

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

MANKATO STATE COLLEGE

MANKATO, MINNESOTA

JUNE 9, 1967

Dr. Nickerson

Dean Freeman

But Hope - "My advice to you graduates
about ready to go out in the
world - Don't do it"

We have just entered the last third of the
20th Century.

"Aldous Huxley - "I have peered
into the future, and it won't look."

The overall changes the first two-thirds of

this century have brought to our public and private lives

have been greater than those in the ~~several centuries~~ preceding 500 years

several centuries

preceding. And, if we talk about technological change

alone, we see more new developments than in the five

thousand years preceding.

But

I tell you today that the next 33 years will make the

last 66 seem a period of comparative stability.

So fasten on the
seat belts -
here we
go

These years are the ones in which you will be

in charge.

of our country and my
medium. So I have a
Keen interest in you.

But Hope

Change has almost come to be synonymous with progress -- but this is not always so. "The art of progress," as Alfred North Whitehead wrote, "is to preserve order amid change, and to preserve change amid order."

It is upon you that responsibility will fall.

We have come to measure most change by numbers and statistics.

Reports and studies cross my desk each day.

This mass of statistical information always seems to indicate that we have more of everything. *more, bigger, faster, richer, mightier.*
And that mass of statistics points to
~~And it also points to a number of what each specialist~~

calls an "explosion" in his field -- a population explosion, an education explosion, a technology explosion, an information explosion, a consumption explosion, a distribution explosion, a production explosion. *there seems to be*
Every day I am informed of a new explosion -- all of which leads me to conclude that we are, ~~above all,~~ going through an explosion explosion.

Fair enough. Our change is rapid -- and
"explosion" is as good a description as any of what we
face all around us today.

↳ Yet, at the same time, this mass of statistical
data does have a certain opacity.

↳ Disraeli said: "There are three kinds of falsehoods --
lies, damned lies, and statistics."

↳ I would not go so far as to make any such charge
about the statistics we live with today. They are far better
than those Disraeli knew.

↳ But, I do believe we must be careful not to confuse
statistics with wisdom. To do so would be to put the world
almanac in the same category as Plato and Locke.

↳ For instance, in quantitative terms, we know today
that we have a Gross National Product of almost three-quarters
of a trillion dollars ... the ability to produce a plane which will
fly at 2 thousand miles per hour ...

a college population of 6 million students ... a national inventory of 60 million TV sets ... more than a half-million scientific papers published each year,

↳ All these facts indicate economic prosperity and growth ... a broader base of education ... a greater scientific

and technological capacity ... a wider ownership of material

goods. *"Technology while adding daily to our physical ease, throws daily another loop of fire wire around our souls - A. A. St."*

↳ Yet, if we look more closely we see other things too: ~~That, for~~ instance, in the shading of high-income areas on census maps, the shading never falls on neighborhoods where Negroes live; that, in a time of prosperity in the rich nations, per-capita income is going down in the poor nations of the world.

↳ And, seeing these shortcomings, we are beginning more and more to ask not just How Much, but also How Well ... not just What, but also Why and How. - ~~not if we~~

are beginning to see that there is a difference between abundance and excellence!

I see signs ^{that} in ~~our society that~~, most of all, our young people are looking beyond the ~~normal~~ quantitative measures. I mean, literally, signs as those I recently saw ^{a sign} on a college campus in the West: "I am a human being, not a punch card. Please do not staple, spindle, or mutilate."!

Our young people are reacting in ~~several ways~~ to the large forces, mass production, and cookie-cutter questionnaires which surround them.

Some of them are reacting in ways that are not always constructive. Just being against bigness or mass production or impersonality is not enough -- nor I might add, is sign-carrying, of itself, enough.

But I see, too, the constructive expressions of our young people in reaction to these same forces.

I see the work of our Peace Corps volunteers in remote places overseas.

└ I see the commitment of our people in VISTA,
making their individual efforts count directly here at home.

└ I see the dedication of our young people -- both in
uniform and in shirtsleeve -- in Vietnam.

└ I see the excellence in everyday work contributed
by young men and women in government service, ^{and} in the Professions.

└ I see the new awareness of teenagers and young
adults of the democratic political process, and their increasing
participation in it.

Yes, └ I watch the campus bulletin boards wherever I visit.

└ Ten years ago those bulletin boards were monopolized
by notices of social events. └ Today the same bulletin boards are
filled with notices of political activity, of volunteer work, of
opportunities to exchange ideas and to be of public service --
all outside the classroom itself.

So I think most of our young people are on the right
track, and using the right means, in building a society that is not
only big, but good. *This is not the Beatnik
generation - it is the Volunteer generation
250,000 College Volunteers in Community Service*

↳ I said earlier that the breakthroughs to come during your working lifetimes will dwarf those since the turn of the century.

↳ This is true, But there is no great secret about their shape or direction -- at least so far as science and technology are concerned. ↳ We know what new developments are coming -- in communication, in medicine, in just about every area of our daily life.

↳ And there is no reason why we cannot now prepare ourselves to meet these changes and temper them to essentially human objectives.

↳ How do we do it? !

↳ The first priority is that we realize, that in our increasingly complex and changing world, we can never know enough or be well enough equipped to meet the future.
We must convert Knowledge into action

↳ The days are past when a high school ^{summa} or college diploma could mark the end of a man's education. All of you, in your lives, will need continuous education.

We in the federal government are doing everything we can to build the kind of environment where such education will be possible and available. In the past three years alone, we have more than doubled ^{the} ~~our~~ federal investments in education.

↳ We have undertaken a national war on poverty.
↳ We have committed ourselves to the redevelopment of people and of geographic areas. We have more than doubled, too, ^{the} ~~our~~ federal investments in health.

↳ All these things aimed at upgrading our resources -- at helping our people ^{making} ~~and the places where they live~~ be better able to make their way in the future. *We are determined to improve the quality of life - and to assure each citizen his opportunity - (Thomas walter)*
our Purpose

↳ The second priority is to bring to bear all
our resources most efficiently in the harnessing of the future.

We speak a great deal these days of the concept of
"creative federalism" -- a concept still not widely understood.

↳ What we are trying to do, under this concept,
is promote effective, timely and productive cooperation among
all levels of government, and the private sector as well, to
meet problems which cut across old jurisdictions.

↳ What we are trying to do, also, is to encourage
initiative at state, local and individual levels and to meet
that initiative with federal assistance. For we know that, in
a society of big problems, programs and institutions, we must
avoid every tendency which would move responsibility for
problem-solving and for leadership further away from the
individual.

↳ And this brings me ~~once more~~ to the final and most
important priority we face in the immediate years ahead:

Like our
Space
Program
Partnership

Immense
Problems
too big
for any
one!

✓ The necessity for the individual citizen not to abdicate his responsibility.

Nostalgia ... the desire to return to a simpler world ... escape, by whatever means -- are luxuries we can no longer afford.

✓ The individual cannot shrug his shoulders and withdraw to his television opiate, leaving decisions and matters of individual concern to others. He must make himself directly heard and felt. *He must be a participant*

✓ This won't be easy. But it must be done if self-government is to have real meaning.

For all the actions in the world by governments -- federal, state, and local -- and by the private institutions within our society will be fruitless if they are done to the individual citizen instead of with and by him.

~~It is~~ a truly free and democratic society is not one just for the People - It is one of the People, By the People - Frankly You!

yo You, and the people of your generation, are the
Americans who will have to meet this test of the future.

*If there is to be
a better
America
it will
start with
you.*

< You are the men and women who will have to
take individual action where you live and work.

*In your town
better schools,
better & more
better homes
better race
relations*

< You are the people/who will use the marvels of
science and technology to make this a better and more human
world ... or will stand by and let history take its own course.

< You are, in a sense the "new Americans"-- the
Americans who will replace the outgoing generation in assuming
the burdens of leadership we carry around the world.

< The world may well ask: What is the nature of
today's new American.

< Will he be up to such a task?

I would give this answer: I know today's young
American. *I think he has the qualities needed
for tomorrow's world,*
< I see him as the same restless, adventurous, courageous
citizen as his forebears. *but better educated*

∟ I see this new American as the son or daughter of a rich nation yet a person of conscience, of deep concern for the fate of his fellow man.

∟ I see the new American as one ready to face up to the enemies of freedom, yet extending the hand of friendship and cooperation to build a new and better world community.

∟ I see the new American surrounded by materialism, yet questioning its value.

I see him impatient with things as they are, but not impetuous in remedy or judgment.

∟ Generous but not patronizing.

∟ Seeking enlightenment, but not indulging in intellectual vanity.

∟ Motivated by ideals, but satisfied only with accomplishment.

∟ Strong and firm, but not belligerent or arrogant.

↳ Willing to debate, but able to decide.

The new American of this generation believes that the world need not destroy itself by war.

↳ He knows that the pursuit of peace is an act of courage and that resisting aggression is the duty of free men.

↳ Perhaps the qualities, I see are those I want to see. For these are the qualities that must characterize the coming generation, in this exciting and uncertain age.

↳ But I believe my thinking is not wishful.

I have faith in you. I believe you are better prepared than any generation before you to face the problems of the future.

↳ Have faith in yourselves. *Take to heart the*
Council of FDR
~~And I believe the future will be in good hands.~~

*The only limit to our realization of
Tomorrow will be our doubts of
Today - Let us move forward
with strong and active faith*

INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY
PRESIDENT JAMES F. NICKERSON
MANKATO STATE COLLEGE -- COMMENCEMENT EXERCISE
June 9, 1967

Graduation 1967 at Mankato State is a distinguished day in the record of this institution. Distinguished by the nearly or in the excess of 1,800 graduates who have graduated during this entire academic year. Distinguished by the 750 or near that figure who will be honored in this ceremony today.

We are also and particularly we are honored by our distinguished guest and his party. We are honored by the many friends, by the parents, by the younger brothers and sisters, by the older brothers and sisters, and others who are here to honor one of the family who finishes this day.

This is as it should be because graduation is an intensely personal thing to each of us whether we be a graduate or whether we be the father, brother, mother, sister, or whatever of those who graduate. My complete and sincere congratulations to each of you who graduates today and to those whose names appear on the program and who are receiving honor for their graduation at one of the other four graduations during the academic year and the summer.

Our distinguished speaker today is a South Dakotan, nearby neighbor to the west. From South Dakota schools, collegiate work in Denver, University of Minnesota, University of Louisiana. He holds the Master of Arts and more in the field of political science with his latest work being done at the University of Minnesota. He has taught political science at the University of Louisiana and in the University of Minnesota, and for a time a visiting professor at Macalester. Were I to detail the political contributions of this man could almost be presumptive. I think I will not even attempt. There are certain mileposts that we remember those of us

who are Minnesotans or who have lived in this state for any length of time and I can beg permission to speak at least of four years some 25 years ago. I first met the Honorable Vice President at the time he was Mayor of the City of Minneapolis. We saw him move on to become United States Senator from the State of Minnesota. We saw him become the United States delegate to the United Nations and a delegate to UNESCO Conference in 1958. We saw him elected to the Vice Presidency of the United States in 1962 and with this post and from his contributions otherwise, we have seen him assume the chairmanship of many major national boards and commissions. We have watched him in recent weeks as he has discharged the responsibilities of his office and has carried the tremendous leadership that lies upon his shoulders. We watched him in his recent trip to Europe and we saw the contributions made by this man. We read the contributions of friend and foe alike -- the contributions and the criticisms of friend and foe alike as they evaluated the significance of the recent trip of the Vice President to Europe. I think we need say little more except that I speak for those who graduate today -- I speak for all of us in this house -- I speak for the people from the Mankato area -- all of us who are honored by the presence of our distinguished speaker today.

May I present the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States. Mr. Humphrey.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
MANKATO STATE COLLEGE -- COMMENCEMENT EXERCISE
MANKATO, MINNESOTA
June 9, 1967

Thank you President Nickerson for your generous and most hospitable welcome. Thank you for your words of praise and commendation. I am always reminded of what my beloved friend Adlai Stevenson used to say about flattery. He said it's all right if you don't inhale it and some of you may have noticed that I was breathing rather deeply while Dr. Nickerson was introducing me. Members of the faculty. Distinguished graduates of the Class of 1967. Students of this fine college, and friends and neighbors.

I can honestly say to you that this is one of the more difficult assignments that I have had in my life. Only two days ago I addressed the Naval Academy's commencement exercises. It was a great thrill. It was a beautiful scene filled with pageantry and very great patriotism. But to be honest about it, it was much easier for me to speak there than here. Here I am home and here in this audience is my son and daughter-in-law, and they will evaluate my remarks most objectively and I can almost hear what it's going to be now. I'm sort of being pre-rated. But I shall struggle through and do the best I can.

First, may I say to President Nickerson and the members of the faculty how proud all of us are of this fine college, Mankato State College. It represents fantastic growth and great achievement. And may I also take this moment to thank the State Legislature for its consideration of the needs of our educational institutions, our University, and our State Colleges and the generous manner in which that Legislature has faced up to the ever growing need of education in Minnesota. Because it can well be said that education is the key to the gate of opportunity, and every

young man and woman in this state is entitled at least to the key to the door. At least the right to open the door. And then may I say the training that permits them to walk through the door of opportunity. We in Minnesota can be proud of our educational system, and I want you today to dedicate yourselves as individual citizens to the constant improvement of that educational system, recognizing that its demands will be greater as the years go on. Don't forget what Thomas Jefferson once said, all of you that believe so deeply in your country, that you cannot be both ignorant and free. You have to make a choice. And I gather that as a national choice we have decided to be free. And, therefore, we must invest in our education.

Well, I want to talk to these young people about the future. There is little use of talking about the yesterdays. You can't relive them. But we can learn from them. They are a heritage; they represent experience. But it is to the future that we should direct our attention. And I think it's fair for me to give them a bit of shock treatment by telling them that you've just entered the last third of the 20th Century and you're going to have an awful lot to say about it, and the future is yours as you expect every commencement speaker to say. But Aldous Huxley had something to say you know about the future -- he's a great British novelist and sceptic -- he said, "I have peered into the future and it won't work." So you'd better re-evaluate what you're going to do about that future and see whether or not Huxley was right or wrong.

The overall changes of the first two thirds of this 20th Century have brought to our public and private affairs tremendous changes -- changes greater than all of the preceding several centuries. I think we'd agree with that, and if we talk about the technological and scientific

changes, we've seen more developments in the past 66 years than in the preceding 5,000, and what we will see in the future is almost beyond human imagination.

You know Bob Hope was down in Washington not long ago about addressing a commencement exercise in Georgetown and maybe I should take my theme from Bob Hope. He's a good friend and he always has a wholesome sense of humor. And he looked out over the graduating class there at Georgetown and he looked them right in the eye and he said, and I just took it down, he said, "My advice to the graduates about ready to go out into the world is this, don't do it." But I'm afraid you're stuck with it. I talked to Bob Hope about that advice and he said, well he said, "From what I've gone through, he said, "maybe I shouldn't have been quite so direct. Maybe we should let them venture forth and suffer their own pain and experiences." So good luck, it's yours.

The next 33 years of this 20th Century will make the last 66 seem like comparative stability and tranquility. So as they say, fasten the seat belts, here we go. It's going to be a turbulent flight. But nevertheless, you're aboard, and quite frankly, as much as some people want to, you can't stop the world and get off. It just hasn't been done. There is a chance for you, however, to escape from this world in a space flight and we're planning on sending somebody to the moon shortly, and there have been a few that recommended that I make the trip. But I have some candidates of my own choice. But for most of you, I think you'll have to struggle with this earthly existence. So concentrate on it if you will.

These years that are ahead, these next 33 and the years beyond in which you will be at the prime of your life, these are going to be years that you will be in charge of things and you'll be in charge of our country.

And by the way, you'll also be in charge of my medicare so I want to take a look at you. I want to know if you're reliable and I happen to think that you are.

Change, oh how we hear that word. Everybody talks about it. It's almost come to be synonymous with progress, but I think it's fair to say that's not always so.

"The art of progress," as Alfred North Whitehead once wrote, "is to preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order." Now that's no small task and it's upon you that that responsibility will fall. To preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order. Now we've come to measure most change by numbers and statistics and graphs and charts. Why they flow across my desk like a tidal wave every day. The mass of statistical information always seems to indicate that we have more of everything. We're the biggest more country in the world. More, bigger, faster, richer, and mightier. These are words that fill the American vocabulary. And that mass of statistics points to what each specialist calls an "explosion" in his field. A population explosion, an education explosion, a technology explosion, an information explosion, a consumption explosion, a distribution explosion, and a production explosion. You've heard it time after time in and out of classroom, and every day there seems to be a new explosion. All of which leads me to conclude that we are going through an explosion explosion.

So we'll settle for that. We've got to get all these trivia out of the way here first. Fair enough. I think we'd agree that our change is rapid. Incredibly rapid. An explosion is about as good a description as any of what we face all around us and what has been happening. Yet, at the same time, this mass of statistical data does have a certain opacity

to it. It kind of misleads you.

Disraeli said, and I can get by with this because he said it, "There are three kinds of falsehoods -- lies, damned lies, and statistics."

Now I wouldn't want to go so far as to make any such charge about all the statistics that we live with today because the fact is that with computers, and automation, and education, they're better than those Disraeli knew. But I do believe, I do believe, that we must be careful not to confuse statistics with wisdom or just information with wisdom. To do so would be to put the World Almanac in the same category as Plato and Locke. And I've seen a goodly number of people coming out of our universities that are just loaded down with minutia and all kinds of information data most of which is out of date by the time you've graduated.

Now, for instance in quantitative terms, we know that today we have a gross national product of around three-quarters of a trillion dollars. That's about 40 per cent of the total gross national product of the world. We know that we have the ability to produce a plane that will fly over two thousand miles an hour, and we actually have one now, the SR 71, the reconnaissance airplane bomber; it will fly well over two thousand miles an hour at over 80,000 feet; it flies with incredible speed. We have a college population of around 6 million -- a national inventory of over 60 million TV sets and it's going up every day. And we have more than a half million scientific papers that are published every year just flowing like a mighty river throughout the scientific community.

Now all these facts indicate economic prosperity and growth. A broader base of education -- a greater scientific and technological capacity -- a wider ownership of material goods.

Adlai Stevenson once said that technology while adding daily to our physical ease, throws daily another loop of fine wire around our souls. What he meant was simply that technology is not enough, it's what do you do with it?

Thomas Huxley once asked the same question when he said that richness does not mean greatness -- territory doesn't mean a nation -- America has all of this. The question is what are you going to do with these things? We know that there are real problems that confront us. Yet if we look very closely, we see for instance in the shading of the high income areas on census maps the shading never falls on neighborhoods where Negroes live. That in time of prosperity in the rich nations, unbelievable prosperity, the per capita income in the poor nations is going down instead of up. The gap between the rich and the poor widens, the greatest single threat to peace on this earth -- far greater than anything else.

Pope John, that great spirit, said that where there is constant want, there is no peace. Many times I have looked at audiences like this and said, what are we willing to do about working for peace, real peace? Because the fact of the matter is blessed are the peacemakers, not the peacetalkers, or the peacewalkers, or the peaceparaders, but those that make it -- those that do something about changing men's minds and spirits, and changing the world in which we live. Seeing all of these shortcomings, we're beginning more and more, I believe, to ask not just how much do we have, but also how well are we doing? Not just what, but also why and how? We're beginning to see, are we not, that there's a difference between abundance and excellence, between quantity and quality. And the goal of this nation and of this college and of every university and college in America must be excellence. Mediocrity anybody can have. The difference

between a great people and an ordinary people is doing the impossible. Doing the impossible. And we're asked to do just that. Otherwise we forfeit our right to greatness.

I'm happy to say that in my view of things, I see signs that our young people are looking beyond quantitative measures. There is a restlessness amongst young people. I recently saw a sign on a college campus in the West carried literally on the breast of this young person that said, and it read like this, "I'm a human being, not a punchcard, please do not staple, spindle, or mutilate." We run everything now through the automated systems. And while this is good in one way, and while it is imperative that we advance our knowledge through the computer and through the transistor and through the wonders of science and technology, we have to be mighty careful that we do not lose the personality that we seek to number and that we seek to categorize. Our young people are acting and reacting to these forces, these large forces, this mass production, these cookie-cutter questionnaires which surround them; everybody's questioning everybody these days. We've gathered more nonsensical information about nonsensical things than any people in all of recorded history, and we've gathered some good information. Now some of our young people are reacting in ways that are not always constructive. We've seen it; it's regrettable. Just being against bigness, for example, or mass production or impersonality, is not enough, and just to say that you're disenchanted or disillusioned is not enough -- nor, might I add, is sign-carrying, of itself, enough.

But I see with all of this constructive expressions of our young people in reaction to these forces that seem to deny them personality and identity. Let me give them some specifics in which I have been personally engaged.

I see the work of our Peace Corps volunteers in remote places overseas. Tremendous things are being done.

I see the commitment of our young people in VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America, making their individual efforts count directly here at home, building a better America so that you set an example for a better world.

I see the dedication of our young people and I've seen it with my own eyes, both in uniform and in shirtsleeves in Vietnam. Never been braver young people, more committed, more dedicated, more uncomplaining.

I see the excellence in everyday work contributed by young men and women in government service, in the professions, in education, in business.

I see the new awareness of teenagers and young adults of the democratic political process and their increasing participation in it.

And may I just add a little caveat here, just to throw in a little extra. I know that many people are highly critical of those of us in public life and I guess that's the way it ought to be because there must be some way of public accountability. And many a parent in this audience has said to their son or daughter -- stay away from that politics, it's dirty. Well, I want to give you a little bit of advice; politics is another word for power. And if you're going to forfeit that power to someone else, expect it not to be used always for your benefit. We need you, every one of you, in political life. At least in some form of political participation, and I have little time for the man that stands up in the bleachers while the battle is going on on the field when those of us that are in combat that are sweaty and beaten and bruised on the field of battle have others sit up on the sidelines and pass out their criticisms. If you think politics is dirty, get yourself a bar of political Ivory soap and clean it up or shut up -- one or the other. Get in and do something about it because this is your country and it'll not be any better if you ignore it.

Well, I've watched young people all over America. I've been on a hundred college campuses in these last 2½ years. I watch the campus bulletin boards as I have over the past 15-20 years wherever I visit. Ten years ago, those bulletin boards were monopolized by notices of social events. I can remember coming on a platform like this and having a dean of student affairs say 10 or 15 years ago to me, why Mr. Senator, that's when I was a senator, we're happy to have you here, which was not exactly an honest statement. And then he would get me aside and he said, I hope you're not going to discuss anything controversial. And I would say to him, why do you think I came here, to eat cookies? I don't even agree with the weatherman and I'm more often right than he is. But that was the attitude some ten or fifteen years ago. It's changed. Today those same bulletin boards, while they have their social notices, dates, and parties are also filled with notices of political activities, of volunteer work, of opportunities to exchange ideas, of religion, of an opportunity to be in public service -- all outside the classroom.

So I think most of our young people are on the right track and if I say nothing else here today for your attention, I want to repeat it, I think most of our young people are on the right track, using the right means, in building a society that is not only big, but is good, not only rich, but is just, not only powerful, but is compassionate. This is not the beatnik generation, despite the headlines. This is the volunteer generation, volunteers from our college campuses and our high schools by the hundreds of thousands all over America giving to somebody else. 250,000 volunteers from colleges alone working with the pride young people in our slums and our ghettos, working with young people in our rural areas of poverty, working in church groups and social action groups,

a quarter of a million of them. But how much attention do they get? Oh so little. Yet that is the Young American, the New American.

I said earlier that the breakthroughs to come during your working lifetimes will dwarf those since the turn of the century and I'm right. There isn't any great secret at all about their shape in direction. At least as far as science and technology is concerned. We know what new developments are coming in communication, in medicine, in just about every area of our daily life. We can predict it and I used to have a sort of a laundry list to run down but it takes too much time. We know a great deal about what's going to happen.

You know I'm Chairman of the Space Council in Washington coordinating our space activities, and Chairman of the Council on Oceanography. Those are two assignments given to me by the Congress, not by the President. Two very important ones, and I sometimes am worried a little bit about it because every time the Congress gives me anything to do it's either out of this world or in the bottom of the ocean. Nevertheless, I can tell you that these two assignments are exciting and they're very interesting, and they give me a great deal of information about the future. So we can predict somewhat about communication. We know, for example, that a few years from now, Mankato State College will have lectures in its classrooms by communication satellite from all over the world. The Class of 1977 will not be taught by teachers on location; they'll be taught by professors and teachers from all over the world by communication satellite with instantaneous machine translation of foreign languages into American or English. This will be a fact; what an experience that will be. I don't know who will do the grading, that's all. We'll have to have friendly relationships with every nation unless there be prejudicial grading.

Now there isn't any reason why we shouldn't be able to prepare ourselves for these changes since we know what's going to come, and to temper them to essentially human objectives because the purpose of knowledge is not knowledge itself, but the betterment of life. The first priority is that we realize that in our increasingly complex and changing world, that we never know quite enough and that we're never really well enough equipped to meet the future. We must convert that knowledge that we have into positive action. The days are past when a high school education or even a college education is enough. You have to have more. And, therefore, we provide now ways and means of a continuing education. The Federal Government is doing what it can to help to build the kind of an environment where such education will be possible and available. In the past three years, we've more than doubled the Federal Government's contribution to education. And we've only begun. And lest anybody have any doubt where I stand, I think we ought to do much more. I've never known a country that became insolvent because of its investments in education. And we need to set an example in America for the excellence of education.

We've undertaken a national war. And a war in which everybody ought to participate on poverty. And why? Because this nation cannot afford the injustice of poverty. We've committed ourselves to the redevelopment of people and places. We've literally doubled our investments in health because what good is it to have all of these things if you are denied health?

All of this is dedicated towards one objective, the upgrading of our human resources and the improvement of the places where we live. We are determined to improve the quality of life and we are determined to assure each citizen his opportunity.

Thomas Wolfe is a favorite author of mine, and as I was flying here this morning, I picked out of my briefcase a little quotation that I have

on a card. It's sort of secular scripture for me, and it tells me why I'm in public life and it tells me what America is all about. Here's what Thomas Wolfe said. He said, "To every man regardless of his birth is shining golden opportunity, to every man the right to live and to work and 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 it's all about. That's what we mean by first class citizenship. That's what we mean by equal opportunity. That's what we mean by equal rights. That's what we mean by people, not white people, black people, not this kind of people or that kind of people, but American people. Every man his chance, and in this day and age the only way you have a chance is to be equipped through skill and training and education.

Now the second priority that we have is to bring to bear all of the resources that we have. Most effectively in harnessing the future because the future belongs to those who seize it, it belongs to those who do something with it. It's neutral otherwise. Time is on the side of people who use it. And we've talked in our government about "creative federalism." It's a poor term but it's the best that somebody has been able to figure out. What do we mean by cooperation between federal, state, and local government, not domination, and the private sector? Putting the American people together in a partnership. Their institutions, themselves, and their governments, federal, state, and local. For we know that the problems that we face today are so immense that we must mobilize our resources. No one level of government is big enough to meet any of the problems that we face and the private sector alone cannot do it. And, therefore, we must work together as partners without losing our identity in a pluralistic society to find answers to immense complex problems. This is the way the

space program works. Your own great University of Minnesota is a fundamental part of the space program. So are many of the great companies in the state, the electronic companies for example. So are our scientists, so is your government. It's government, university, scientific laboratory, management, labor, and finance all put together in a partnership; otherwise, we would have never had Gemini 12, we'd never be where we are.

Now this brings me to my final and most important priority that we face in the immediate years ahead, the necessity for the individual citizen not to advocate his responsibility.

When I spoke at the Navy Academy, I spoke of the pillars of freedom and those two pillars are our rights and our responsibilities. There are no rights without commensurate responsibilities and there can be no freedom without justice. And the pillars of freedom are our rights and our responsibilities. And when I say our rights, I mean yours and mine, our responsibilities, yours and mine.

It'll do no good to indulge in a kind of a morbid nostalgia, a desire to return to a simpler world. You know it isn't going to come, quit talking about it and talking about that there be less government. You know that's a lot of nonsense. There isn't going to be less government. You know that there are going to be bigger businesses and you know that there are going to be bigger farms. And you know there's going to be a bigger college here. And you know that this world is more complex. And you know that it's going to be tied together more every day. So face up to it. Let grandpa tell you his stories. He'll make them more interesting each year. But they don't apply to today. You're going to have to think ahead about the kind of a world in which you live. The world of the supersonic transport. The world in which mankind really becomes a brotherhood or he

becomes in suicidal combat. You're going to have to face up to the fact that what happens in the Middle East may be more important in your lives than what happens in the Middle West.

I have been for two weeks, day and night, in constant meetings with your President and the National Security Council, not on what's going on in the Midwest, but what's going on in the Mideast. Whether or not there would be confrontation between the Soviet Union and the United States. Whether or not a limited war could be held in bounds. Whether or not a cease fire could be brought about. This world outside of your hometown is what's going to determine much about your life, as well as what happens in your hometown. The individual cannot shrug his shoulders and withdraw to his television opiate getting his evening recreation and education out of the late show, leaving decisions and matters of individual concern to others. He must make himself directly heard and he must make himself felt, to be a part of things not a part from things. Now this won't be easy and it must not, but it must be done if self government is to have any real meaning. For all of the actions in the world by governments -- federal, state, or local -- and by private institutions within our society will be fruitless if they are to be done to the individual instead of with him and by him.

A truly free and democratic society is not just one for the people, it is one of the people and by the people. We have plenty of people that want things done for them. We're not interested in building what some people call the welfare state. What we want is a state of opportunity in which everyone is a participant. Not a government that does everything for you, but you that do everything you can to make the government responsive to your will and to the needs of a community.

You and the people of your generation are the Americans that are going to have to meet this future test. If there is to be a better America, you'll make it. And I think you'd better recognize that it starts with you just as it starts with me. You're the men and women who will have to take individual action where you live and you work. And by the way, once that you have a college diploma, you owe at least 25 years of your life to the community.

You know I've gone around telling my sons and my daughter for years that I've earned my way through college and, in a sense, I did. Those were tough days. There were no jobs, there were very few fellowships, and I maybe wouldn't have qualified for a scholarship anyhow. I hate to admit that publicly, but we did what we could to get through school and many of us have gone around saying we did it ourselves.

Well, who is it that can say he paid for a library? Who is it that can say that he paid for the art treasures, the cultural treasures that come to a college and a university? You didn't pay for your education. The State of Minnesota, the government of the United States, the people of the United States, and men that are long dead and buried paid for your education. Shakespeare, Disraeli, Plato, Aristotle, Augustine, this is all a part of your education. And you and I owe it to those who have not had our privilege much of our life because we are the fortunate ones. You are the few out of the many that have been blessed with higher learning, and leadership is in your hands. Leadership is no longer a luxury or a privilege my dear friends, it's a burden and a responsibility. Now if you don't want it, you can abdicate quickly; just get out of the way and somebody will take your place. It's just like with nations. America has the mantle of leadership. It is not a cloak of comfort; it's a robe of

responsibility. And many an American needs to understand that when he is told how big and great his country is, he must remember what that means in terms of responsibility.

If there is to be better schools, it'll be where you are in your town and I hope you'll go away from this graduating exercise and commencement determined to make where you live a better place because America is the sum total of its people and its communities. Oh, we have many people come rushing down to Washington and they're going to remake America from Washington. You'll remake America from Mankato or Cokato or Minneapolis or someplace else by the sum total of all of what you do. Now you're the people who will have to use these marvels of science and technology, hopefully to serve human kind or let it stand or just stand by and let history take its course. And this is what I mean when I say that you are in a sense the New Americans. The Americans who will replace this outgoing generation in assuming the burdens of leadership. The world is asking questions and they're asking today, what is the nature of these New Americans?

I was in Europe not long ago and I had many a person say to me, "What's going on over there? What's going on on your campuses? What's going on in America? Are you only interested in television, in beer? Are you only interested in what appears to be in the news?" And my answer was no. That there's a great New America and there are many New Americans. I'll give you the answer because I think I have had some experience with them. I think that the Young American of today has the qualities that are needed for tomorrow. I see him as the same restless, adventurous, courageous citizen as his forebears, only better equipped. I see this New American as the son or daughter of a rich nation, yet a person of conscience, of deep concern for the fate of his fellow man. I see the New American as one ready to face up to the

enemies of freedom, yet extending the hand of friendship and cooperation to build a new and better world community.

I see the New American surrounded by materialism and unhappy about it. Questioning its value. I see him impatient with things as they are but not impetuous in remedy or judgment. I see him generous, but not patronizing. Seeking enlightenment, but not indulging in intellectual vanity. Motivated by ideals, but satisfied primarily with accomplishment. Strong and firm, but hopefully not belligerent or arrogant. Willing to debate, but also able to decide.

The New American of this generation believes the world need not and must not destroy itself by war. He knows that the pursuit of peace is an act of courage and that resistance to aggression is the duty of free men. He knows that peace is the work sometimes of centuries and always of generations. Perhaps the qualities I see are the ones that I want to see, because the truth is that these are the qualities that must characterize the coming generation in this exciting and uncertain age if there is to be another century for mankind. I believe that my wishing is not wishful thinking. I guess what I'm saying is I have faith, great faith, in our country, in its mission, great faith in our young people. I believe you're better prepared than any generation before you and even though you have greater problems to face.

And I ask you to take heart now in the counsel of a man who served as President of the United States for almost four terms, Franklin Roosevelt, who said these words as the pen dropped from his hand and death overcame him as he was at Warm Springs, Georgia. These were his final words ever written by his hand and it's almost as if you can see it, the dramatic scene of the body fallen over the table, this huge man with the hand by his

side and the pen on the ground. And written on that paper were these words, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith." I submit that that's a call to action. It's a challenge for this generation. It's worthy of Americans who have never lacked in faith and who have always had great confidence in their ability to do the impossible.

Good luck.

Thanks.



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