions remain tribal not planetary, national not international, and to replace the tribal community with a global community requires a growth of new loyalties, the establishment of new institutions and the acceptance of new obligations and needless to say, but yet it must be said, the young men that graduate tonight, those who are the graduates in all of our universities, this new generation will have the task of fashioning those new

institutions and those new obligations, and I might add you will also be responsible for my Medicare. So do your work well. Now in building this global community, this village planet, we face one clear and overwhelming challenge -- the widening gap between the rich nations and the poor. This is the challenge of the last third of the twentieth century, and unless that gap can be narrowed who can say that there will be a twenty-first century. Because man has developed the means of his destruction, the question is "has he the moral quality to direct that great power and science and technology to his salvation, to his betterment?" Everywhere we see people caught between soaring hopes and immovable traditions. We see it here at home -- rising expectations are not just for Europe, Africa, Asia, Latin America. Rising expectations are for our own people, the poor in our ghettos, the poor in our rural areas. We are a part of this world and every pass and every emotion that moves others moves and touches us. Everywhere we see a revolution against what Emmanuel Monet called the Established Disorder and we know that in today's world peace can be threatened by social and economic deprivation, by destitution and hunger, as well as by armies crossing borders and bombs falling from the sky. Pope

John said where there is constant want there is no peace, and may I say that as a layman the greatest single threat to peace on this earth is the ever growing want of more and more of God's children. A want and a poverty that seems to know no limit. So how do we meet this threat which is a real one? Pope Paul VI has rightly stated that development, and let me read it again, development is the new name for peace, but development cannot be limited merely to economic growth. It must promote the good of the whole man. Development is not just a matter of eliminating hunger or of even reducing poverty. The struggle against physical destitution is not enough, it is a question rather of building a world where each man no matter what his race, his religion, or nationality, can live a fully human life. This is what our forefathers meant by the pursuit of happiness. They didn't say just life and liberty, that is not enough. There must be the ability to live a fully human life. The pursuit of happiness a world where each man may be freed from the servitude imposed on him by other men or by natural forces that he seems unable to control. It is a question in short, of building a world where freedom is not an empty word where force, aggression, brutality, is no longer tolerated because there can really

be no real development when nations and peoples are victimized by terror, subversion, brute force and aggression. Promoting self-determination, encouraging social progress and economic progress are the basic essentials for real development within freedom and in this striving for real development we who live in the western world have a special responsibility. It was we who launched the technological revolution that has produced such dazzling wealth for so few in the midst of squalor for so many. It is we who have spread all of this technological revolution in the world at large and today we tolerate by limited exertion if not by inaction inconceivable and growing despairities that wealth and destitution the hard facts are very evident. In this world only 800 million people have a capital income of over \$750 a year, another 400 million are in between \$250 to \$750 a year. Think of those figures but here is the one that really counts. The remaining 2 billion 200 million people on this earth earn less than \$250 a year and almost half of them earn less than a \$100. Does anyone think that this despairity can continue without eventual outbreak of a serious violence in war? I think not. How then are we to close this gap when it will require the dedicated efforts of many local resources, yes, and I don't

mean merely material resources but rather the vision, and the will, and the determination of leaders who will speak for their peoples and bring their nations in to the twentieth century. But no matter how much the poor nations help themselves, and I have visited many of these nations and know their leaders, we cannot evade the fact that they stand little chance of success without the help of those who have more, who are rich. It is not necessary here to engage in any detailed analysis of the process of development and time forbids it. Once we recognize the existence of a universal common good and an international social justice, then the technical problems can be solved. In the final analysis, the most difficult questions which you and I must answer are those so bluntly stated by Pope Paul in that encyclical and I think it's time that Americans understood it. These are his words, "let each one examine his conscience, a conscience that conveys a new message for our times." Is he prepared to support out of his own pocket works and undertakings organized in favor of the most destitute? Is he ready to pay higher taxes so that public authorities can intensify their efforts in favor of development? Is he ready to pay a higher price for imported goods so that the producer may be more justly rewarded or to



leave this country if necessary and if he is young in order to assist in the development of the young nation. Those are powerful questions, they can only be answered in the conscience of an individual. History has shown that man will pay any price, an unbelievably high price, for victories of war. It remains to be seen whether that same man will be willing to sacrifice for the development required for peace, and I might add my fellow Americans when this tragic war that is so painful and so miserable that now grips this nation is over and it will be, will you be willing to pay the same price for peaceful development at home and abroad, to wage war upon depravation in our own midst, to build new institutions of learning, to share of our bounty and our goods with others throughout the world? My experience to date is that we have said no. We said no after Korea, pray that we do not say no again. We did say yes after World War II. And what a great benefit it was to a ravished world. Yes, we're challenged today to transform or to transfer the standard which has become an accepted norm in modern national societies to the international community and this is revolutionary doctrine. The Pope's admonition is already been heeded in some degree in the Kennedy round of trade negotiations. In that negotiation,

the rich nations have agreed to a new program of food aid for the poor. I went to Europe to help make that possible as your representative speaking to those nations asking them to join us in the war on hunger, the haves to help the have nots, and I can tell you that those same nations are now considering the immediate extension of these trade concessions to the less developed countries which will not be fully extended at least for another five years but at least this is a beginning. But what about development assistance aside from trade. The United States and other developed nations are contributing in foreign aid less than .7 of one per cent of their gross national power today, and yet, my fellow Americans, of all of the programs to get through the Congress, this is the most difficult, much more difficult than any other. It requires every effort of your President and of many public spirited citizens to gain a slim majority vote for a very, very limited international aid program. I know there are experts who claim that the poor nations can't absorb any more than they are getting but I submit that the world bank does not agree. 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. Be bold, create in your time, initiate in your age, we know the basic social injustices can be corrected but we know that they only will be corrected when there is an aroused public opinion. Our experience has shown that justice has triumphed over injustice, conscience of the present over the memory of the past only after men and women of conscience formed in a Judaial Christian tradition took their convictions seriously and translated them into action closing the gap between the rich and the poor here and abroad is not something to be achieved quickly in a few months or even years. We must avoid becoming what the Poet Meredith called "too soon despairers" but we must close that gap not just because it is in our own interest, not just because of the Communist challenge, but as the late President Kennedy said in his inaugural message, because it is right and it is right. Finally may I add this, we should be careful not to confuse a recognition of moral unity and interdependence of mankind with any form of political messiah of a nation, class, or race. Our acceptance of the obligation to help the poor does not mean that we have either the obligation or the intention to impose our way, our political and social institutions on other countries or continents. Our recognition

of our responsibility carries with it no claim that power and virtue are synonymous that the power of the most powerful must be harnessed to spread one version of virtue. It does not imply that any one nation can claim to be the engine that makes the moral universe go around. It is the task of both the graduating class of 1967 and of my generation to convince people, to convince legislatures and the executives of all the developed nations that moral imparities as well as physical security require a substantial commitment to a long range social economic and technical assistance to the developing nations of the world. Yes, development is the new name for peace. The Pope was eminently right, all men profess to seek peace. My there are many peace talkers, many peace wishers but how many are the peace makers. They are the blessed ones. Peace is like the flower, it needs fertile soil in which to grow. It cannot grow in the rocks of bitterness and poverty and it will be extinguished in the fire of group force and violence. It cannot grow in the dry sands of backwardness and despair. It needs the fertile soil of education, of food, of health, and above all, of hope. The pursuit of peace to me resembles the building of a great cathedral. It is the work undoubtedly of generations. In

concept, it requires a master architect, in execution it demands the labors of many. The pursuit of peace requires time but we must use time as a tool and not as a crutch. It is our task today and it is your task tomorrow to bring men, people closer to the day when social justice for all is no longer a dream but a reality, and a reality all over this world. To dream less is to deny your very spirit. To hope for less is to deceive yourself. I call upon the young leaders today to be bold in their vision and their plans to be unafraid in their endeavors. There is so much to do and so many people crying out for your help. To do less than your best is to be unworthy of yourselves. I have the feeling that you want to do the best if only for yourselves, but undoubtedly for others. Thank you.



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