



FOR RELEASE  
THURSDAY PMS  
April 11, 1968

## OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

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### REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT JAMES RALPH SCALES  
WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY  
WINSTON SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

April 11, 1968

This is a time of discontent in America.

Is that good or bad?

Here are some wise words on discontent I found in an old collection of Americana:

"There are two kinds of discontent in this world: the discontent that works, and the discontent that wrings its hands. The first gets what it wants, and the second loses what it had. There is no cure for the first but success, and there is no cure at all for the second."

The big question before us today is whether we shall roll up our sleeves and tackle the root causes of our discontent...or whether we shall be consumed by doubt and recrimination.

Are we going to get what we want, or lose what we have?

\* \* \*

Just why are we discontented?

First, I think we have, in the last five years, taken a hard and honest look at the blemishes that still disfigure our democracy.

We have gotten nearer the truth about ourselves than ever before.

We have recognized poverty amidst plenty for the social disgrace that it is.

We have learned how much improvement our educational system needs if it is to provide every child with an equal chance to develop his human potential.

We have seen that most of our big cities have been decaying from within.

We have recognized that civil rights legislation does not mean real freedom for a father who doesn't have work...for a mother who can't feed and clothe her children decently...for a child who lives in a rat-infested tenement.

We have recognized that anyone who works hard cannot necessarily make it if he faces discrimination and other artificially-created odds.

I think it is fair to say that Americans, perhaps for the first time, sense the realities of the unfinished business ahead...and they have good reason for discontent.

But while we are talking about realities, let me remind you of these:

-- You, as a nation, have invested, through our federal government, twice as much in education in the last four years as in the previous century...and most of that increase has gone to the people who need it most;

-- You are now investing three times as many federal dollars in health as you were in 1964;

-- You are now operating a Model Cities program which is America's first nationwide program of urban renewal...and "renewal" means not only new bricks and mortar but new opportunities and new hope for people;

-- Your Congress did pass a sweeping Civil Rights Act in 1964, and a Voting Rights Act in 1965. And I am quite confident that you will have open housing legislation within the next few days;

-- You have rescued 12 million of your fellow citizens from poverty since 1961. You have reduced the percentage of Americans living in poverty from 21 per cent to 15 per cent.

I cite those accomplishments in a purely partisan spirit -- partisan to a nation that has done better than it thinks it has...partisan to a nation that instinctively looks to the tasks ahead rather than to the accomplishments behind.

Ironically, our very progress seems to be a major source of discontent in America today.

You may remember de Tocqueville's words:

"The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

The very needlessness of poverty and discrimination in our rich society make them not only immoral...not only indecent...but intolerable -- intolerable not only to those who are poor and oppressed, but to the vast majority of Americans who believe the "liberty and justice for all" is much more than a slogan.

Indeed I find a new moral concern in our society today, reflected both in dramatic new social programs and in our heightened awareness of the inequities that remain.

That new moral concern means discontent...and, if we channel it correctly, it will mean progress.

\* \* \*

What of the world at large?

Early in 1952, when Franklin Roosevelt was preparing a fireside chat for his fellow Americans -- Americans who had thought they were safe and isolated behind two oceans -- he told some of his advisers:

" I am going to ask the American people to take out their maps. I'm going to speak about strange places that many of them never heard of -- places that are now the battleground for civilization. I'm going to ask the newspapers to print maps of the whole world...."

The world has been in our daily headlines ever since -- hungry children...booming populations...people struggling through the first difficult stages of economic development and self-government...aggression and war.

We have been an integral part of that world. For we have considered it too dangerous to let the great questions of war and peace be decided in this nuclear age without American participation.

Our engagement in the world has cost us money and it has cost us lives.

It has cost us frustration, and from time to time it has cost us friends.

It will cost us more in the future.

And our sacrifices abroad have meant a certain amount of discontent here at home.

But there is also another kind of discontent in America...

-- discontent that human beings in other places should go hungry when we have so much...

-- discontent that men should go ignorant when we know, as Jefferson said, that you cannot be both ignorant and free...

--discontent with the prospect that we and our children might face the threat of nuclear annihilation.

Because of that discontent we have a Peace Corps... a Food for Freedom program...a foreign aid program.

We have hundreds and thousands of Americans serving around the world in shirtsleeve and uniform in the cause of development and of peace.

Peace-building is not dramatic work. But it is going on.

Last Week I returned from Mexico City where I affirmed our country's pledge to help keep Latin America free of nuclear weapons, and the threat of their use.

A nuclear non-proliferation treaty is now pending before the United Nations.

Just within the last year:

-- we have seen the establishment of a new Asian Development Bank;

-- we have joined with other nations to lower the barriers to international trade and economic growth;

-- we have concluded an agreement barring nuclear weapons from outer space;

-- we have agreed on a consular treaty with the Soviet Union;

-- the hot line kept the Middle East crisis from exploding into a major international confrontation;

-- President Johnson's personal envoy averted war over Cyprus;

-- and today, because of the selfless courage and statesmanship of President Johnson, there is some prospect that the world can move toward peace in Southeast Asia.

Yes, I believe mankind is moving closer to peace -- a stable, lasting peace.

But we have learned and relearned the truth of John F. Kennedy's words:

"Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined -- all of us here today -- to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

\* \* \*

Where do we go from here?

Shall we take courage because the bottle is half full... or despair because it is half empty.

Will pictures of our national leaders pasted on dart boards, be our targets...or will our targets be the real challenges before us?

Shall our democracy fail because of complacent selfishness and divisive criticism -- or shall we find strength and unity in the common cause of a greater America?

The answers depend on each of us.

They depend on whether or not we -- as free men and women -- will be able to meet the responsibilities of democratic government.

They depend on whether each one of us is willing to put, as the President said, this country's cause above any personal, individual interest.

To succeed in the world we must show patience and courage, for the road to peace will be long and difficult.

And, at home, we must be able -- once and for all -- to see each other not as strangers, but as brothers...not rich and poor, black and white, but as American citizens all.

Now is the time for all of us to shed the intolerable burden of prejudice and resentment.

Now is the time for all of us to return to the fundamental things at the heart of the American dream:

-- the belief that all men are created equal;

-- the belief that people possess the wisdom to truly govern themselves;



-- the belief that men, through the exercise of free will, can change the conditions of life on this earth -- and change them for the better.

Let us now place our faith, and our action, behind these beliefs.

Let us now join arms and hands -- black and white, brown and yellow, adult and child -- in the single cause of America.

Almost four years ago, when Dr. Martin Luther King's life had been threatened, he said:

"Well, if physical death is the price that I must pay to free my white brothers and sisters from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing can be more redemptive."

Now, my friends and neighbors, is the time for redemption.

May we prove equal to it -- so that no man's death may ever again be needed to so shake the conscience of this nation.

Let us ask each other for courage...for strength...and for faith.

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Dr Edwin Wilson  
Mr James Ralph Scales

Sen Erwin Gov Moore  
Sen Jordan Gov Sanford

REMARKS

Cong. Galifianakis

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

(Hal & fan ah Kis)

INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT JAMES RALPH SCALES

WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY

WINSTON SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA

APRIL 11, 1968

Dr Tribble  
(17 yrs President)

Ground breaking by  
Harry Truman

"Glad to be back  
on campus -  
surroundings  
of election office"

I'm glad to be here in North Carolina -- in the great  
industrial Piedmont of this state. /

The settlers of this region -- men of great faith as  
well as great industry -- scarcely ever founded a town  
without founding a college, too. "Learning & Earning"

And so today this great region is the center of higher  
learning in North Carolina -- as well as the center of  
higher profits.

"Learning & Earning" - N.C.

And as every hard-pressed college administrator knows, sometimes the one depends upon the other...

In that connection, I'm reminded of the story about the distribution some years ago of the Duke Endowment.

They say that the great tobacco fortune was offered first to a Baptist institution in this state, and promptly refused -- turned away as "tainted" money.

Then the money was offered to a Presbyterian institution. The trustees wavered a bit, but turned away the offer, too. Tobacco money, they regretfully decided, was tainted money.

Finally, as we all know, the great endowment was offered to a Methodist college.

The President of that college reported to his trustees:

"Gentlemen, it is said that this is an offer of tainted money, and I agree. 'Taint enough!'"

That is how your great partner and rival in excellence, Duke University, came to be established. And I understand that the Methodist example of practicality has now spread to other denominations.

∟ I feel at home in Baptist institutions. I am a believer in strong faith -- and long sermons. And I have always liked that old phrase "total immersion," not only as a mode of baptism, but as an approach to living.

I am honored today to be present at the investiture of a distinguished educator, Dr. Scales.

Dr. Scales, I have studied your career with interest -- particularly the part about how you were once Vice President of Oklahoma Baptist University... and then got promoted.

∟ I always like to see Vice Presidents do well.

One of my ecclesiastical friends pointed out to me  
not long ago that in politics, as with the Kingdom of Heaven,  
"many are called, but few are chosen."

∠ I am still searching for a more optimistic text to use  
in reply.

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*"Looked into future  
it won't work"*

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Here are some wise words on discontent I found in an  
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Thomas Carlyle "The great law of culture  
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*and that is the way it is!*

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or despair because it is half empty.

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The answers depend on each of us.

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*To be mature and responsible -  
Self disciplined and understanding.*

They depend on whether each one of us is willing to put, as the President said, this country's cause above any personal, individual interest.

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TRANSCRIPTION OF  
REMARKS BY  
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INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT JAMES RALPH SCALES  
WAKE FOREST UNIVERSITY  
WINSTON-SALEM, NORTH CAROLINA  
APRIL 11, 1968

Thank you, Dr. Wilson. President Scales, President Tribble, members of the board of trustees, the distinguished faculty of this great university, friends of this university, Wake Forest University, and the fine student body. May I first of all greet your distinguished governor and say how very pleased Mrs. Humphrey and I are for the privilege of having the governor with us today and his wife and to salute <sup>Governor</sup> J. Moore for his dedicated leadership in the cause of education throughout this state. Which is a tradition, I might add, in North Carolina and I'm pleased that the distinguished former governor of this state, Governor Sanford, is here with us. I understand that he has a mission to perform for Wake Forest which is what they call painless extraction for a noble purpose and we want to wish him the very, very best.

I'm very happy to be back on a university campus for a visit. I say that because this is a very, very precarious time for elective public officials, particularly those of us who are refugees from a classroom, those of us who have had the privilege of serving as either an instructor or professor in a university. I always like to visit universities. I like to do it only briefly. I want you to get the message very clearly, but I think I should say to Dr. Scales since we've had this moment of pleasant visit that just in case things don't work out well, doctor,--if your political science department needs a new recruit, may I say that I could bring to you not only a degree of academic background but a storehouse full of the practicalities of politics--studded with some success and a little failure so I could give a



balanced report.

I'm very happy to share in this very, very special occasion. I know that a very great president of the United States honored this university some years past in the ground breaking ceremonies for this campus. And wherever Harry Truman walked I'm always happy to follow in those footsteps. I think he was, and is, one of the great presidents and for President Truman to have come here in his presidency, to have shared in the ceremony of ground breaking, which means so much, right here I believe in this very spot, is a great honor for this fine institution of higher learning. So I'm doubly honored; honored to be invited on this occasion and honored to be included in a history of the university which is so glorious in all of its achievements. Well, I'm always happy to be in North Carolina. Governor Moore is getting a little suspicious. He sees me come here so often, he wonders what's up, but I want him to know it's but a friendly visit. Even though I can't think of a nicer place to live and a more wonderful people to know. And we're very happy to visit in this state, the industrial Piedmont section of this state, industrial and yet with all the qualities of good life. The centers of this region, men of great faith as well as great industry, scarcely ever founded a town or a city without founding a college, too. I think that tells something of the character of the people, their dedication to learning. And so today this great region is the center of higher education or higher learning in North Carolina as well as the center of higher profits, great industry.

Learning and earning have been the pattern of this state and indeed it must be the pattern of our nation. This emphasis upon excellence which is so vital today, and upon scholarship which is

the adornment of God's gift of the human intellect - what a wonderful tradition for a state or a nation. And I'm sure it's no secret when I say that every hard-pressed college administrator or president knows that if you're going to have learning you have to have some earning. One depends upon the other, particularly as you seek to expand these facilities of a great private denominational institution.

And let me digress for just a moment to say how much I believe in the importance of the private or the denominational or the non-public institution of higher learning. This is a pluralistic society not a monolith, and I believe that the competition for excellence that comes from the private and indeed the endowed or denominational institution does much to improve the whole quality of life as well as the character and the quality of education.

I was a professor in a school called McCalister College, Presbyterian denominational college, and it was a university or a college of excellence and I've always considered it one of my real privileges in life to have been included in that faculty and might I share just a little intimate reflection or observation with you. Just this past, well about two months ago, a special chair in this field of international relations, studies in international relations, the Hubert H. Humphrey Professorship, was established at that college and every year outstanding people in the field of public life, public affairs will come there to share their experiences with the young people at that campus and that college. This means so much to our nation to have these fine campuses, these great universities with these superb faculties, to brighten our day, to give us some ray of hope.

Now I'm reminded as I speak to you about the private school or university, about the story of the distribution of some years ago of the Duke Endowment. I'm sure that most of you have heard about it but it might be well just to refresh your memory. They say that the great tobacco fortune was offered first to a Baptist institution in this state and promptly refused and turned away as "tainted" money. Then the money was offered to a Presbyterian institution. I will say for the Presbyterians that they did debate it for a while. The trustees wavered a bit. They prayed a bit and then they turned away from it, turned the offer down, too. Tobacco money they regretfully decided, was "tainted" money. That's all old history. Finally as we all know the great endowment was offered to a Methodist college. Now I was brought up a Methodist so I can understand this. The President of that college reported to his trustees as follows, "Gentlemen, it is said that this is an offer of 'tainted' money and I agree. Tain't enough." My, we've heard that in Washington, I can tell you. Now this is how your great partner and rival in excellence, Duke University, came to be established. But I understand that the Methodist example of practicality has now spread to other denominations.

Now a word about this institution. I feel at home at Baptist institutions. I'm a believer in strong faith and long sermons. In fact I've delivered several myself and I've always liked the old phrase "total immersion." Not only as a mode of baptism but as an approach to living. And I'm honored, of course, to be present at the investiture of a distinguished scholar and educator, Dr. Scales. Dr. Scales, I've studied your career with great interest and I was even reading here in the program today a little more about it,

particularly that part about how you were once vice-president of Oklahoma Baptist University and then got promoted. You see, I always like to see vice presidents do well. Now one of my ecclesiastical friends pointed out to me not long ago that in politics as with the Kingdom of Heaven many are called but few are chosen. And I'm still searching for a more optimistic text to use in reply.

Now to be serious with you. These are very strange times. Somebody said they were the worst of times. And if they are then they call for the best of things. But this is a time for discontent in America and we cannot ignore that. But is that good or is that bad? Here are some wise words on discontent that I found in an old collection of Americana:

"There are two kinds of discontent in this world: the discontent that works, and the discontent that wrings its hands. The first gets what it wants and the second loses what it had. There is no cure for the first but success and there is no cure at all for the second."

There is a great simple message there. This discontent that can lead to action. I've forgotten who it was that said that the purpose of knowledge is action and of course the greatest duty of a university is to be involved in the action of the life of a nation, in the life of a community. Might I say to my friends in the field of social science where I have tried to do my study that the greatest laboratory in the world is at your fingertips, right here in this county, in this state, in this nation. You need not even build new facilities. They're here. The laboratory of the study of human behavior, motivation and indeed the human character itself.



Because, as Saint Augustine said, the most wondrous thing of all is man himself and the study of man. That is the great study and it is here for us.

The big question before us today is whether we shall really roll up our sleeves and tackle the root causes of our discontent or whether we're going to be consumed by doubt and hesitation and fear and recrimination. Are we going to get what we want or or we going to lose what we have? This question can only be answered by each of us individually and indeed then by a national commitment. A commitment worthy of the heritage of this nation and its people.

Now just why are we discouraged and discontented? Well, first I think we have in the last few years, I'd say even in the last five years, taken a good hard and honest look at the blemishes, the inequities that still disfigure our democracy. And let me give you a word of encouragement. The house of democracy has never been complete and it may not be in our lifetime but maybe we can add a room, maybe we can open a window, maybe we can brighten it just a bit. We've gotten nearer the truth these past years about ourselves than ever before. We have recognized, for example, poverty amidst plenty for the social disgrace that it is and we have learned how much improvement our educational system needs if it is to provide every child with an equal chance to develop his human potential.

Thomas Carlyle once said that the great law of culture is to let each become all that he was created, capable of becoming. What is then the purpose of education? To release first of all this talent that is God-given and then to develop it. The constant process of emancipation and enrichment is what it's all about. We do not judge a civilization by its goods or its wealth but the kind of man that it produces, the character of the people. And we

are today having to judge ourselves as we speak of our wealth and our power and our science and our technology. We must ask ourselves, for what are these things? To what purpose do we put them. Now we've seen most of our big cities in trouble and we've seen them decaying from within and yet a city should be the finest exemplification of man's capacity to build and to create.

We have recognized that Civil Rights legislation does not mean real freedom for a father who doesn't have any work, for a mother who can't feed or clothe her children decently or for a child who lives regrettably and yet factually in a rat-infested tenement in America. We have recognized that anyone who works hard cannot necessarily make it if he faces a roadblock of blind discrimination and other artificially created odds. I think it is fair then to say, that Americans perhaps for the first time sense the realities of the unfinished business ahead and they have good reason then for discontent but while we are talking about realities, let me remind you of these. We as a nation have invested now just through our federal government, and my how much more at other levels, twice as much in education in the last four years as in the previous century, as in the previous century, and most of that increase has gone to the people who need it the most. So that America will not become two societies, separate and unequal, but so that it can become one nation under God and indivisible with liberty and justice for all.

There is no opportunity, we know, no real opportunity without education. Education is the key that unlocks the prison of man's ignorance. It's the key that opens the door to his opportunity.

It's the key that gives him the real, the real meaning of democracy-- freedom of choice. We're now investing three times as many federal dollars, and, my, how many more state and local dollars in health, the health of our people, as we did just less than four years ago. We're now operating for the first time a model cities program, which is America's first nationwide program of urban renewal and the renewal that I speak of means not only new bricks and mortar but new opportunities and new hope for people.

I used to read a great deal of John Stewart Mill when I was a student and taught a bit of it as a professor of political philosophy. And I remember this phrase:

"Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it."

Another way of putting it, exclude people from the meaning of their citizenship and they are not citizens with any of the responsibilities much less the privileges. Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it. What this nation needs today is great doses of love but love based on participation and understanding so that all of us may have something to do for our country.

Our Congress just recently, or I should say, well, in the last few years, passed a sweeping Civil Rights Act in 1964, a voting rights act in 1965 and only yesterday another landmark act in the field of human rights and equal opportunity giving great opportunity in the field of open housing. We have rescued these past few years over twelve million of our fellow citizens from poverty since 1961. Grown up out of the swamp of poverty onto the high ground of opportunity. Twelve million of them. Not enough but twelve million.

Lives that in a very real sense have become worthwhile. Human waste converted into human worth. And there is no greater sin than human waste and there is no greater evil than to permit human waste to exist if we can do something about it to make it into human worth.

So we are, my fellow Americans, making some strides and forward. Now I cite these accomplishments in a purely partisan spirit. Now what do I mean by partisan? Partisan to this nation that has done much better than it thinks it's done because I'm a partisan American. I do not believe in selling this country short. I'm afraid that there's sometimes a misinterpretation of that word, partisan. What it really means is I'm a part of it, involved in it. And I still believe and I'm sure I have every reason to believe, that this America of ours is the last best hope of earth. And I don't want anybody to sell it short. I'm partisan to a nation that instinctively looks to the task ahead rather than to the accomplishments behind. I'm interested in our young people making history as well as studying it. And may I say that you have a better chance of getting good grades making it than trying to remember what somebody else did before you ever lived.

Ironically our very progress seems to be the major source of discontent in America today. We have rising expectations in our own midst. Let me again go back to my political science textbooks to de Touqueville. The great French sociologist who seemed to have a prophetic vision of this nation in the early 1800's. Listen to these very meaningful words for the year 1968. And they were written a hundred and some thirty years ago:

"The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be



an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

The very needlessness of poverty and discrimination in our rich society make them not only immoral, not only indecent but, as deTocqueville has put it, intolerable. Intolerable not only to those who are poor and oppressed but to the vast majority of Americans who believe, and sincerely believe, that liberty and justice for all is more than a slogan. And it is. It must be.

Indeed I find a new moral concern in our society today, reflected both in dramatic new social programs, in our business community which has shown more social consciousness in the last decade than in the preceding one hundred years, on our college campuses with the concern of our young people over the fate of their nation and the direction of the course it takes, and I find a heightened awareness of the inequities that remain. I don't call this a sick nation. I call it a concerned nation. And I call it a nation that has a new sense of moral purpose. Gropping with it, yes; seeking and searching for answers, yes; not necessarily dogmatic answers but the pragmatic answers. We seek and we try. We experiment but it requires a great dose of faith and isn't it good to come to a Baptist school where faith is such a reservoir of strength. This new moral concern means discontent and if we channel it correctly it means victory. It means progress.

Now then what of the world at large? Because we are bound to this world. Early in 1942, when Franklin Roosevelt was preparing a fireside chat for his fellow Americans--Americans who had thought they were safe and isolated behind two oceans--he told some of his

advisers these words: "I'm going to ask the American people to take out their maps. I'm going to speak about strange places that many of them have never heard of, places that are now the battleground of civilization. And I'm going to ask the newspapers to print maps of the whole world."

Well, ladies and gentlemen, now the world is before us on the television screen. It is there in all of its beauty and all of its ugliness and all of its promise and all of its despair. I'm not quite sure we've adjusted ourselves to our realities, but I think we shall. Just as the printed word was a revolutionary concept and device, the printing press, and a device for social progress, so do I believe modern media of electronics can be the great educator, can be the great instrument for social progress, for social justice. If all of those who had the responsibility for its management and its use will understand that there comes with it responsibility.

Responsibility is the word for our time. The world that Mr. Roosevelt spoke of has been in our daily headlines ever since his time. Hungry children, booming populations, people struggling through the first difficult steps of economic development and self-government, aggression and war. We get it every day. We have been an integral part of that world, one world, a shrinking world. For we have considered it too dangerous to let the great questions of war and peace be decided in this nuclear age without American participation.

I think the greatest danger of our time is withdrawal. And, my fellow Americans, let me put it on the line today. I see withdrawal symptoms in America, withdrawing from the realities at home and abroad. There is no such thing as stopping the world and letting me get off. There can be no withdrawal except at the cost

of catastrophe. And yet there are those who find this world too troubled, too complex, too bitter, too demanding so they say let's back away from it. To do this we would be guilty of mass gross cowardice and immorality. Our engagement in the world is essential even though it has cost us vast sums of money and has cost us even more dearly in human lives and it has cost us frustration and from time to time it will cost us and has cost us friends and I must say that I think it will cost us more of all of this in the future.

And our sacrifices have meant a certain amount of discontent right here at home. But there's another kind of discontent in America too. A healthy discontent. The discontent that human beings in other places should go hungry while we have so much. What a wonderful feeling it is to know that in America there are people who care and care deeply for people they've never known. Who have taken the message to feed the hungry and heal the sick and have put it to work through government and through church and through school and through personal participation.

There's a discontent that men should go ignorant when we know as Jefferson said, "You cannot be both ignorant and free." Discontent with the prospect that we and our children might face the threat of nuclear annihilation. Because of that discontent we have a Peace Corps at work in the world, a Food for Freedom program, a Foreign Aid program. We have hundreds of thousands of Americans serving around the world in shirt sleeves and uniform in the cause of development, nation building and peace.

A word about peace. Peace-building is not a dramatic work. Not nearly so dramatic as war. But it is an essential work. The search for peace is a lonely struggle and it does not come through binges of emotion. It comes from the patient, day by day, hard, sacrificial



work of many individuals and nations. But it is going on and it's going on now.

Last week I returned from Mexico City where I affirmed our country's pledge to help keep Latin America free of nuclear weapons and the threat of their use. I signed that protocol--or treaty--for you on behalf of your government. That is a building block in the cathedral of peace. A nuclear non-proliferation treaty is now pending before the United Nations. Your President forced that issue through diplomacy, and it was my privilege during this past spring in March and April to go to Europe to visit six countries to try to get action on another program to stop this mad arms race in this dangerous area of nuclear power. And we are succeeding. Just within the last year we've seen the establishment of a new Asian Development Bank, an African Development Bank. We've joined with other nations to promote international trade and economic growth and we've concluded an agreement barring nuclear weapons from outer space. We've agreed on a counselor treaty with the Soviet Union and the hot line kept the Middle East crisis from exploding into a major international confrontation. President Johnson's personal envoy averted war over Cyprus between two of our allies, one of the most dangerous situations of this century. And today because of the selfless courage and statesmanship of the President, President Johnson, there is some prospect at last that the world can move towards peace in Southeast Asia. Even as I speak to you, efforts are being made to get that movement towards peace on a steady course.

Yes, you see, I believe mankind is moving closer to peace, a stable lasting peace, but we've learned and relearned the truth of John F. Kennedy's words:

"Peace and Freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined, all

uncertainty, challenge and peril."

Ladies and gentlemen, that is it. That's our world. That's how it is and to think otherwise is a dangerous illusion. But we have faced times like this before and surely I think we of this day and age will not do less than those who preceded us. So where do we go from here? Shall we take courage because the bottle is half full, or despair because it is half empty? Will the pictures of our national leaders pasted on dartboards be our targets or will our targets be the real challenges before us? Shall our democracy fail because of complacent selfishness and divisive criticism or shall we find new strength and unity in the common cause of a greater and a better America? Yes, there is a need in this land for a new patriotism. A patriotism of citizen participation with citizen responsibility, with national maturity as never before. We're a grown up people, my fellow Americans, and we cannot act child-like, either in frenzy of emotion or in fleeing at the first sign of danger.

I think the answers to all of these questions depend on each and every one of us and not just on Washington or the governor, or the state capitol. Personal involvement is absolutely essential. They depend on whether or not we as free men and women will be able to meet the responsibilities of democratic government, to be mature and responsible, to have progress amidst order and order with progress. The urgent need of self-discipline and of understanding. There is no other way, no other way, no repressive form by government can replace the absolute necessity of self-discipline and understanding. I think our hopes and aspirations depend on whether each one of us is willing to put it, as the President said last Sunday evening, this country's cause above any personal, individual interest. Ask not what your

country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country. Two presidents in our lifetime have reminded us of this new patriotism. A new patriotism for America is demanded at this hour. It is an absolute essential on every college campus, in every walk of life. Not the hurrah of patriotism, but of dedication, of commitment, of understanding, of the cleansing of our minds and our souls from every form of bigotry, prejudice, intolerance and blindness. If that patriotism grips us then indeed, the peace that we want and pray for, can be ours. Because to succeed in this world we must show patience and courage for the road to peace is long and difficult. At home we must be able, once and for all, to see others not as strangers but as brothers, not rich and poor, not black and white but as American citizens, all.

So I believe that now is the time for all of us to shed the intolerable burden of prejudice and resentment. It's too heavy a load to carry. Now is the time for all of us to return to the fundamental things at the heart of the American dream. The belief that all men, by God's creation, are created equal. You see there is a quality of the spiritual in freedom. The belief that people possess the wisdom to truly govern themselves and the belief that men through the exercise of free will can change the conditions of life on this earth and change them for the better. The way you treat people is the way you treat God. It is the best way.

So let us now place our faith in and our action behind these beliefs. Let us join hearts and hands, black and white, brown and yellow, adult and child in the single cause of America. Almost four years ago when Dr. Martin Luther King's life had been threatened, he said these words:



"Well, if physical death is the price that I must pay to free my white brothers and sisters from a permanent death of the spirit, then nothing can be more redemptive."

Now my friends and neighbors, it is the time for redemption. Wherever hate is to be found in a black heart or a white one, wherever malice is to be found, in any section of this country, it must be eradicated. It must be. And in reverence, I say may we prove equal to it. So that no man's death may ever again be needed to so shake the conscience of this nation. We have so much to live for, so much to do, and so many people depend on us, this America, which is no longer just a country or even a political institution, but this America which is the hope for people everywhere.

Let us therefore ask each other for courage and for strength, and above all let us pray for and ask for the faith, the faith that will stand us well in these days of uncertainty, in this difficult and perilous time in which we live.

Dr. Scales, I want to wish you a great presidency of this university. As your governor has said, this university produces leaders and my, how we need leaders now. Leaders that are humble, leaders that are knowledgeable and leaders that are faithful. I think Wake Forest University produces that kind of a person. Thank you.

Remarks by Vice President Humphrey  
INAUGURATION OF PRESIDENT JAMES RALPH SCALES  
Wake Forest University  
Winston-Salem, North Carolina  
April 11, 1968

These are very strange times. Somebody said they were the worst of times. And if they are then they call for the best of things. But this is a time for discontent in America and we cannot ignore that. But is that good or is that bad? Here are some wise words on discontent that I found in an old collection of Americana:

"There are two kinds of discontent in this world: the discontent that works, and the discontent that wrings its hands. The first gets what it wants and the second loses what it had. There is no cure for the first but success and there is no cure at all for the second."

There is a great simple message there. This discontent can lead to action. I've forgotten who it was that said that the purpose of knowledge is action and of course the greatest duty of a university is to be involved in the action of the life of a nation, in the life of a community. Might I say to my friends in the field of social science where I have tried to do my study that the greatest laboratory in the world is at your fingertips, right here in this county, in this state, in this nation. You need not even build new facilities. They're here. The laboratory of the study of human behavior, motivation and indeed the human character itself is before us. Because, as Saint Augustine said, the most wonderful thing of all is man himself and the study of man. That is the great study and it is here for us.

The big question before us today is whether we shall really roll up our sleeves and tackle the root causes of our discontent or whether we're going to be consumed by doubt and hesitation and fear and recrimination. Are we going to get what we want or are we going to lose what we have? This question can only be answered by each of us individually and indeed then by a national commitment -- commitment worthy of the heritage of this nation and its people.



Now just why are we discouraged and discontented? Well, first I think we have in the last few years, I'd say even in the last five years, taken a good hard and honest look at the blemishes, the inequities that still disfigure our democracy. And let me give you a word of encouragement. The house of democracy has never been complete and it may not be in our lifetime but maybe we can add a room, maybe we can open a window, maybe we can brighten it just a bit. We've gotten nearer the truth these past years about ourselves than ever before. We have recognized, for example, poverty amidst plenty for the social disgrace that it is and we have learned how much improvement our educational system needs if it is to provide every child with an equal chance to develop his human potential.

Thomas Carlyle once said that the great law of culture is to let each become all that he was created capable of becoming. What is then the purpose of education? First of all to release this talent that is God-given and then to develop it. The constant process of emancipation and enrichment is what it's all about. We do not judge a civilization by its goods or its wealth but the kind of man that it produces, the character of the people. And we are today having to judge ourselves as we speak of our wealth and our power and our science and our technology. We must ask ourselves, for what are these things? To what purpose do we put them. Now we've seen most of our big cities in trouble and we've seen them decaying from within and yet a city should be the finest exemplification of man's capacity to build and to create.

We have recognized that Civil Rights legislation does not mean real freedom for a father who doesn't have any work, for a mother who can't feed or clothe her children decently or for a child who lives, regrettably and yet actually, in a rat-infested tenement in America. We have recognized that anyone who works hard cannot necessarily make it if he faces a roadblock of blind discrimination and other artificially created barriers.

I think it is fair then to say, that Americans, perhaps for the first time, sense the realities of the unfinished business ahead and they have good reason for discontent. But while we are talking about realities, let me remind you of these. We as a nation have invested now just through our federal government, and much more at other levels, twice as much in education in the last four years as in the previous century and most of that increase has gone to the people who need it the most. We have done it so that America will not become two societies, separate and unequal, but can become one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.

There is, we know, no real opportunity without education. Education is the key that unlocks the prison of man's ignorance. It's the key that opens the door to his opportunity. It's the key that gives him the real meaning of democracy -- freedom of choice.

We're now investing three times as many federal dollars -- and many more state and local dollars -- in the health of our people, as we did just less than four years ago.

We're now operating for the first time a model cities program, which is America's first nationwide program of urban renewal. And the renewal that I speak of means not only new bricks and mortar but new opportunities and new hope for people.

I used to read a great deal of John Stewart Mill when I was a student and taught a bit of his through as a professor of political philosophy. And I remember this phrase:

"Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it."

Another way of putting it, exclude people from the meaning of their citizenship and they are not citizens with any of the responsibilities much less the privileges. Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he shall have no love for it. What this nation needs today is great doses of love, but love based on participation and understanding so that all of us may have something to do for our country.

Our Congress, in the last few years passed a sweeping Civil Rights Act in 1964, a voting rights act in 1965 and only yesterday another landmark act in the field of human rights and equal opportunity giving great opportunity in the field of open housing. We have rescued these past few years over twelve million of our fellow citizens from poverty since 1961 -- drawn them up out of the seamp of poverty onto the high ground of opportunity. Twelve million of them. Not enough but twelve million. Lives that in a very real sense have become worthwhile. Human waste converted into human worth. And there is no greater sin than human waste and there is no greater evil than to permit human waste to exist if we can do something about it to make it into human worth.

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"The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute."

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Now then what of the world at large? Early in 1942, when Franklin Roosevelt was preparing a fireside chat for his fellow Americans -- Americans who had thought they were safe and isolated behind two oceans -- he told some of his advisers these words:

"I'm going to ask the American people to take out their maps. I'm going to speak about strange places that many of them have never heard of, places that are now the battle ground of civilization. And I'm going to ask the newspapers to print maps of the whole world."

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I think the greatest danger of our time is withdrawal. And, my fellow Americans, let me put it on the line today. I see withdrawal symptoms in America, withdrawing from the realities at home and abroad. There is no such thing as stopping the world and letting me get off. There can be no withdrawal except at the cost of catastrophe. And yet there are those who find this world too troubled, too complex, too bitter, too demanding. So they say let's back away from it. To do this we would be guilty of mass gross cowardice and immorality.

Our engagement in the world is essential even though it has cost us vast sums of money and has cost us even more dearly in human lives and it has cost us frustration. And from time to time it will cost us friends. And I must say that I think it will cost us more of all of this in the future.

Our sacrifices have meant a certain amount of discontent right here at home. But there's another kind of discontent in America too. A healthy discontent. The discontent that human beings in other places should go hungry while we have so much. What a wonderful feeling it is to know that in America there are people who care and care deeply for people they've never known. Who have taken the message to feed the hungry and heal the sick and have put it to work through government and through church and through school and through personal participation.

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There's discontent with the prospect that we and our children might face the threat of nuclear annihilation.

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I believe mankind is moving closer to peace, a stable lasting peace. But we have to learn and relearn the truth of John F. Kennedy's words:

"Peace and freedom do not come cheap, and we are destined, all of us here today, to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty, challenge and peril."

That's how it is and to think otherwise is a dangerous illusion. But we have faced times like this before and surely I think we of this day and age will not do less than those who preceded us.

So where do we go from here? Shall we take courage because the bottle is half full, or despair because it is half empty?

Will the pictures of our national leaders pasted on dartboards be our targets or will our targets be the real challenge before us?



Shall our democracy fail because of complacent selfishness and divisive criticism or shall we find new strength and unity in the common cause of a greater and a better America?

Yes, there is a need in this , as never before, for a new patriotism. A patriotism of citizen participation with citizen responsibility, with national maturity. We're a grown up people, and we cannot act child-like, either in frenzy of emotion or in fleeing at the first sign of danger.

I think the answers to all of these questions depend on each and every one of us and not just on Washington or the governor, or the state capitol. They depend on whether or not we as free men and women will be able to meet the responsibilities of democratic government, to be mature and responsible, to have progress amidst order and order with progress. Personal involvement is absolutely essential. There is urgent need of self-discipline and of understanding. There is no other way, no repressive force by government can replace the absolute necessity of self-discipline and understanding.

Our hopes and aspirations depend on whether each one of us is willing to put this country's cause above any personal, individual interest, as the President was last Sunday evening. Ask not what your country can do for you, ask what you can do for your country. Two presidents in our lifetime have reminded us of this new patriotism. A new patriotism for America is demanded at this hour. It is an absolute essential on every college campus, in every walk of life. Not patriotism of the hurrah but of dedication, of commitment, of understanding, of the cleansing of our minds and our souls from every form of bigotry, prejudice, intolerance and blindness. If that patriotism grips us, then, indeed, the peace that we want and pray for can be ours. Because to succeed in this world we must show patience and courage, for the road to peace is long and difficult. At home we must be able, once and for all, to see others not as strangers but as brothers, not rich and poor, not black and white but as American citizens, all.

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Dr. Scales, I want to wish you a great presidency of this university. As your governor has said, this university produces leaders and my, how we need leaders now. Leaders that are humble, leaders that are knowledgeable and leaders that are faithful. I think Wake Forest University produces that kind of a person.



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