

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

THE HACKLEY SCHOOL

TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK

May 19, 1969

How Elected
President
Mr. Thomas Diggo

Headmaster
Kenneth MacArthur
Berkeley Johnson Jr
SE of Trustees

Phyllis Hammer
(alumnus)
Herbert Allen Jr

Pl.
 06
 Service

It is a great pleasure for me to participate in the
Hackley school's Senior Program. I have read the list
 of outstanding persons who have or who will be addressing
 you this yearand it is a list unmatched by any
 other educational institution in the country. I am honored
 to be here.

This morning I want to talk about the subject of
"Youth and Politics" and I could do this from a variety
 of perspectives.

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L If this were a seminar in ancient history, I
 could talk about the phenomenon of "Humphrey's Diaper
 Brigade" -- the youthful activists who captured the
Minneapolis City Hall in the mid-1940's and built the
 Democratic Farmer-Labor Party in what had been one
 of the most solidly Republican states in the Union.

Hist -
 Diaper
Brigade

L Or if we were talking about the difficulties and
 frustrations of leadership in Congress, I could tell you about
 my proposal in 1952 for a Constitutional amendment lowering
the voting age to 18 in federal elections. L That one hardly evoked
 the wholehearted enthusiasm of my Senatorial colleagues
 in those days...although now it seems to be picking up a
good bit more support.

18
 yr
vote

- Parent Election
President

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I suspect, however, that I should keep my remarks limited to more recent events. But here, too, I think I can offer some rather unique perspectives.

There is the perspective one acquires from four years in the Vice Presidency...at a time when young people were not noted for their passivity...or for their commitment to dialogue as a form of political expression.

Student
Coalition

↳ But I also acquired perspective as the Democratic
Party's nominee for the Presidency when the Student
Coalition, comprised of Kennedy, McCarthy and Humphrey
supporters, organized one million volunteers in my behalf
in the weeks preceding the election. ↳ In many crucial areas
their work proved to be the most effective of any supporting
the Humphrey-Muskie ticket. The narrowness of the final
outcome was in large measure due to the remarkable
work of the Student Coalition.

stop
what are you going to take I
Have not decided -
Librarian or Administrator
Blag.

Now I come to the Hackley School the day before I resume my classes at Macalester College and the University of Minnesota -- having returned to a teaching career after a rather extended leave of absence to conduct some basic research in American politics.

↳ This research came to an end rather abruptly on January 20, 1969 -- the American people and the U. S. Constitution took care of that.

I know from my own students that the days have passed for civics book homilies about young people taking an active interest in democratic government.

Although it is still true that the percentage of young people under 30 who vote is still considerably below the percentage turn-out for middle-aged Americans, there does exist among many young people a new sense of concern -- in some instances a sense of outrage--over the moral structure of this society and over the processes by which this society seeks to govern itself.

Concern

It is also true that these activist young people construe politics in its broadest sense, by no means restricting their activities to the major parties or even to the political process as it is generally defined.

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*Student**not only at Political*

Government but Their interest and involvement are directed ~~instead to~~

a broad spectrum of established institutions -- the university,
the church, community organizations, business and labor
groups.

Thus it makes little sense for one like myself to admonish
 young people "to get involved in politics." They are involved
 and, in many instances, with a dedication and intensity
 that puts even the "Humphrey Diaper Brigade" to shame.

Change - w: War II.

- New Nations
- Science Technology
- Communications
- Education
- Mobility People
- Rising Expectations

(Aids up to ferment)

Paradoxes

- Poverty - Prosperity
- Hunger - Plenty
- Illiteracy - Schools
- Unemploy - Tight labor market
- War - when disputes need for peace
- Disease - modern medicine
- Racism - one people

Can system cope w. these?

-8-

Rules

Nor do I intend to spend much time giving you my views on why it is important for young people to accept and practice what history has demonstrated to be essential rules of the game for political activity--assuming you start from certain premises about the necessity for free expression, and the limitations of all human wisdom and action.

Free
Speech

I believe most young people understand why tactics such as the violent disruption of public meetings tear at the roots of those traditions which ultimately are essential for the maintenance of civilized society...or why the right of dissent also carries with it the obligation to permit others the right of advocacy.

Dissent

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Some young people consciously and deliberately reject these standards of political behavior. I think these young people are terribly wrong and they are doing the cause of constructive reform grave damage across this country.

I've been through enough political scraps to appreciate the protections which rules ultimately provide the majority and the minority. I know how their erosion can, in the end, only jeopardize the very objectives which the minority was striving to achieve in the first place.

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And so I declare unequivocally and without apology my intention to fight for survival of these rules on campuses... in our government... and in society at large.

↳ In these brief remarks I want only to stress two points:

First, the perspective of twenty years is helpful in appreciating the tremendous progress we have made in many areas... precisely because of the commitment and involvement of young people.

Progress

↳ Persons on the front lines are sometimes prone toward discouragement if the first skirmish doesn't bring total victory-- and they come to believe--erroneously--that their efforts no longer matter. •

↳ Many of you are probably concerned over the influence of the military on our democratic institutions and processes.

So am I.

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Indeed, I was concerned throughout the 1950's when we were battling the issue of atmospheric nuclear testing-- when the accumulation of strontium-90 began to pose a serious threat to the healthy development of children and adults. *Test Ban* In 1963, after many years of work, we signed a limited *nuclear* test ban treaty to stop this atmospheric contamination. The question of the Senate's ratification of this treaty, however, was bitterly fought--even if the final vote didn't reveal the narrowness of the division in the Senate when the debate started. One of the reasons we finally won that battle was that thousands of young people worked to organize public opinion in support of the limited test ban treaty.

Although a century from now this vote may command only a few sentences in the history books, it nevertheless committed this country to a policy which, in the end, will save thousands if not millions of people from the crippling effects of nuclear fall-out, as well as create another stabilizing factor among nations possessing nuclear weapons. And the youth of America helped generate the political pressure to ratify this treaty.

↳ I call that a significant victory...even if it took almost ten years.

Timing of
issues.

My second point is related to this illustration. Few people truly understand the infinitely complex process of how issues emerge and gain legitimacy for public debate and action. We only know that from time to time issues which have been outside the arena of public debate suddenly become legitimate items for decision in Congress and within the Executive branch.

Poverty
Race

Arms
Control

For a host of reasons, many of them related to the increasing political activity of young people over the past five years, the issue of slowing down the race between the Soviet Union and the United States over strategic weapons is now up for debate and decision in Congress. And we know there is in America a public receptivity to this issue totally absent a decade ago--when some of us were slugging away in Congress without great success or visibility.

Arms
Race

This is truly a historic moment in the world's short history of relations among nations over the issue of strategic nuclear weapons.

No issue cuts more directly to the heart of the concerns which motivate so many of our young people toward political action--however that term may be defined.

If we can win this battle--and by winning I mean bringing about a fundamental re-ordering of our national priorities away from the endless accumulation of the weapons of mass destruction and toward the improvement of this country and our people--many of the related concerns of young people--cities, education, economic discrimination, poverty, hunger--will be much closer to constructive settlement than they are today.

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This, then, presents a specific challenge to the political acuity and skill of this generation of younger Americans.

Moral outrage, in itself, will not be sufficient for victory when Congress considers the many requests that will be made for massive increases in military weaponry.

Dedicated and informed efforts will, however, be vital in arousing a significant portion of the American people to the critical nature of these forthcoming decisions and in mobilizing the bipartisan political support that will be necessary.

This is a cause worthy of your most articulate and courageous action.

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HACKLEY SCHOOL
TARRYTOWN, NEW YORK

May 19, 1969
9:30 A.M.

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Guest Speaker

Thomas Edward Diggs, Jr.,
President of the Hackley School, introduced Hubert H.
Humphrey.

MR. HUMPHREY:

Thank you very much, Mr.
President. The last four or five years of my life I
have been saying, "Thank you very much, Mr. President."
(Laughter) In fact, I said it so much that I wanted to
say it to myself. (Laughter) I do want to express my
appreciation this morning to your Head Master Mr.
McArthur and to the member of the Board of Trustees,
Mr. Johnson, who met me, and my friend ^{Herbert Allen} ~~Homer Allen~~ who
kind of encouraged me to come here, and I am glad he
encouraged me sufficiently, because I can see it is
going to be a rather happy and delightful day, and I
am delighted to have the chance to talk to an audience
of young people. I thought it was going to be all boys.
You have no idea how pleased I am the young ladies came,
and that makes it all the more enjoyable and entertain-
ing for me. (Laughter) I know I was asked as to what
my topic would be, and I just fished around a little

while and decided, since I was coming to the Hackley School, and since I knew this wasn't a graduate seminar, and since I knew it wasn't an old people's home, (laughter) I thought I would make it "Youth in Politics." So that is what I am going to talk to you about. I am just going to visit with you, and then we will have some questions and, hopefully, some answers (laughter).

I have returned to the classroom involuntarily, but I have returned to the classroom as a teacher. Twenty-five years ago I was a Professor of Government -- twenty-six years ago, in fact, at the *male elector* ~~McAllister~~ College in St. Paul. It is a small liberal arts college, a very prestigious liberal arts college, with about 1,900 or 2,000 students. I found the other day 400 merit scholars in our school, which tells you a little bit about its quality of scholarship, and its student ability. I also find myself as a Professor in Government at the University of Minnesota, and all of this came about because of the American electorate and the constitutional processes; otherwise, I might have been trying to do what Theodore Roosevelt once said about the White House. He said it was a "bully pulpit,"

and was trying to tell us in that phraseology that from the White House you can be the greatest teacher in the nation. Every president has that opportunity without having the title of professor, and if he does have the title of president, and as president of the United States he never serves in that honored position, he can do more to educate the American public than all of the teachers, and I really believe all of the universities and all schools put together. What a great responsibility, and yet, what a great opportunity.

Now, may I first thank you and congratulate you on this program. I have received a copy of the Hackley program of "Contemporary Americans in an Intricate Society," for 1969. I see that you are going to have my friend Chuck Evers here. By the way, now he is a politician, now, only he was successful (laughter) -- he got elected as Mayor of Fayette, Mississippi. I should be going down to visit him the first part of June. I see a very distinguished member of the armed services and truly a statesman in military as well as a civilian statesman, General Norstaad who will be with you, and I noticed you are going to have, in Political Science,

Hans Morgenthau¹, Professor of Political Science of the University of Chicago, and Herman Kahn, and others.

This is without a doubt one of the most -- one of the best-balanced, and I think, one of the richest programs in terms of talent you have been able to muster of any school I have ever visited. I know you are going to enjoy it, and I hope it will be helpful to you.

When I started out in politics, I was a very young fellow. That's why I wanted to talk to you this morning about a very young man. I was, first of all, a president of the Young Democrats Club. I hope I can say that with a degree of safety in this part of America. (Laughter) I was about 18 years of age. My father was a businessman. Politics was his avocation, and in a democracy politics is, without a doubt, one of the most important responsibilities that anybody has, and we ought not to downgrade it. We ought to look on it as citizenship responsibility, and as an opportunity. When I ran for the office of the Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, and Mr. Diggs, your president, referred to it, I was a rather young man. I was 31 years of age. The group that came

with me, as the Mayor, when I was elected Mayor, was a very young group. For example, the former Secretary of Agriculture, Mr. Orville Freeman, was about 24. He was Chairman of the Civil Service Commission of my city. The present Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, Mayor Arthur Naphthalan was 21; he was my secretary. Congressman Frazier from the State of Minnesota was one of my campaign managers. He was 17. The present Junior Senator of the State of Minnesota, Walter Mondale, was a student of mine at the ^{Macalester} ~~McAllister~~ College. We called this group -- I didn't call it, the opposition called it "Humphrey's Diaper Brigade." (Laughter) Well, we had a group of enthusiastic, idealistic, highly motivated, concerned young men and women, and I believe we did a good job. We built a political party from nothing. There had never been a senator in the Democratic Party elected from the State of Minnesota in a hundred years. There hadn't been a young mayor in our city of Minneapolis of my political persuasion since 1917. So, we went to work to do something, and that's what I want to talk to you about; not just to talk about what we wanted to do, we tried to do something and did do something.

We revised the Civil Service System for a city. We passed the first Fair Employment Practice Ordinance in the United States for a city. We reorganized a city's finances. We cleaned up a police department. We broke the back of organized crime in our city. I think we did it because we were young enough not to be afraid, and we were young enough to dare, and we were sufficiently idealistic to have strong commitment, and yet we had been through the requirements fire of political contest, and we had some idea of what it meant to face opposition, to make choices and to act responsibly. This can be done again and again throughout America, and it is being done in city after city and state after state. I want to encourage the young people before me, yes, to reach for the stars in public life, if that is your ambition to be in public life, but in the process of reaching for the highest offices, be willing to gain some experience, some of the know-how as you struggle for those offices which seem so minor, but which ultimately determine how you are going to live. City councilmen, county supervisors, state legislators -- positions that are often looked upon in the spectrum of politics as being

less than the greatest, are nevertheless the stepping stones as to what is required for effective and responsible public service.

You know, there really isn't anything instant in American life, or any other life, that is worthwhile. There are very few instant successes. We do have instant coffee and instant tea and a few other instant products, but you do not produce answers to the problems that are centuries in the making, or at least decades, you don't get instant answers. You do not produce instant statesmanship, you do not produce instant results. You have to be willing to labor at it, even in the greatest cause of all, the cause of peace. As the late President John Kennedy once said, "It is a long and lonely journey," and it is. It takes years or decades, but each person in his own way has to add one little block or one little stone or more to that great cathedral of peace, or human relations, and that is what we are here to talk about, how to do it.

Just speaking to you about some of my interest in the things that we ought to be concerned about, I remember some years back, just to

show you how long it takes and yet you have to start, and what is important in a democracy is not so much the endings but the beginnings, because once you get the breakthrough things start to happen, once that you prove even in a very little way you can do something, things begin to move in a big way. I recall introducing in 1952 in the Senate of the United States a constitutional amendment to grant the right to vote to 18 year olds. I did it every two years, every new Congress, and it didn't have much of a following. In fact, it had a good deal of scorn and ridicule, but today legislature after legislature are amending their election laws to permit young people age 18 and 19 to vote, and it undoubtedly will become a fact in national elections, and has already become such in states and local elections.

I recall in 1951 introducing a bill to provide for the direct election of the president and vice president, to abolish the electoral college, which is an antiquated obsolete institution, and I recall at the time most of the great organizations in our country, like the American Bar Association, was opposed to it. Today the American Bar Association sponsors it. It takes

time. You plant the seed. A good idea is like a mighty oak. You plant the seed, and sometimes the soil seems to reject it, but if you stay at it, nourish it, something begins to happen.

Mr. Diggs told you of my interest in the field of Civil Rights, and I prefer to talk about the things I have some acquaintanceship with. We started introducing Civil Rights legislation into the Congress of the United States in 1949; we passed the first Civil Rights Act of any significance in 1957; it was minor, it merely set up the Civil Rights Commission for the purpose of general study. We passed the second Civil Rights Act, and it was very, very modest, in 1960. That empowered the Attorney General to undertake some action on behalf of citizens to protect their rights. In 1964 we started the battle. Just to give you an idea that there is no room for sunshine patriots in this business, people that can't take it, those are what I call the "hit-and-run artists," coming in and giving a speech, making a splash, getting a headline, and then disappearing. We started the debate on Civil Rights in the Senate of the United States in 1964 on the 10th day of February.

We completed it on the 26th day of June, 252 amendments, the first time a filibuster was ever broken since 1877, and it took persistence, patience, dogged determination, discipline, the willingness to stick with it; and I don't know of anything that is worthwhile that doesn't require just that, and if I say nothing else here this morning, at least I want to say it is whatever we need to do we must understand it is going to take almost super-human effort to get it done, and a willingness to persevere, persist, be patient, but not to have patience be a substitute word for apathy or indifference, but to stick with it and hang on and strive, and never let go until you get at least what you believe is somewhere near what you want.

Some people have said that this younger generation is called the generation of concern. I think so. I am not going to stand here and flatter you and tell you you are brighter than any other group. I doubt that, frankly. (Laughter) I think you have had more opportunities than most groups or other generations, and therefore you are better informed, and a man's judgment is not much better than his information.

You are in a very real sense the victims of an explosion of information. Your problem today is how you sort out that which is worthy and credible. How do you use the information, because it comes like a flood tide. This is true of every discipline. For example, the other day I was talking with some doctors in the field of bio-medicine; there is more material published in one month in the journals on bio-medicine in one month than any individual can read if you read 24 hours a day, 365 days a year for 500 years. So, the job is for retrieval and for the use of information, and I think one of the reasons for the unrest we see today is in part because all over the world there is a knowledge explosion.

I was at Cape Kennedy yesterday. I had quite a day yesterday. Breakfast in Rochester, Minnesota, I had lunch at Cape Kennedy after the Apollo X flight; I stopped off in Washington, D.C., to unpack a suitcase and put on a tux and come on up to Philadelphia where I had dinner last night. That's a good way to spend a Sunday. (Applause) But, what does it tell you? It tells you the type of world in which we live and how you can move, and the variety of

experiences at your hand. I know, my friends, the astronauts were the reason I went to Cape Kennedy yesterday. Tom Stafford is a very close, personal friend of mine as is John Young and Gene Cernan; these are remarkable men. These men had to learn how to use that great volume and the full scientific information that comes to them and to use it effectively and precisely, and I think this is one of the tasks of the modern student, which is why we safely predict that by the year 2000 our Ph.D's. will have the average age of 18. Today the average age is about 27. Why? Because we will learn more and we will learn faster, we will have better means of learning. Of course, the learning process is at its height before age 12. You start to slow down a little bit after that. (Laughter) In fact, you learn more between the years 2 to 7 than in any other comparable period of your life. So many things are coming to us now that we didn't know before.

Let me give you what I think are some of the reasons for the unrest and ferment which seems to be permeating the air these days about how people are so upset. I am not as upset about it as

some, and I want to tell you why. The period in which we live is similar to the Renaissance, the period of the 11th and 12th Centuries; the rediscovery of what they call Aristotelian thought, the Renaissance, the opening of the mind, the opening of the spirit and the opening of society. We think we are the only time that has had revolutionary changes, but be sure that is not the case. For those that are a little older in this room, faculty, and I think for their sons and daughters, maybe these experiences will have some relevance.

Following World War II, just remember, the United Nations Conference at San Francisco, there were less than 50 nations, there were less than 50 sovereign powers. Today there are over 130. Continents have come alive: Africa, with its new spirit of nationalism and separatism; Asia, with its period of science and technology, more developments in the field of science and technology in the last decade than in the preceding ten thousand years -- you can't have that happen without a tremendous impact upon human behavior.

If nothing else had happened in the last 50 years except the radio, the transistor, it

would have changed the whole world, because even in the bush country where people are ignorant and illiterate, they can hear and they can listen, and the little transistor has brought everybody together; and then after that, if you please, age of television which brings the voice, the picture and movement, which is in itself a revolutionary instrument for either good or evil, and as yet we haven't determined what we are going to do with it. Add to that the space program. Yesterday, maybe last night, you saw the pictures of outer space; the world looked like a small volleyball. If nothing else has happened out of the space program, it should have given you a sense of humbleness. It should make us begin to realize two things: we are just one little member of the solar family, and our neighborhood is no longer New York or the United States or even this world, that our neighborhood is the solar system, and in the next 25 years young men and women in this room will be more concerned about the solar system than men of my age have been concerned about our world, because we are just one of the many in the larger family, and we have to explore the influence of the impact of this neighborhood

upon our lives. I think the shots from Apollo 8 over the holiday season were very revealing. They taught us one thing, that we are all travelers together on this earth; they taught us one thing, that there is only one race, and that is the human race, and they taught us something else, that we live very close together and we have to learn, therefore, how to respect the privacy and the rights of others, lest we have no life at all.

The mobility of our people -- in the last election eight million people could not vote in this country under our State election laws, which are antiquated, for one simple reason: they were on the road, their residence requirements could not be met because people in this corporate structure of ours are here one year and another year, and students some place one year and some place else the next year -- that old-fashioned business of being in your own community -- what is your own community today? You can't really identify it in terms of a city or a village or a county or even a state. That is why, once again, we are so much more concerned about the national standards.

And then the explosion in

education. Let me predict to you that within the next 50 years, this school will be able to have the program -- if you have a program of this nature -- by communications satellite where you will be able to have lectures come from the great universities in all parts of the world, and brought right into this classroom. There is no reason at all that it couldn't be done even now; in the laboratory it is done, and they say from a successful experiment in the laboratory to practical application is 50 years. I predict the universities of America and the world will be interconnected in a kind of international scholarship that will be nothing short of amazing, where professors for the University of Tokyo or the University of Moscow or the University of New Delhi, or the University at Harvard, or wherever it may be, will be interchanging professorships in the classroom with instantaneous language translation done mechanically. It is right on the drawing boards, right now. Is it any wonder, therefore, that educators, administrators today are feeling their way and having trouble figuring out what kind of world we are going to have, and the kind of educational system? This is part of the reason for

the ferment. If nothing else had happened but the population explosion, modern society might not be able to cope with it.

And, then, add to this the paradox which you young men and women see today, which I hope you are going to do something about: poverty. It has always been with us, but for the first time you know more about it and the reason you know more about it is, there is no more place to hide. The radio, the television, the newspapers and your mobility, your cars, your ability to get around have discovered it. The age of discovery. Poverty in the midst of plenty, and you know it is wrong. You know something can be done about it, and therefore your guilt, my guilt, the feeling of frustration of our -- not of our incapacity to do it, but apparently of our unwillingness to really do something about it.

Racism, which permeates your society -- we, you and I, know on this earth we are but one race, one people, regardless of color or of ethnic origin, and we know now that it is a curse, it's no longer just a problem. It is a shame, and the

paradox of racism, as we preach brotherhood, racism in the space age, racism in the one world that we live in. It just cannot be accepted, and we as a people, young and old, whatever our age, must eradicate it as we would a plague.

Hunger, right here in the United States, where we have been paying people billions of dollars to restrict production, five million people in America today actually hungry, twenty million people or more the victims of malnutrition, when we know malnutrition affects not only physical health but mental health, we can do something about it, and this, by the way, is one of the things we can do something about this year. There need not be a single child, man or woman go without an adequate diet in the United States of America. We have the means to distribute the food, and we have the wealth to pay for it, and we have the food to supply it, and within a period of less than twelve months every American family, every boy and girl in every school in this country, or not in school, could have a wholesome nutritious diet. That is something to get concerned about.

Unemployment in a tight

labor market because people have no skills, when we have the means of providing the skills.

Disease, and there is disease.

I am introduced by a young man here who could have told you that a black mother has one-half of the chance to live as a white mother in childbirth in this country. I am here to tell you that the rate of infant mortality in this country is a disgrace, and we have the finest doctors and the finest hospitals in the world, but we have not distributed them properly. We have not made them acceptable. These are the paradoxes that tear at people's heart. People ask, "Why are we restless and why this trouble?" -- because you know what I just said is true, and I know that it is true. Therefore, the task of those of us who are more fortunate is to see that these inequities and these injustices are righted and corrected promptly, which they can be.

All of this that we know can drive some people to extreme actions, and I wish to say this, that I have spoken of my interest and you have been an attentive audience. Every man in this nation of ours, regardless of his point of view, is entitled to be

heard. It does not necessarily mean he is entitled to be taken seriously, but he entitled to be heard. (Laughter)

Free speech, particularly on the campus and at the schools, it is one of the prerequisites of a democratic society, and whenever that free speech, or wherever meetings are disrupted, that is a blight upon our so-called concept of freedom. We ought to exercise, particularly in the classroom and at college or prep schools, wherever it may be, the processes of reason. I believe most young people understand why tactics such as violent disruption of a public meeting tears at the roots of those traditions which are essential for the maintenance of the civilized society. I think you will really understand that, and therefore, I ask you to protect that tradition. I think you understand why we must have the right to dissent, because it is the only way we can ventilate corruption, injustice, inequities, wrong, but I must also say to you that right of dissent also carries an obligation to permit others the right of their dissent and of their advocacy. There is no one who is so absolutely filled with truth that he has the right to deny the other man the expression of his opinion. (Applause) For I feel

this younger generation is now to set the house in order. Societies that have lost their chance to benefit human dignity are the ones who have indulged in violence at the expense of human dignity.

What are some of the practical things which you and I can work at now, because you want to do something and I know it. Well, the big issues of tomorrow are where are you going to live, and what is to be the human condition? You are the young men and women of urban society, you have been running away from the cities, your parents have been running from the big cities in the hope they could escape what is there. There is no place to hide. The blight of the inner city of yesterday becomes the deterioration of the new suburb of tomorrow. "Slumism," and that's what it is, is much more contagious than Communism, because it carries with it not only the destruction of buildings and physical things, but of human beings. The human condition, what are we going to do to better it? What price are we willing to pay? That is issue number one: an urban crisis, where you are going to live; 1975, 85 percent of the American people are going to live in cities, and we act

as though they are all going to live in the wide open spaces and prairies, and yet, if you are going to have a better life and a peaceful life and a meaningful life, you are going to have to find a way to make your living conditions tolerable. Let me give you one little fact that tells you why some problems are with us: you are close to the City of New York, and if the same density of population were applied to the other four boroughs of New York City as the density of population that now exists in Harlem, you could put all two hundred million Americans in New York City. Now, ladies and gentlemen, if that city were filled with angels and martyrs and saints, that kind of population density would provoke, would automatically produce trouble. Here we have a great land, open, and yet we crowd in like the poor huddled together in masses. We are going to have to learn to have open spaces. We are going to have to learn how to give people living room and breathing room, and walking room, working room, which of course is only part of it; but the density of the population, itself, in the urban centers, is enough to produce what Dr. Koenig once called "social dynamite".

So, I see two great issues ahead of us: one is the one involved in the urban crisis, which is poverty and race, and the other is the wasteful use of our resources in the ever-spiraling arms race. It takes men and material that are badly needed for social construction. You are going to have to face the problem. You are not long away from being a responsible voter, soon to be family people. You are going to have to face the problem where are you going to get clean water to drink in the country? The water supply of America is the most contaminated water supply of any industrialized nation on the face of the earth. Think of it, here we are, with the greatest body of fresh water the world has ever known, the Great Lakes, and we destroyed it, and we did it in a hurry, we sure are good at that. Beautiful lakes contaminated.

Air pollution. I can assure that these three astronauts in the Apollo capsule have pure, clean air, their health conditions are better than yours in the Hackley School. We know how to do it -- (laughter) -- or is it bad here? (Applause) I wasn't going to say anything about the food -- (applause).

Let me take you back to the

capsule again, Apollo -- here is what it tells me: it tells me that what we want to do we can do. Now, listen, if you can guide the space capsule to within 45 thousand feet of the moon with accuracy, why in the name of common sense can't we have air control towers to make air flight safer, why can't we guide traffic? We know how to do it. It is just that we haven't made up our minds we are going to do it. We have been a little more interested in putting a man on the moon than we have been in putting a man on his feet right here on earth. (Applause) I served as Chairman of the Space Council for four years. I know what we have been able to do. We have utilized the finest that we have in this country in manpower, management, science and technology. We pulled it into what we call a system and it works. I repeat to you, the water that those astronauts will drink and the air that they will breath in that little capsule, which is one-third the size of this platform, will be purer, more wholesome, the environment will be healthier and safer than where you live, wherever you may live in this country, which proves we can do it. So, the battle begins: water and air polution must be won. I wish there was as much

interest in air pollution, the emission of gas from industry as there is on cigarettes. I happen to have quit smoking cigarettes some almost 15 years ago. I did my share before that, as my youngest son reminds me, but I realized there is a health hazard in it, and there is; but I guarantee you, to stand behind one bus in the city -- (laughter) -- is equivalent to smoking a couple of cartons -- (laughter) -- and we can do something about that.

Watch the big jets take off, and you see a cloud of filth and dirt; over 30 tons of debris settles on the City of Washington from the take-off of the jets from National Airport. Yet, we have perfected the engines, it will eliminate 95 percent of all the emission of carbon and debris from a jet air engine. When you want it done, you can get it done.

What about conservation?

I just came back from a visit to an old country, and it gave me some perspective on history. I went to Oxford in England, and I saw a beautiful countryside, and I saw a school -- they call it the "new school" -- and I looked at it, and it didn't look very new. I said, "When was this constructed?" They said, "1284." But it

gave me a new perspective about history, but more importantly I saw paths, bicycle paths and walking paths. I saw a people that were interested even though they lived in a very densely populated country. They are interested in preserving the outdoors, the green spots and open spaces. I saw people interested in seeing that their country wasn't known as the country that had the most litter. Simple little things, it's so difficult to get people interested in simple things. They want to talk about China, they want to talk about India, or they want to talk about world order, which is wonderful, fine. Could you get a little order in your county? How are you going to be able to eliminate poverty in India if you can't do it in New York? (Applause)

Well, these are just a few thoughts I jotted down. I thought this is just sort of to tease you a bit. I wanted you to know there is work to do and lots of it: your living space, the conservation of your resources, the water you drink and the air you breath, the communications that are yours, the transport you need. Isn't it incredible we can spend more time on the end of the runway getting ready to take

off from Washington to go to New York than the time of the flight? One airline last year alone wasted five and a half million dollars waiting to take off from an airport; one airline lost its stockholders and those who should have had dividends. Five and a half million dollars of extra fuel cost because we haven't as yet understood that the air age is here, and build ourselves the modern transportation facility that is required. These are things which you are going to have to do. You are going to have to decide whether you want bigger and bigger cities or new cities. You are going to have to decide whether you want ghettos or whether you want an integrated society. You are going to have to decide whether the Hackley School ought to have -- whether there ought to be other schools with equal standards for everybody in the country. You know, I happen to think education is kind of upside down in America, since I am a part-time educator at least, and we put far too little money in pre-school, elementary and secondary as compared to what we put in higher education. We try to finish off good students and scholars at the top when it is too late, when they needed a good beginning; we have the

best schools in the areas where the people are the richest, we have the poorest schools in the area where the people are the poorest. We have the greatest and the best libraries in the communities where there are wonderful libraries in the private homes. We have the worst public libraries and the most inadequate public libraries in the areas where there are no books in the private homes. Now, you and I can do something about this. We are beginning to do something about it. We have good starts, but I want you to make up your minds these starts are only the beginning. I want you to make up your minds the only safety you have from a family of affluence is that the fellow down the street, and it may be 50 miles or 100 miles away, because that is not distance at all any more, that that person has the same feeling of claim on society, the same feeling of belonging, because when people have a stake in society, when they feel they have a share in it, they will defend and protect it. When they feel it offers them nothing, they care not about it, and some of them seek to destroy it.

The best way to save a country is to let people have a share in the destiny,

and the best way to lose it is to have the people feel that it means nothing to them. America is the only country on the face of the earth in which the majority are not poor. Remember that. This is the only country on the face of the earth in which the majority are not poor. Therefore, we have a unique and special responsibility to see whether or not a democracy of affluence can provide equal opportunities, equality of treatment to those who may not be yet so fortunate. I think we can, and I think we can do it through the established process. I think the greatest discoveries of America are yet to come. I think you are going to find what I have seen, that the children of the poor are rich in spirit if once emancipated from their poverty; that the children of the ghetto and of Appalachia, white and black -- and by the way, there are more poor whites than blacks, and more poor rural people than city -- but those children of those unfortunate conditions offer a treasure house of talent. The finest in the arts is coming from them today. The best in literature is coming from them today. Some of the great discoveries in science is coming from them today. Some of the renewal

of the American spirit is coming from them today. So don't be of little faith. I do not believe America has lost its way. It is just looking for a better way. If we all keep looking together and don't destroy the highway on which we are traveling, we may very well find the better day that I think most of us want. I will take your questions now, thank you very much. (Applause)

XXX

REMARKS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

The Hackley School
~~MASSACHUSETTS INSTITUTE OF TECHNOLOGY~~

Tarrytown, New York
~~GAMBRIDGE, MASSACHUSETTS~~

May 19, 1969

~~APRIL 16, 1969~~

↳ This morning I want to talk about
~~I could address myself to the subject of "Youth and~~
~~-- and I could do this~~
Politics" from a variety of perspectives.

If this were a seminar in ancient history, I could talk about the phenomenon of "Humphrey's Diaper Brigade" -- *the youthful activists who* which captured the Minneapolis City Hall in the mid-1940's and built the Democratic Farmer-Labor Party in what had been one of the most solidly Republican states in the Union.

Or if we were talking about the difficulties and frustrations of leadership in Congress, I could tell you about my proposal

↳ It is a great pleasure for me to participate in The Hackley School's Senior Program. I have read the list of outstanding persons who have or who will be addressing you this year... and it is a list unmatched by any other educational institution in the country. I am honored to be here.

in 1952 for a Constitutional amendment lowering the voting age to 18 in federal elections. That one hardly evoked the wholehearted enthusiasm of my Senatorial colleagues ^{in those days...} although ~~it does~~ ^{now it seems} ~~seem~~ to be picking up a good bit more support ^{these days.}

I suspect, however, that ^{I should keep my remarks} the organizers of this panel had ^{limited to more recent events.} ~~something a little more contemporary in mind.~~ But, here too, I think I can offer some rather ^{unique} ~~unusual~~ perspectives.

There is the perspective one acquires from four years in the Vice Presidency ... at a time when young people were not noted for their passivity ... or for their commitment to dialogue as a form of political expression.

But I also acquired perspective as the Democratic Party's nominee for the Presidency when the Student Coalition, comprised of Kennedy, McCarthy and Humphrey supporters, organized one million volunteers in my behalf in the weeks preceding the

election. In many crucial areas their work proved to be the most effective of any supporting the Humphrey-Muskie ticket.

The narrowness of the final outcome was in large measure due to the remarkable work of the Student Coalition.

the Hackley School the day before I resume
Now I come to M.I.T. directly from my classes at

Macalester College and the University of Minnesota -- having *returned to a*
resumed my teaching career after a rather extended leave-of-

in American politics.
absence to conduct some basic research. This research came

to an end rather abruptly on January 20, 1969 -- the American people and the U.S. Constitution took care of that. ~~Since that~~

~~time I've been trying to figure out how I can translate 20 years~~

~~of active political life on to IBM punch cards. In fact, that's~~

~~really why I came to M.I.T. -- to find a political scientist who~~

~~could help me out.~~

~~What, then, is there to say? Especially in a situation~~
~~as fraught with emotion and conflict as we tonight encounter~~
I know from my own students that
~~in Cambridge?~~

The days have passed for civics-book homilies about
young people taking an active interest in democratic government.
Although
While it is still true that the percentage of young people under 30
who vote is still considerably below the percentage turn-out
for middle-aged Americans, there does exist among many
young people a new sense of concern -- in some instances a
sense of outrage -- over the moral structure of this society and
over the processes by which this society seeks to govern itself.

It is also true that these activist young people construe
politics in its broadest sense, by no means restricting their
activities to the major political parties or even to the political
process as it is generally defined.

Their interest and involvement are directed instead to a broad spectrum of established institutions -- the university, the church, community organizations, business and labor groups.

Thus it makes little sense for one like myself to admonish young people "to get involved in politics." They are involved and, in many instances, with a dedication and intensity that puts even the "Humphrey Diaper Brigade" to shame.

Nor do I intend to spend much time giving you my views on why it is important for young people to accept and practice what history has demonstrated to be essential rules of the game for political activity -- assuming you start from certain premises about the necessity for free expression, and the limitations of all human wisdom *and action*.

I believe most young people understand why tactics such as the violent disruption of public meetings tear at the roots of those traditions which ultimately are essential for the maintenance of civilized society ... or why the right of dissent also carries with it the obligation to permit others the right of advocacy.

Some young people consciously and deliberately reject these standards of political behavior. *I think these young people are terribly wrong... and ~~that~~ they are doing the cause of ~~abandon~~ ability to change their minds, especially this evening in Cambridge. Constructive reform gave damage across this country.*

But, by the same token, I've been through enough political

scraps to appreciate the protections ^{which} these rules ultimately provide *both the majority and I know* the minority, ~~and to understand~~ how their erosion can, in the end,

only jeopardize the very objectives which the minority was striving *in the first place.*

to achieve. *And so I declare unequivocally and without apology*

my intention to fight for survival of these rules ~~in our society.~~ . . .

on campuses . . . in our government . . . and ~~through~~ in society at large.

In these ^{brief} introductory remarks I want only to stress two points:

First, the perspective of twenty years is helpful in appreciating the tremendous progress we have made in many areas ... precisely because of the commitment and involvement of young people. ^{Sometimes} Persons on the front lines are prone toward

discouragement if the first skirmish doesn't bring total victory -- and ^{they come to believe -- erroneously -- that their efforts no longer matter.}
^{probably} ~~Most~~ ^{Many} of you are concerned over the influence of the military on our democratic institutions and processes. So am I.

Indeed, I was concerned throughout the 1950's when we were battling the issue of atmospheric nuclear testing -- when the accumulation of strontium-90 began to pose a serious threat to the healthy development of children and adults. In 1963, after many years of work, we signed a limited test ban

treaty to stop this atmospheric contamination. The question of the Senate's ratification of this treaty, however, was bitterly fought -- even if the final vote didn't reveal the narrowness of the division in the Senate when the debate started. One of the reasons we finally won that battle was that thousands of young people worked to organize public opinion in support of the limited test ban treaty.

Although a century from now this vote may command only a few sentences in the history books, it nevertheless committed this country to a policy which, in the end, will save thousands if not millions of people from the crippling effects of nuclear fall-out, as well as create another stabilizing factor among nations possessing nuclear weapons. And the youth of America helped generate the political pressure to ratify this treaty.

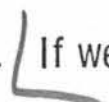
I call that a significant victory ... *even if it took*
almost ten years ~~and over the~~
~~military-industrial complex, to boot.~~

My second point is related to this illustration. Few people truly understand the infinitely complex process of how issues emerge and gain legitimacy for public debate and action. We only know that from time to time issues which have been outside the arena of public debate suddenly become legitimate items for decision in Congress and within the Executive branch.

For a host of reasons, many of them related to the increasing political activity of young people over the past five years, the issue of slowing down the race between the Soviet Union and the United States over strategic weapons is now up for debate and decision in Congress. And we know there

is today in America a public receptivity to this issue totally absent a decade ago -- when some of us were slugging away in Congress without great success or visibility.

This is truly a historic moment in the world's short history of relations among nations over the issue of strategic nuclear weapons.

No issue cuts more directly to the heart of the concerns which motivate so many of our young people toward political action -- however that term may be defined.  If we can win this battle -- and by winning I mean bringing about a fundamental re-ordering of our national priorities away from the endless accumulation of the weapons of mass destruction and toward the improvement of this country and our people -- many of the related concerns of young people -- cities, education, economic discrimination, poverty, hunger -- will be much closer to

constructive settlement than they are today.

This, then, presents a specific challenge to the political acuity and skill of this generation of younger Americans.

⌈ Moral outrage, in itself, will not be sufficient for victory when Congress considers the many requests that will be made for massive increases in military weaponry. ⌈ Dedicated and informed efforts will, however, be vital in arousing a significant portion of the American people to the critical nature of these forthcoming decisions and in mobilizing the bipartisan political support that will be necessary

This is a cause worthy of your most articulate and courageous action.

~~I welcome your questions and comments.~~

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