

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BRIDGEPORT UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

JUNE 6, 1971

I want to call you back today to the "3 R's."

This may seem unusual as you are about to graduate from this distinguished university. But I have in mind a new 3 R's -- a new 3 R's for America today: Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Reaffirmation.

I believe America desperately needs leadership capable of bringing:

Reconciliation to a people who are today the victims of fear, of doubt and division;

Reconstruction to a Nation whose cities and rural countryside are deteriorating and plagued with problems of pollution, slums and obsolescence;

Reaffirmation for a people who are questioning the values and the ideals of American life. Yes, reaffirmation of that noble goal of one Nation, of a Nation united in common purpose, dedicated to liberty and justice and opportunity for all.

That is the promise of America. I believe we can realize that promise. I believe we must.

Let me tell you today what I think this task will require of us -- all of us -- you and me and the political leadership of our country.

Reconciliation

First, we must end the war in Vietnam, which has divided us as a people and from some of our friends abroad.

The war has done more than divide us. It has claimed thousands of young lives . . . maimed many more thousands of others . . . cheated us of billions of dollars in badly-needed resources . . . and, in the words of our forefathers, it could cost us the respect of the "opinions of mankind."

Indochina is a lingering disease that continues to infect the body politic.

It saps our strength.

It poisons the wells of good will.

It depletes our resources.

It distracts us from the urgent needs of a rapidly changing social and economic structure. It leaves us angry and frustrated.

There is but one answer: We must disengage and do it promptly.

Wars require courage. But making peace takes even greater courage.

America needs the political leadership with the courage to stop the war and negotiate the peace.

Yes, we must get out of Indochina. Until we do, there can be no reconciliation at home.

Second, we must end those abuses of our system that divide the citizen from his government.

I've been a Mayor, a Vice President, and a Senator. In all those offices I've always proceeded on the assumption that when a constituent came to me with a grievance against the government, the individual constituent was right and the government maybe wrong. I've seldom found that assumption to be in error.

Even those governmental institutions and programs instituted with the best of intent have a way, in practice, of abusing or ignoring the individual citizen. And if the aggrieved citizen

is not rich, or influential, or incredibly persistent, he can seldom find redress.

For example, I am the original author of the Food Stamp program. Until there is something better to replace them, Food Stamps will be needed to improve the diet of the hungry and needy.

But there is nonetheless something wrong with a Food Stamp program which, in city after city, results in mothers and their young children standing in line at 4 a. m. on winter mornings to receive their allotment, and others being turned away because they arrived too late.

There is something wrong with welfare programs which spy on the ill, the hopeless and the indigent as if they were chiselers trying to catch a free ride, and which encourage the breakup of the family unit.

There is something wrong with a Selective Service system which provides loopholes for the wealthy and well-connected, and sends poor whites, blacks and Chicanos out to Indochina to lose their limbs and lives.

Then there are the incredible inequities in our present tax laws at all levels of government.

Our people are crying for equal treatment before the tax collector.

There are millionaires who pay few, if any, taxes because they know about things like depreciation and capital gains and expense accounts, while little people who work for a weekly paycheck, who own or rent modest homes, who have no expense accounts are taxed more highly and oppressively each year.

What I'm saying here is this: We've got to show the individual citizen that he's in charge -- not simply an object to be acted-upon impersonally by some remote bureaucratic entity -- and that his government operates upon some easily-understandable principles of justice and equity.

I say we need a new Bill of Rights. And these are the elements:
The Right to Peace.

The war in Vietnam violates the right to peace of all Americans, all Asians, All Africans, all Europeans -- of all mankind. We must withdraw from it as soon as possible -- this year.

Just as important is the right to be free from the threats to peace -- free from fear of nuclear annihilation -- free from the psychological and economic costs of an ever increasing escalation of the nuclear arms race.

Next is the right to a job -- the right to suitable employment for every American.

The Right to Health. America must build, and build soon, a health care system that guarantees us the right to be healthy; not the right to be treated when we become sick.

The right to search for knowledge -- so that no man may remain another's slave through the denial of skill or education.

The right to a wholesome environment -- clean air, clean water, pure food, peace and quiet, and the refreshing touch of unspoiled nature.

The right to public compassion -- so that man may live with the knowledge that his health, his well-being, his old age and loneliness are the concern of his society.

The right to justice -- so that man may stand before his peers and his society on a truly just and equal basis with his neighbor.

The right to a decent home -- housing that cradles a child's soul -- not crushes it under massive concrete and despair.

The right to a safe neighborhood -- so that man may move about freely without fear of life, limb or property.

The right to equal opportunity -- so that man may lift himself to the limits of his ability, no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion, or his so-called social status.

The right to rest and recreation -- so that the necessity of labor not be permitted to cripple human development.

The right to privacy -- so that man may be free of the heavy hand of the watchers and listeners.

Reconstruction

One of the great tragedies of the Vietnam war is that it has so drained our energies, our resources and our attention that it

has diverted us from the task of reconstruction at home. It has led us to a distorted sense of national priorities.

Our Federal government spends 81.5 billion dollars for support of the Pentagon and only 9.9 billion for support of our schools . . . we grant a half-billion dollars to the oil industry in the form of depletion allowances while allocating less than one-tenth that much to the control of pollution in our water and air . . . we spend some 30 billion dollars in Vietnam while investing a sum total of 25.6 billions in all federal programs put together for health care and research, urban revitalization, foreign economic assistance, and encouragement of the arts.

In all the industrial and post-industrial nations -- both East and West -- both a new generation and the "left-outs" of society are rightly raising their voices against such imbalances, which not only sustain unnecessary hardship and hunger but also seem to debase and foul the everyday physical and spiritual environment.

And you don't have to be either poor or young in America to feel anger at the unresponsiveness of an "advanced" society where nothing seems to adequately work -- from exhaust controls on our automobiles . . . to arrogant, mistake-making computers . . . to our garbage collection systems . . . to sure-fire "secret plans" for ending the war in Indochina.

The obstacle is not, as charged by the 1970's breed of radicals, the inherent rottenness of our economic or political institutions.

The obstacles are, rather, inertia and lopsided priorities.

How do we change habits of thought of a generation and more? How do we revive and renew institutions that haven't been shaken and changed, many of them, for 30 or 40 years?

We have to ask ourselves some basic questions about ourselves --

Is our national wealth being fairly distributed?

Are the domestic and foreign-policy decisions of this avowedly-democratic nation being made through sufficiently-democratic means?

Is our federal system -- at all levels of government -- capable of meeting, in its present form, the requirements of our people?

In more prosaic terms: If we as a nation are rich, why are so many still poor?

If we as a nation profess racial and sexual equality, why are they still so clearly lacking?

If we as a nation want to end the war, why does our government still pursue it?

If we as a people seek more direct and immediate influence upon the things that affect our daily lives, why do all the decisions seem to be made all the more distantly and impersonally?

These, I believe, are the questions we must begin to address if we are to proceed with the reconstruction of the America we know we can build.

Reaffirmation

The last of the new 3 R's I suggest is Reaffirmation -- reaffirmation of the basic principles of our representative democracy, and yes, reaffirmation of love for the idea of America.

The impulse is there; it is in the American people, if it is summoned by a leadership with vision for what America can be.

Wherever I go in this country I still find a basic belief in the rightness of the idea which brought us here.

It's in the American flag on the motorcyclist's jacket.

It's in the lights burning late in the legal aid office on Lenox Avenue.

It's in the song lyrics on your radio: "There's a New Day 'Comin'."

Yes, it's in the young veterans who came to Washington -- some of them without arms or legs -- to tell us to end the war.

It's in the millions of ordinary people sweating their way through hard daily work because they haven't given up their hopes and ambitions for their children and grandchildren in this New World.

More than ever, I have faith in the resiliency and the strength of this American society of ours.

We've lost our innocence. But we still have our dreams.

The America of tomorrow requires a new patriotism -- not only the patriotism to flag and country, to history and heritage, but the patriotism of service to people and love of mankind.

The new patriotism for the America of tomorrow is the patriotism of compassion for those who are in need, of the relentless fight for justice for those who have been the victims of injustice.

It is the patriotism of judging each other not on the basis of color, creed, or ethnic origin, but on the quality of character -- yes, on merit.

The America of tomorrow needs the passionate patriotism of unbounded confidence in our ability to create a better society, to build new and beautiful cities, to clean out our slums and ghettos, to cleanse ourselves of bigotry and intolerance.

The patriotism for your generation must be an unflinching dedication to peace and a respect for those who have the courage to truly seek peace and work for peace -- not only the peace that comes when the guns of war are silent, but the peace that comes from building a community of nations where differences are tolerated and the rule of force and brute power is rejected.

The new patriotism must embody a commitment to the preciousness of life and the enrichment of the human spirit -- a patriotism that measures our greatness not merely in the standard of our living but in the quality of our life.

This kind of patriotism will require more courage and steadfastness to principle and purpose.

The beloved Adlai Stevenson described it in these words:

"Patriotism is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion, but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime."

It is this challenge of discipline that will determine our future.

Can we be firm without being belligerent?

Can we be resolute without being angry?

Do we have the moral stamina to take problems and transform them into challenges? To take difficulties and make them opportunities?

If we do not, there is no future. If we do, the future is ours.

I believe we can do all of these things. There is a dynamic quality to the people of this Nation. It is manifest in the restlessness, the turbulence, and the dissent of our times. We know we can do better and we know we must.

The poet Thomas Wolfe in the dark days of the depression challenged every American in those stirring words of faith and promise:

"To every man his chance; to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself. And to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

#

Bob Hope -

my advice to you young graduates about ready to go out in the world - Don't Go!

- President Manning

- President Senior Class, Harold Sand

- Trustees

- Faculty, Students, Father & Mother

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator

BRIDGEPORT UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

International Univ
BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

Mr Mayor

Harold Sand

- Chancellor Halsey -

JUNE 6, 1971

President - Eminent, Dr Littlefield

Three Days to Remember

First Week of June - Historically Significant

(1) D-Day June 6th 1944

(2) 6 Day War 1967

(3) Bob Kennedy Death Jan 5th

⊗ Aldous Huxley - "I have peered into the future and it won't work"

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1960's - Potent
Diverse
Debate
Threatening
Decision
War
Race
Edu
Scen
Techol

L I WANT TO CALL YOU BACK TODAY TO THE "3 R's."

THIS MAY SEEM UNUSUAL AS YOU ARE ABOUT TO GRADUATE

FROM THIS DISTINGUISHED UNIVERSITY. L BUT I HAVE IN MIND

A NEW 3 R's -- A NEW 3 R's FOR AMERICA TODAY: RECONCILIATION,

RECONSTRUCTION AND REAFFIRMATION.

L I BELIEVE AMERICA DESPERATELY NEEDS LEADERSHIP CAPABLE

OF BRINGING:

L RECONCILIATION TO A PEOPLE WHO ARE TODAY THE VICTIMS

OF FEAR, OF DOUBT AND DIVISION;

L RECONSTRUCTION TO A NATION WHOSE CITIES AND RURAL

COUNTRYSIDE ARE DETERIORATING AND PLAGUED WITH PROBLEMS OF

POLLUTION, SLUMS AND OBSOLESCENCE;

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L REAFFIRMATION FOR A PEOPLE WHO ARE QUESTIONING THE
VALUES AND THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN LIFE. L Yes, REAFFIRMATION
OF THAT NOBLE GOAL OF ONE NATION, ~~or~~ A NATION UNITED IN
COMMON PURPOSE, DEDICATED TO LIBERTY AND JUSTICE AND
OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL! *(signature)*

Promise
L THAT IS THE PROMISE OF AMERICA. I BELIEVE WE CAN
REALIZE THAT PROMISE. I BELIEVE WE MUST.

L ~~LET ME TELL YOU ~~WHAT~~ WHAT I THINK THIS TASK WILL~~
~~REQUIRE OF US -- ALL OF US -- YOU AND ME AND THE POLITICAL~~
~~LEADERSHIP OF OUR COUNTRY.~~

1148

h THE POET THOMAS WOLFE IN THE DARK DAYS OF THE

DEPRESSION CHALLENGED EVERY AMERICAN IN THOSE STIRRING
WORDS OF FAITH AND PROMISE:

"TO EVERY MAN HIS CHANCE; TO EVERY MAN REGARDLESS
OF HIS BIRTH, HIS SHINING GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY. TO EVERY
MAN THE RIGHT TO LIVE, TO WORK, TO BE HIMSELF. AND TO
BECOME WHATEVER THING HIS MANHOOD AND HIS VISION CAN
COMBINE TO MAKE HIM. THIS . . . IS THE PROMISE OF
AMERICA."

Let me share with you ~~my thoughts~~
what I think ^{###} this challenge
will require of us - all of us
(~~no value~~)!

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RECONCILIATION

L FIRST, WE MUST END THE WAR IN VIETNAM, ~~WHICH HAS~~ *a war which*

has DIVIDED US AS A PEOPLE, ~~AND FROM SOME OF OUR FRIENDS ABROAD.~~

But THE WAR HAS DONE MORE THAN DIVIDE US L IT HAS CLAIMED

THOUSANDS OF YOUNG LIVES . . . MAIMED MANY MORE THOUSANDS

OF OTHERS . . . CHEATED US OF BILLIONS OF DOLLARS IN

BADLY-NEEDED RESOURCES . . . AND, IN THE WORDS OF OUR

FOREFATHERS, IT COULD COST US THE RESPECT OF THE

"OPINIONS OF MANKIND."

L INDOCHINA IS A LINGERING DISEASE THAT CONTINUES TO

INFECT THE BODY POLITIC.

L IT SAPS OUR STRENGTH.

L IT POISONS THE WELLS OF GOOD WILL.

L IT DEPLETES OUR RESOURCES.

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It distracts us from the urgent needs of a rapidly
changing social and economic structure. It leaves us
angry and frustrated.

There is but one answer: We must disengage and do
it promptly.

Wars require courage! But making peace takes even
greater courage!

America needs the political leadership with the
courage to stop the war and negotiate the peace.

Yes, we must get out of Indochina. Until we do, there
can be no reconciliation at home!

#2
Second, we must end those abuses of our system that
divide the citizen from his government.

I'VE BEEN A MAYOR, A VICE PRESIDENT, AND A SENATOR. IN

ALL THOSE OFFICES I'VE ALWAYS PROCEEDED ON THE ASSUMPTION

THAT WHEN A CONSTITUENT CAME TO ME WITH A GRIEVANCE AGAINST

THE GOVERNMENT, THE INDIVIDUAL CONSTITUENT ^{maybe} ~~was~~ RIGHT

AND THE GOVERNMENT MAYBE WRONG. I'VE SELDOM FOUND THAT

ASSUMPTION TO BE IN ERROR.!

↳ EVEN THOSE GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROGRAMS

INSTITUTED WITH THE BEST OF INTENT HAVE A WAY, IN PRACTICE,

OF ABUSING OR IGNORING THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN. AND IF

THE AGGRIEVED CITIZEN IS NOT RICH, OR INFLUENTIAL, OR

INCREDIBLY PERSISTENT, HE CAN SELDOM FIND REDRESS.!

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FOR EXAMPLE, I AM THE ORIGINAL AUTHOR OF THE FOOD
 STAMP PROGRAM. UNTIL THERE IS SOMETHING BETTER TO REPLACE
 THEM, FOOD STAMPS WILL BE NEEDED TO IMPROVE THE DIET OF
 THE HUNGRY AND NEEDY.

For example,
~~BUT~~ THERE IS ~~NONETHELESS~~ SOMETHING WRONG WITH A FOOD

STAMP PROGRAM WHICH, IN CITY AFTER CITY, RESULTS IN

MOTHERS AND THEIR ~~YOUNG~~ CHILDREN STANDING IN LINE AT

4 A. M. ON WINTER MORNINGS TO RECEIVE THEIR ALLOTMENT,

AND OTHERS BEING TURNED AWAY BECAUSE THEY ARRIVED TOO

LATE.!

↳ THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH WELFARE PROGRAMS WHICH
SPY ON THE ILL, THE HOPELESS AND THE INDIGENT AS IF THEY
 WERE CHISELERS TRYING TO CATCH A FREE RIDE, AND WHICH
 ENCOURAGE THE BREAKUP OF THE FAMILY UNIT.!

~~There is something wrong with the system - that
leads to unemployment of b1~~

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✓ THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH A SELECTIVE SERVICE
SYSTEM WHICH PROVIDES LOOPHOLES FOR ~~THE WEALTHY AND~~ Some of the

WELL-CONNECTED, AND SENDS POOR WHITES, BLACKS AND

CHICANOS OUT TO INDOCHINA TO LOSE THEIR LIMBS AND LIVES,

~~and~~ THEN THERE ARE THE INCREDIBLE INEQUITIES IN OUR

PRESENT TAX LAWS AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT,

✓ OUR PEOPLE ARE CRYING FOR EQUAL TREATMENT BEFORE
THE TAX COLLECTOR.

✓ THERE ARE MILLIONAIRES WHO PAY FEW, IF ANY, TAXES
BECAUSE THEY KNOW ABOUT THINGS LIKE DEPRECIATION AND
CAPITAL GAINS AND EXPENSE ACCOUNTS, WHILE ~~WHITE~~ PEOPLE
WHO WORK FOR A WEEKLY PAYCHECK, WHO OWN OR RENT MODEST
HOMES, WHO HAVE NO EXPENSE ACCOUNTS ARE TAXED MORE
HIGHLY AND OPPRESSIVELY EACH YEAR. !

WHAT I'M SAYING HERE IS THIS: WE'VE GOT TO SHOW THE

INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN THAT HE'S IN CHARGE ~~NOT SIMPLY~~ *that his*

voice is being heard --
~~AN OBJECT TO BE ACTED UPON IMPERSONALLY BY SOME REMOTE~~

~~BUREAUCRATIC ENTITY~~ -- AND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT OPERATES

UPON SOME EASILY-UNDERSTANDABLE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE

AND EQUITY.!

the times call for
amendment of the
~~WE NEED~~ A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS. AND THESE ARE

THE ELEMENTS:

THE RIGHT TO PEACE.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM VIOLATES THE RIGHT TO PEACE OF

ALL AMERICANS, ALL ASIANS, ALL AFRICANS, ALL EUROPEANS --

OF ALL MANKIND. WE MUST WITHDRAW FROM IT AS SOON AS

POSSIBLE -- THIS YEAR.

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L JUST AS IMPORTANT IS THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM THE
THREATS TO PEACE! -- FREE FROM FEAR OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION --
 FREE FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC COSTS OF AN EVER
INCREASING ESCALATION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

30% Alaska
 4% Alaska
 2% Alaska
 2% Alaska
 L NEXT IS THE RIGHT TO A JOB! -- THE RIGHT TO SUITABLE

EMPLOYMENT FOR EVERY AMERICAN.

*Not "make work" but
 meaningful work in both the Private + Public sectors*

L THE RIGHT TO HEALTH! AMERICA MUST BUILD, AND BUILD

SOON, A HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT GUARANTEES US THE RIGHT

healthcare - only
 TO BE HEALTHY; NOT THE RIGHT TO BE TREATED WHEN WE BECOME

*it's - but the opportunity to stay well -
 preventive health care.*

L THE RIGHT TO SEARCH FOR KNOWLEDGE -- SO THAT NO MAN

MAY REMAIN ANOTHER'S SLAVE THROUGH THE DENIAL OF SKILL

OR EDUCATION.

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L THE RIGHT TO A WHOLESOME ENVIRONMENT -- CLEAN AIR,

CLEAN WATER, PURE FOOD, PEACE AND QUIET, AND THE REFRESHING

TOUCH OF UNSPOILED NATURE

L THE RIGHT TO PUBLIC COMPASSION -- SO THAT MAN MAY

LIVE WITH THE KNOWLEDGE THAT HIS HEALTH, HIS WELL-BEING,

HIS OLD AGE AND LONELINESS ARE THE CONCERN OF HIS SOCIETY.

L THE RIGHT TO JUSTICE -- SO THAT MAN MAY STAND BEFORE

HIS PEERS AND HIS SOCIETY ON A TRULY JUST AND EQUAL BASIS

WITH HIS NEIGHBOR.

L THE RIGHT TO A DECENT HOME -- HOUSING THAT CRADLES

A CHILD'S SOUL -- NOT CRUSHES IT UNDER MASSIVE CONCRETE, *full,*

AND DESPAIR.

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↳ THE RIGHT TO A SAFE NEIGHBORHOOD -- SO THAT MAN MAY

MOVE ABOUT FREELY WITHOUT FEAR OF LIFE, LIMB OR PROPERTY.

↳ THE RIGHT TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY -- SO THAT MAN MAY

LIFT HIMSELF TO THE LIMITS OF HIS ABILITY, NO MATTER

WHAT THE COLOR OF HIS SKIN, THE TENETS OF HIS RELIGION,

OR HIS SO-CALLED SOCIAL STATUS,

↳ THE RIGHT TO REST AND RECREATION -- SO THAT THE

NECESSITY OF LABOR NOT BE PERMITTED TO CRIPPLE HUMAN

DEVELOPMENT, *and physical + spiritual refreshment.*

↳ THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY -- SO THAT MAN MAY BE FREE OF

THE HEAVY HAND OF THE WATCHERS AND LISTENERS, *Snoopers.*

These are the ^{social + economic} rights that give substance to Political rights.

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RECONSTRUCTION

ONE OF THE GREAT TRAGEDIES OF THE VIETNAM WAR IS
 THAT IT HAS SO DRAINED OUR ENERGIES, OUR RESOURCES AND
 OUR ATTENTION THAT IT HAS DIVERTED US FROM THE TASK OF
 RECONSTRUCTION AT HOME. IT HAS LED US TO A DISTORTED
 SENSE OF NATIONAL PRIORITIES.

OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENDS ^{over 81.5} ~~81.5~~ BILLION DOLLARS

FOR SUPPORT OF THE PENTAGON AND ONLY ~~10~~ BILLION FOR

SUPPORT OF OUR SCHOOLS . . . ~~WE GRANT HALF BILLION~~ ^{WE grant 13.111.000}

DOLLARS TO THE ~~OIL~~ INDUSTRY IN THE FORM OF DEPLETION

ALLOWANCES WHILE ALLOCATING LESS THAN ONE-TENTH THAT

MUCH TO THE CONTROL OF POLLUTION IN OUR WATER AND AIR . . .

of
exaggerated
depreciation

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WE SPEND SOME 30 BILLION DOLLARS IN VIETNAM WHILE INVESTING

A SUM TOTAL OF 25.6 BILLIONS IN ALL FEDERAL PROGRAMS PUT

TOGETHER FOR HEALTH CARE AND RESEARCH, URBAN REVITALIZATION,

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE ARTS

IN ALL THE INDUSTRIAL AND POST-INDUSTRIAL NATIONS --

BOTH EAST AND WEST -- BOTH A NEW GENERATION AND THE

"LEFT-OUTS" OF SOCIETY ARE RIGHTLY RAISING THEIR VOICES

AGAINST SUCH IMBALANCES, WHICH NOT ONLY SUSTAIN

UNNECESSARY HARDSHIP AND HUNGER BUT ALSO SEEM TO DEBASE

AND FOUL THE EVERYDAY PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL ENVIRONMENT.

AND YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE EITHER POOR OR YOUNG

~~IN AMERICA~~ TO FEEL ANGER AT THE UNRESPONSIVENESS OF

AN "ADVANCED" SOCIETY WHERE NOTHING SEEMS TO ADEQUATELY

WORK -- FROM EXHAUST CONTROLS ON OUR AUTOMOBILES . . .

. . . TO ARROGANT, MISTAKE-MAKING COMPUTERS . . . TO OUR
 GARBAGE COLLECTION SYSTEMS . . . TO SURE-FIRE "SECRET PLANS"
 FOR ENDING THE WAR IN INDOCHINA.

THE OBSTACLE IS NOT, AS CHARGED BY THE 1970'S BREED
 OF RADICALS, THE ~~corrupt~~ ^{corrupt} ~~rottenness~~ ^{rottenness} OF OUR ECONOMIC
 OR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

THE OBSTACLES ARE, RATHER, INERTIA AND LOPSIDED
 PRIORITIES.

HOW DO WE CHANGE HABITS OF THOUGHT OF A GENERATION
 AND MORE? HOW DO WE REVIVE AND RENEW INSTITUTIONS
 THAT HAVEN'T BEEN SHAKEN AND CHANGED, MANY OF THEM, FOR
30 OR 40 YEARS?

well WE HAVE TO ASK OURSELVES SOME BASIC QUESTIONS ABOUT

OURSELVES --

< Is OUR NATIONAL WEALTH BEING FAIRLY DISTRIBUTED?

< Are THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN-POLICY DECISIONS OF

THIS AVOWEDLY-DEMOCRATIC NATION BEING MADE THROUGH

SUFFICIENTLY-DEMOCRATIC MEANS?

< Is OUR FEDERAL SYSTEM -- AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT --

CAPABLE OF MEETING, IN ITS PRESENT FORM, THE REQUIREMENTS

OF OUR PEOPLE?

< IN MORE PROSAIC TERMS: IF WE AS A NATION ARE

RICH, WHY ARE SO MANY STILL POOR?

< IF WE AS A NATION PROFESS RACIAL AND SEXUAL EQUALITY,

WHY ARE THEY STILL SO CLEARLY LACKING?

L IF WE AS A NATION WANT TO END THE WAR, WHY DOES OUR
GOVERNMENT STILL PURSUE IT?

L IF WE AS A PEOPLE SEEK MORE DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE
INFLUENCE UPON THE THINGS THAT AFFECT OUR DAILY LIVES, WHY
DO ALL THE DECISIONS SEEM TO BE MADE ALL THE MORE
DISTANTLY AND IMPERSONALLY?

L THESE, I BELIEVE, ARE THE QUESTIONS WE MUST BEGIN
TO ADDRESS IF WE ARE TO PROCEED WITH THE RECONSTRUCTION
OF THE AMERICA WE KNOW WE CAN BUILD.

Robert Kennedy oft - recited those words
of Bernard Shaw -
"Some people see things as they are
and ask why?
I dream dreams that never
were, and ask why not?"

REAFFIRMATION

001883

THE LAST OF THE NEW 3 R's I SUGGEST IS REAFFIRMATION --

REAFFIRMATION OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR REPRESENTATIVE
DEMOCRACY, AND YES, REAFFIRMATION OF LOVE FOR THE IDEA OF
AMERICA.

THE IMPULSE IS THERE! IT IS IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,
IF IT IS SUMMONED BY A LEADERSHIP WITH VISION FOR WHAT
AMERICA CAN BE.

WHEREVER I GO IN THIS COUNTRY I STILL FIND A BASIC
BELIEF IN THE RIGHTNESS OF THE IDEA WHICH BROUGHT US
HERE.

IT'S IN THE AMERICAN FLAG ON THE MOTORCYCLIST'S
JACKET.

L IT'S IN THE LIGHTS BURNING LATE IN THE LEGAL AID
OFFICE ON LENOX AVENUE.

L IT'S IN THE SONG LYRICS ON YOUR RADIO: "THERE'S
A NEW DAY 'COMIN."

~~L YES, IT'S IN THE YOUNG VETERANS WHO CAME TO WASHINGTON --
SOME OF THEM WITHOUT ARMS OR LEGS -- TO TELL US TO END~~

~~THE WAR.~~

L IT'S IN THE MILLIONS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE SWEATING
THEIR WAY THROUGH HARD DAILY WORK BECAUSE THEY HAVEN'T
GIVEN UP THEIR HOPES AND AMBITIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN
AND GRANDCHILDREN IN THIS NEW WORLD.

✓ MORE THAN EVER, I HAVE FAITH IN THE RESILIENCY AND
THE STRENGTH OF THIS AMERICAN SOCIETY OF OURS.,

✓ WE'VE LOST OUR INNOCENCE, BUT, WE STILL HAVE OUR
DREAMS.

✓ THE AMERICA OF TOMORROW REQUIRES A NEW PATRIOTISM
NOT ONLY THE PATRIOTISM TO FLAG AND COUNTRY, TO HISTORY
AND HERITAGE, BUT THE PATRIOTISM OF SERVICE TO PEOPLE
AND LOVE OF MANKIND.

✓ THE NEW PATRIOTISM FOR THE AMERICA OF TOMORROW
must ✓ THE PATRIOTISM OF COMPASSION FOR THOSE WHO ARE IN NEED
OF THE RELENTLESS FIGHT FOR JUSTICE FOR THOSE WHO HAVE
BEEN THE VICTIMS OF INJUSTICE.

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It is the patriotism of JUDGING each other not on
the basis of COLOR, CREED, or ETHNIC ORIGIN, but on the
quality of CHARACTER -- YES, ON MERIT,

The America of tomorrow needs the PASSIONATE
patriotism of UNBOUNDED CONFIDENCE in our ability to
create a better society; to build new and beautiful
cities; to clean out our slums and ghettos; to cleanse
ourselves of BIGOTRY and INTOLERANCE.

The patriotism for your generation must be an
unflinching dedication to PEACE and a respect for those
who have the courage to TRULY SEEK PEACE and work for
peace -- not only the peace that comes when the GUNS of
war are silent, but the peace that comes from building a
community of NATIONS where DIFFERENCES are TOLERATED and
the rule of FORCE and BRUTE POWER is REJECTED.

Dr. Schweitzer
"Reverence for Life"

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THE NEW PATRIOTISM MUST EMBODY A COMMITMENT TO THE
PRECIOUSNESS OF LIFE AND THE ENRICHMENT OF THE HUMAN
SPIRIT -- A PATRIOTISM THAT MEASURES OUR GREATNESS NOT
MERELY IN THE STANDARD OF OUR LIVING BUT IN THE QUALITY
OF OUR LIFE.

THIS KIND OF PATRIOTISM WILL REQUIRE COURAGE
AND STEADFASTNESS TO PRINCIPLE AND PURPOSE.

THE BELOVED ADLAI STEVENSON DESCRIBED IT IN THESE WORDS:

"PATRIOTISM IS NOT A SHORT AND FRENZIED OUTBURST OF
EMOTION, BUT THE TRANQUIL AND STEADY DEDICATION OF A
LIFETIME."

IT IS THIS CHALLENGE OF ^{SELF} DISCIPLINE THAT WILL
DETERMINE OUR FUTURE.

001888

Carl Sandburg

I see America, not in the setting sun of a
black night of despair ahead of us.

I see America in the crimson light
of a rising sun, fresh from the
creative hand of God -

↙
I see great days ahead - great
days possible to men and
women of will and vision"
(Carl Sandburg)

↳ CAN WE BE FIRM WITHOUT BEING BELLIGERENT?

↳ CAN WE BE RESOLUTE WITHOUT BEING ANGRY?

↳ DO WE HAVE THE MORAL STAMINA TO TAKE PROBLEMS AND

TRANSFORM THEM INTO CHALLENGES? TO TAKE DIFFICULTIES

AND MAKE THEM OPPORTUNITIES?

↳ IF WE DO NOT, THERE IS NO FUTURE. ↳ IF WE DO, THE
FUTURE IS OURS.

↳ I BELIEVE WE CAN DO ALL OF THESE THINGS. ↳ THERE IS
A DYNAMIC QUALITY TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION, ↳ IT IS

MANIFEST IN THE RESTLESSNESS, THE TURBULENCE, AND THE

DISSENT OF OUR TIMES. WE KNOW WE CAN DO BETTER AND WE

KNOW WE MUST

*I see america, not in the setting
sun of a black night of despair
ahead of us.
I see america in the crimson light of
a rising sun fresh from the
burning creative hand of God.*



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