ADDRESS BY H. H. HUMPHREY Ramsey Junior High School May 29, 1970

I have been given the rare privilege this morning of addressing one of the finest junior high schools, not only in the twin city area, but I think in our country; and I want to make the best of the time which is available to me.

This day of May 29, just one day before the commemorative ceremonies and exercises of Memorial Day, has a special significance for me today. Before I arrived here this morning, I was tuned in to the "Today" show on television.

Most of you have to get to school before you get a chance to see the "Today" show. Some of us who can kind of lag behind a little bit can get in on it.

This morning a very good friend of mine was on the show in an interview with Parbara Walters. And the young man that I refer to is the senator from Massachusetts, Senator Ted Kennedy.

He was being interviewed about his brothers, the President of the United States, the late President John Kennedy, and the late United States Senator, Robert Kennedy. Robert Kennedy was the victim of the assassin's bullet on June 6. John Kennedy was born on May 29. Interestingly enough, the Senator's brother, Bob, has his birthday in November, and his brother John Kennedy was assassinated in November. The period of time inbetween the birthdays and the assassinations of both was almost identical. What a series of tragedies have befallen our country.

But I wanted to mention the date of May 29 for one reason. Not only because it was John Kennedy's birthday, but because my birthday is May 27.

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When I served in the Senate of the United States as the majority whip, which was the legislative leader for the President, I used to have a lot of conversations with this young president about our birthdates. I would try to convince him that we should celebrate them together. I said, "Now, Mr. President, your birthday is the 29th. It could have just as well been the 27th—you never can quite tell. My birthday is the 27th—it might just as well been the 29th. Why don't we compromise and you have the birthday party in the White House on the 28th for both of us." I regret to tell you that it didn't work, but I made a valiant effort.

I tell you this little story simply because the man that I mention,
President Kennedy, I think characterizes the theme of what I want to talk
about this morning. He was a charismatic, exciting, man. He was a true
patriot in the sense of having served his country in every conceivable way
in peace and in war. He was an intelligent man. He was willing to pioneer,
to try new things. He stood up for the week and he stood up against the strong.
And he understood that the most important duty, and the greatest service of
a leader is to pursue relentlessly, patiently, enduringly, the cause of peace.
And of course without the peace that this world needs there is not much future
for any of us. It is the highest task of statesmanship and the highest calling
to find a way not only to bring peace in the world, but peace in our own
country. And possibly that starts, and I think it does, with peace within
ourselves. Trying to cleanse ourselves of the bitterness, the prejudice, the
selfishness, the hatred, or whatever it may be that tends to put us in turmoil
and in violence within our own psychic makeup.

The schools of Minneapolis have, I think very appropriately, asked that there be some commemoration of Memorial Day in the school period. Now Memorial Day is the time, as has been stated here by your school president, when we pay

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our respects to those who serve this country. Pay our respects to those who died for this country. Might I suggest that it is also a time to renew our commitment to those who want to live for this country. And I hope that's all of us. We take a great deal of interest in people's buying conditions. I would suggest that we also take a great deal of interest in our living conditions.

It is indeed fitting and appropriate that we should look with respect and honor and indeed admiration upon those who have given everything, the supreme sacrifice of their life, to the nation. But might I say that there is another sacrifice that can be every bit as great--and that is living for the nation-and working for it -- and understanding what this nation means. Because America, as a great English writer put it, should not be known for its size, or its geography, or its grandeur, or its wealth, or its population, all of which are very big. But as Thomas Huxley asked the question, "What will you do with these things?" As Emerson put it, "We will be judged by the quality and the character of our people." And when I listen to the strains of "America The Beautiful," I have to ask myself, are we just playing music about hills, and valleys, and mountains, and oceans, and the rolling praries; all of which is wonderful, yes. And we should be grateful for it, because this country of ours is a panorama of physical beauty--none of which we created--all of which was given to us--all of which we inherited from Divine Providence or Nature. But isn't really the test of America's beauty the quality of its people? Isn't the beauty of this country to be found in our own faces? Or maybe in the ugliness of the country. In our own countenance, in our own spirit, in what we are.

I marched in Washington in August, 1963, with Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. in the freedom march. Down Constitution and Pennsylvania Avenues to the Lincoln Memorial. And I heard Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. give one of the most moving dissertations and orations that this world has ever known. As his voice rang

out and he said, "I have a dream," and then he explained to us, some of us that were not quite as gifted with vision as he, what that dream was. And he said his dream was that he wanted to live for the day when his children would not be judged by the color of their skin, or their circumstances of birth, or their creed, or their economic status. He said, "I have a dream where my children will be judged only on the quality of their character." On merit. Now that's what America is all about. Not that we have fulfilled it. Any more than we have fulfilled the golden rule, "Do unto others as you would have them do unto you." As a matter of fact, the great standards of civilization are not always lived by, but we are judged by them.

And I want this audience of young men and women to remember that a democracy is not finished business. Democracy is a constant challenge to you to carry on the business. To improve. It is a constant demand upon human conduct. On human behavior. And democracy does not survive in violence or disorder. It survives through rational thought, through persuasion, through education, through commitment, through dedication.

And now maybe we can then ask ourselves on Memorial Day what kind of commitment do we have, what kind of dedication do we have. We can maybe ask ourselves what do we mean by patriotism. Because there are three or four great patriotic days before us. Very shortly—Memorial Day, Flag Day, Fourth of July—at least those three. And I'm sure that on those three, on some of those days, there will be parades, and we'll put up the flag, we'll salute, and we'll put our hand over our heart. We'll have bends, and there will be all kinds of things, and many people say that's patriotism. Well, that's part of it. I don't diminish it. I think it has something to do with it. But I think we have to ask ourselves, what does that salute mean, what does that hand over the heart mean, what does this music mean, and what does this flag mean, and what is it all about.

We generally associate patriotism with the uniform. Well, there are all kinds of uniforms, ladies and gentlemen. There's the uniform of the soldier, yes; and there's also the uniform of the teacher, the student, the worker, the businessman, and every one of them has a role to play. Because you see America is not as mighty and as strong as its armies or its wealth. America is as strong as its people.

Possibly the greatest single act of patriotism is to get an education. To liberate yourself. To emancipate yourself from your fears and your doubts. To banish ignorance and illiteracy. And to open up one's mind to new thoughts and new ideas, and to be willing to receive those thoughts and ideas. To be willing to say them, and to be willing to protect the rights of others to say them. You see, free speech carries with it the duty also to listen. It's not only the right to speak, but the privilege to be heard. That's what democracy is about.

Now I would like to define for you then, in the moments that are mine here today, what I think patriotism is. I have travelled a great deal as your Vice-President and Senator, and been around the world a little bit. I have travelled 1,250,000 miles since 1964 by plane alone. That's a lot of miles. I've been in 52 countries and all the continents. Over the South Pole and the North Pole. And I think I have seen a lot of people. I've seen the poorest of the poor, the richest of the rich, the blackest of the black, and the whitest of the white. I've been in the bush country of Africa and I've been on Park Avenue. I've been in the filthy slums of our cities, and out here in the wonderful communities that grace our state. And that's why I say that when you get right down to it, the strength of this country, or the weakness of it, is in its people. A little country like Denmark has no natural resources at all. Not even the waterfalls. But it is a rich country and it is an important country for one reason-people. Educated. Living in a democratic society and making out of that wealth of personality and character-a rich society.

Here's my definition of patriotism. One of my heros in public life has been Adlai Stevenson. I knew him as a personal friend. When he passed away in London I was privileged to go to London to pick up his remains, to bring his body back, as a personal friend. Adlai Stevenson never got to be President, but he had as much influence on this country as most men have who become President. He had a quality of decency, of honor, that he projected into the American political system. He defined patriotism one time like this. I just found this last night as I was looking through some papers. He said, "Patriotism is not the short and frenzied outburst of emotion, but the tranquil, quiet, and steady dedication of a lifetime." Very important. Just doing your life. Just taking care of yourself. Just doing your job. Just finishing your school work. Just being yourself. That's patriotism. The quiet, steady, dedication of a lifetime.

Patriotism is defined many times as love of country--and I think we ought to love it. It isn't perfect by a long ways. But it permits us, as the founding fathers of this Republic said, to have the pursuit of happiness. Remember, the Declaration of Independence didn't say you had it. It said you were supposed to have as an inalienable right; life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. I mean you could work toward the chance to be happy. You could work for the chance to make something out of your life.

But love of country--let me say a word about it. A very prominent English philosopher once said a man or person shall have no love for his country if he has nothing to do for it. Or to put it this way, and I quote him exactly, "But let a man have nothing to do for his country, and he shall have no love for it." Deny people the chance to participate in this country; deny them the chance of a job because of their race; deny them the chance of a good education because of where they come from; deny people the chance to be something; and you can't expect them to love the country. But let them have a part of it; let them be a part of it; and they'll have love for it, and protect it, and build.

Patriotism is service. Not just military service, but service to others.

For example, I noted in your paper some of you have been doing the Walk for Development. I hope it was a great success. That's patriotism. Pope Paul said that development is the new word for peace. The Walk for Development, that's patriotism. It takes a lot of courage, it takes time. It takes more time for the walk for development than it does to do this. Walk for Development. The Teen Corps. That's patriotism. The Peace Corps. That's patriotism. Going out and helping someone else in this community that doesn't have a fair break, that's behind, that's having trouble. That's patriotism.

Patriotism is also the respect for our heritage. If you are not proud of yourself, your family, and your community, and your people, how can you have any oride in anything. Respect for our heritage. What is our heritage, my fellow Americans? Our heritage is not only white, Anglo-Saxon, Protestant. Our heritage is not just Catholic, Protestant, and Jew. Our heritage is the peoples of the earth. And we need to know about that heritage. We need to know of the contributions of the different peoples that make up this America. We need to know, and in the last ten years we are beginning to find out. Wouldn't you have thought we would have found out much earlier about the contributions of the American Negro, the black, in American history; who fought for our freedom in the American revolution and never got it. The heritage of the Indian who was the original American. Pemember the Indian didn't scalp the first white man, it was a white man who scalped an Indian. That's part of history.

I was down in Williamsburg, Virginia, where they reconstructed this old capital of the colony of Virginia. I listened to a teacher telling young students all about the House of Burgess, and all about the history, and all about the debates that took place; of Patrick Henry and all those fellows

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that were there in the House of Burgess in the colony of Virginia. And I looked at the students that were coming through there, and there was a group of students from Alexandria, Virginia, and about two-thirds of them were black. And I said to the teacher afterwards, "How come you didn't tell anything about the blacks in American history?" She said, "Well, I guess we just haven't done that." I said, "Well, we ought to start." I said, "Do you know that one-fifth of the Army of Virginia that fought for freedom was black?" And do you know that a large number of the whites were "ories?" As a matter of fact, I think I should state for the record that only one-third of our entire population at that time were willing to join George Washington. One-third took off for Canada, and one-third were neutral. We need to know what the Chinese have done for this country; what the Philippineo, what the Puerto Rican, what the Mexican-American has done for America. We need to know more than just about some of us. Heritage. But more importantly, we need to have a sense of restlessness and urgency to get the things done that need to be done now and tomorrow. That's patriotism.

Patriotism is taking an active part in politics, too. And I might just as well tell this class right now that that is part of your job. There are only two kinds of politics. There's the politics where you try to work out a majority and protect the rights of the minority, or the politics of the minority that have no regard for the rights of anybody. The politics of representative government, or the politics of dictatorship. The politics of reason, or the politics of force. The politics of elections, or the politics of the bullet and violence. Now I want this young audience of young men and women here to take an active part in politics. Oh, I know, you are going to say politicians, you know they are all a bunch of crooks, and they double talk and so on. Well, they are just people. A lot of other people are like that. As a matter of fact,

if you think politics is a little dirty, just take a look. You know, politics is like a mirror. It's hung over it just like a national mirror. Way over the whole country. And you look up in there and you see a dirty face; it may be yours. Somebody once said, "There's some fools in Congress." Another fellow said, "Well, there's some fools in the public too, and they are entitled to representation in Congress too." Well, dear friends, politics is the people's business and you've not to take care of it. And if you think it is dirty, you get yourself your bar of political ivory soap and clean it up. Come in with your sense of idealism. Don't sit up there in the bleachers like a lot of them do and look around to see what is going on on the field and say, "I could do it better." But you never get down and get roughed up. The been to basketball games and I've heard young people sit up there, older people in the bleachers, and they say look at that forward, that renter, he missed that shot; gosh, he shouldn't have missed. The guy who as talking up there couldn't crawl out on the floor, you know. But he knows how to win the name. I don't have much time for those people. If you don't like what you res, do sprething about it. Pon't con out. Move in.

Patriotism is helping the needy. Patriotism is protecting the weak. Patriotism is restraining the powerful when they abuse their power. Patriotism is defending the freedoms and rights of others because that's the only way you have any rights for yourself. And patriotism might be just so simple a thing as undertaking the obligations of citizenship as you grow a little older-family, yoting, working, paying taxes, doing some work in the community-that's patriotism. That's the way you build a country.

Parriotism is weging wer or pollution. Now I home we haven't Corgotten that we had earth week, but I haven't heard much about it since. We've not to wage war on the pollution of air and water and land relentlessly less we kill ourselves by polluting our atmosphere.

But there is another kind of pollution that is even more important. The pollution of your mind with prejudice and hate and bitterness. And the pollution of your body. I don't need to lecture you on that. The one thing that you have that belongs to you for sure is yourself. That's about the only thing you can be sure of. And you didn't have much to do about it either. Your parents did. But that's your greatest gift, yourself. Now what are you soing to do with it. Nobody else can really take care of that for you. You've got to take care of that. And I must say that when I hear people get all steamed up about polluted air, and they are polluting themselves, I begin to wonder where their values are. Patriotism is just taking care of oneself so we might be able to do something about someone else.

every form of repression and tyranny and injustice in this country or any place else. And that's a big order. Tenorance—siving people the chance of an education. Striking blows a sinst fear, eliminating it; superstition, prejudice, poverty. Poverty in a rich country is unpatriotic. And every person that permits it to exsist is guilty of some un-American act. Poverty is un-American. Injustice is; lack of equal opportunity.

And patriotism may very well be just what old John Adams, the second president of the United States called it. We said it was the spirit of public happiness. And then he defined it. And he said, "Public happiness is a joy in citizenship." Just to be citizen of this country. Listen, I would rather be called citizen of the United States of America than to be called Emperor of any country. And believe me, when you get your chance to travel and you see what there is elsewhere, and what you have the chance to do here: just to be citizen here is better than to be prince or emperor or king in any place. I've ever been. And I've been a lot of places. This joy of citizenship—of self-control and self-government.

And finally let me say, I listened as I came to this platform today, to this pladge of allegiance and I want to talk to you about it. You know what you've done? We recite it like we recite a verse of noetry or the 23rd coalm or some limerick. We get up there you know, and put our hand up, and we just mumble it off. No you know what you do when you take the pledge of allegiance? You make a contract. A sacred contract with yourself, your God, and your country. And it is a contract that you either live by, or it is a fraudulent one and you are involved in the fraud. Now when we say, "I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States of America and to the republic for which it stands," that's a big order. Recease that flag is supposed to represent home. And this republic represents political institutions of self-government. All of which need a lot of protection and a lot of improvement and a lot of modernization. So when you get there and you take that pledge, you better know exactly what you are saving and make up your mind that you are either going to keep it or not take it.

"I please allegiance to the flag of the "nited States of America and to the republic for which it stands." And what does it say then, what is the definition of the republic for which it stands? "One nation," not two, separate and unequal. Not two nations of the rich and the poor, the black and the white, but one nation. Now that is yet not quite a fact. We have to keep working at it.

And then what is the next phrase? "Under God." Not under the democrats or under the republicans, or the Chamber of Commerce, or the AFL-CIO, but under God. Now why was that put in there? Decause that is the identity that we have as people with these inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. It's what we mean by human dignity.

And then it says, "indivisible." Now you and I know that our country is divided today. It's divided between old and young, it's divided between young

people themselves. When young students can fight young workers on Wall Street it's not indivisible. When police battle students it's not indivisible. When blacks and whites fight in violence it's not indivisible. So you and I know that there is a lot of division yet in America. And we've got to work at healing that division.

And then we say, "with liberty" and that doesn't mean, it didn't say with a riot; it didn't say with just taking to the streets. It says with liberty, and liberty imposes restraints as well as privileges. It imposes responsibilities as well as opportunities.

And then it says, "with justice" and it didn't say just justice for some of us. It says "justice for all."

And I leave this message with you today; that the pledge of allegiance is not that we have accomplished one nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all. The pledge of allegiance is that we pledge that we will work at it. It means that we are going to give some of our time and our lives if need be, our treasure. Like the early patriots of this country said, they pledged their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor.

We've got a lot of people today that say, "Well, I'll give you five minutes of my life, two per cent of my fortune, and as far as honor is concerned; well, I don't know, I'm going to take care of myself and let the other guy take care of himself. I don't know about that honor business." Well, you can't make a country, a family, or a person out of that. Our task today is to look upon this pledge and this patriotic endeavor that we make as one of trying to bring out the best in us rather than the worst. Of building a country, of expanding the country's opportunities. Of doing away with injustice. And I have to tell you that having been now a long time in public life, it's no easy task. And it's going to take time. But we need the restless energy of young Americans, idealistic young people who'll get in and pitch and try to fix up this system.

Just remember that when Apollo 13 was in flight with Jim Lovell as commander, and I know these astronauts, I was chairman of the Space Council for four years, I know the astronauts better than I know anyone in this audience. When Neil Armstrong out his foot on the moon, a friend of mine was there. When Gus Grissom died, I lost a friend. When that flash came from Houston Space Center that there had been an explosion on Apollo 13, I could have cried. I knew these men and knew them intimately.

But let me tell you what they did when they had trouble aboard their little space craft. And we've got a big space craft we're on called earth. You know you're whirling around in space just exactly as Apollo 13 or Apollo 8, 11, or 12. We're on another space craft, one that we didn't make, but we're on it and we have only so much consumables...air, water, land, space, fuel, energy—just exactly like Apollo 13. And if you get too many people on this earth space craft of ours you'll have trouble, and if you have too many accidents you'll have trouble. We've had some accidents...war, pestilence, racial crisis, urbanization, decression. We've had lots of explosions on our space craft.

Now, Apollo 13, when they had an explosion, you know they didn't get up there and say now this whole system that they put together for us down there doesn't work, let's have a riot. That isn't what they said. They were in a fix. They were in trouble. They were a long ways away from home and they said, listen, let's talk this out. They were with Isaiah. They said, "Come, let us reason together." And they talked it out, and they said now look, we've got so much time, we've got so much water, so much oxygen, so much fuel, only so much space here. We can only do so much and we better get this old rig back to earth and then we can fix up the system. They didn't say look, it's in a mess, the guys that built it for us were a bunch of fakers, let's destroy it. Oh no, they said let's get back, and then we will learn some lessons from it, and

we'll work on it, and fix it up for the next crowd that comes around. Very important.

And something else they did. They didn't try to live by current events. They listened to Space Center Houston, and down at Space Center Houston were some older astronauts that had been there before. There was McDevitt, there was Slaton, there was Carpenter, there were several others. They had been around, and there was Frank Borman. They had been to the moon. There was Pete Conrad, an old personal friend of mine; who, by the way, took a medal of mine, put it on the moon, brought it back, and I gave it to the University over here, if that means anything. At least it's been there.

Rut I'll tell you what they did. They used what they had in terms of knowledge. They used every computer they had. They used every bit of technology they had. And that's modern things. And they listened to Space Center Houston. And they said, "Hey, Frank, what'll we do, we're in a fix. What experience did you have? Hey, Neil, what did you do when you were up here? How do we work this gadget that we've got here. McDevitt, what are we going to do?" They listened to their heritage, to their background, to their history. And on that basis they built some knowledge, and they applied that knowledge into action, and they brought that action to work, and they got themselves safely back on earth.

My fellow students, that's what we've got to do. We've got to listen to the lessons of history. Not that they repeat themselves, but they give us some guidance. Know what we do today and put to work our knowledge of today. Have some faith in tomorrow. And see if we can't enter the 21st century. Recause I'm talking to a group of young men and women most of whom will be alive in the year 2000 in the full blossom of life. Gee, I had my birthday here the other day, and somebody said what did you wish for? I said I wished I could

live until the year 2000. And I want you to know I took a handful of vitamins this morning and sipped off a little Geritol last night just to make sure that I might make it.

But that's what I'd like to do. And I'll tell you why. Pecause I think it is soing to be the most exciting time, this next 30 years, that this world has ever known. But a difficult time. A challenging time. And I want you to go to do your job. It's not going to be easy. But you are going to have a ride on earth's space ship the likes of which no one ever had before. It'll make a roller coaster look like an even plain. And you get on it, ride it, know it, draw up some lessons from history, study what you can do for today, have some faith in tomorrow, and I'll bet you will enter century 21 looking back over this period and saying, "I wonder what we were so excited about. Gee, look what we've got now." Good luck, thank you very much.

as all approach memorial DAY MAY 29-1970

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Class March (Big order.) " Duty the Station - unto Helawn"! "I then people Seethings and say, But, we dream things that never were and Say -why not? 4

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