COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Fairleigh-Dickinson University

Rutherford, New Jersey

May 20, 1974

I would like to begin your Commencement today with the Humphrey "short course in political science."

A brief look at those basic truths that provide the foundation for our political system.

Today, more than ever, we must return to these fundamentals and revive the weary spirit of our nation.

The Preamble to the Constitution says it all. It spells out the faith, the aspiration, the purpose of America.

Let me read those hallowed words to you:

"We the People of the United States, in Order to form a more perfect Union, establish Justice, insure domestic Tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general Welfare, and secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity, do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America."

The first three words are the most important. They establish for all time that America is "We the People."

Not "we the government," not "we the political parties," not "we the rich," not "we the white," but "We the People." This is the central reference, the focal point of American government.

"In order to form a more perfect Union" -- with all of the differences between regions of our country, economic interests, religions and ethnic backgrounds, the bunding Fathers wisely recognized that simply keeping our nation together would require constant effort.

As we approach our bicentennial anniversary in 1976, we must forge the people of this country into a "more perfect union" with each other.

Of course, this is not possible if the extremes of the self-serving right or the self-righteous left are allowed to dominate the political process.

In a nation as diverse as ours, national unity is only possible if tolerance and compromise are recognized as vital democratic principles, and not seen as excuses for the actions of those without principle.

"Establish Justice" -- not simply to enact laws, but to establish justice for all the people. Justice that is blind to wealth, to color, to religion. Justice that treats all men equally. This is the test of a deomcracy.

"Insure domestic Tranquility" -- this is not apathy or indifference. Tranquility means peace and harmony. It is akin to the Hebrew word "Shalom." It implies a respect for our fellow man and a concern for his well-being. "Provide for the common defense" -- the Founding Fathers knew that all of the things we valued could only be nurtured if we were secure from the dictates of others.

"Promote the general Welfare" -- the important word here is "promote." It implies that if the well-being of citizens is threatened, you do something about it. It says that government is to be responsible for improving the lives of the people.

And -- "Secure the Blessings of Liberty to ourselves and our Posterity" -- "the blessings of liberty" is the way it is put.

Today we usually take liberty for granted. But the people who wrote this had just gone through a bloody war to secure their freedom from foreign dominance.

Their courage purchased this "blessing" of liberty for us. And we must never forget that it can be eroded from within as well as attacked from without.

Look again at some key words that are used -- "promote," "insure," "provide," "secure."

These are not passive or timid words. They do not speak of a government that is to be neutral in dealing with the people.

No, these are the active, confident words of a government that will use its power to enhance the lives of its citizens.

Franklin D. Roosevelt made an observation that has its basis in this attitude about government. An attitude and approach to which I have always subscribed. He said:

> "Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that Divine Justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted on a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

It is also worth noting that there is not one word in our Constitution to protect government from the people, but every word is designed to protect the people from the abuse of power by those in government.

That is my "short course." And these are the fundamentals on which all of American government is based.

But the survival of popular democracy, based on these common purposes, is only assured when there is a partnership between the government and the people that is and held together by mutual trust and faith.

Today the shadow of shame, doubt, and mistrust shroud our entire political process and threaten that vital partnership.

We must restore this loss of faith in self-government -this faith and trust that give the social contract of popular government its meaning.

One way to cleanse and reform our political process is at the ballot box.

We can do a better job of selecting our public officials.

Our political process has become too commercialized. Politicans are sold to the public as if they were products in the market place. And this process has run afoul of the same temptations and pit-falls as commercial advertising. Today the premium is on "image," not "substance"; on "charisma," not "character"; on "promises" and not "performance"; and on the "sensational" and not the "sensible."

Faced with a growing number of false claims and misleading advertisements in the commercial marketplace, Congress passed "truth in labeling," "truth in advertising," and "truth in lending" laws.

Today we need to start making the same demands for honesty and candor on those who want our votes. We need more "truth in politics."

Our political processes must be cleansed.

We are making progress. Campaign and election reform are coming, and that will help.

Never again will big money play the role in politics it has in the past.

No campaign in the future will be run as they have been in the past. Integrity has become the most precious asset of the politician.

But cleaning up campaigns is just the beginning.

People are fed up with vague and empty promises.

Our people have not thrown in the towel and given up on achieving our treasured goals of economic and social justice, but they are finished chasing rainbows. Yes, they still want politicians with dreams and imagination, but they want more. They want people in government who are effective. The premium today is on results.

Unless our government buckles down and begins to meet the needs of our people, and unless our politicians become more responsible in pursuing the public interest and in leveling with the people, all the campaign and election reform in the world will not restore the people's faith in government -particularly in the institutions of government which are so much in need of rebuilding.

Sure, Watergate is important. But we have some other "gates" that are being forgotten and neglected that need our attention.

At our factory gates -- unemployment is running at over 5% and will increase, yet nothing is being done, and some simply accept it.

At our school yard gates -- equal educational opportunity remains an unmet goal, receiving little attention.

At our prison gates -- little progress has been made in making these institutions more humane and rehabilitative.

At our city gates -- the fight to make our urban areas liveable has been virtually abandoned.

And our nation has other problems that cry out for action, goals and priorities that deserve the commitment of our people, but they are not being attended to. We find ourselves instead running from brush fire to brush fire, using all of our skill and resources to prevent a major conflagration, with no attempt at fire prevention at all. Rapid change and increased complexity are characteristics of modern societies. They result in complex problems of great importance, literally jumping up at us with little or no warning. For this reason, it is essential that we find ways to anticipate, change and direct it.

The energy crisis, the critical world food situation, and the psychological and social consequences of increased mobility, are only a few of the most obvious examples of failures to anticipate basic changes and their results.

At present, we do not have the instruments of government that are needed for planning our nation's balanced growth and development.

It is incredible that the United States, the first nation in the world to enter the modern world of the 20th century, may well be the last nation to develop the institutions and processes needed to deal with the complexity and rapid change that come with a modern technological society.

If we are to "design" our future and not simply "resign" ourselves to it, we must fashion a system of planning for growth and development.

A policy of balanced national growth and development would be a revolutionary step toward effective 20th century government for America.

Despite the problems we face at home, we must never forget that we are part of a larger world. Whether we like the idea or not, it is a fact that what our nation does or fails to do will have tremendous implications throughout the world as well as in our own backyard.

Recent experience with the "energy crisis," world food scarcity, a short supply of minerals, inflation, and the like, make it clear that the arguments between the "isolationists" and "internationalists" are simply no longer real. "Isolationism" -the old-fashion kind or the new variety -- is not a policy option; it is a fantasy.

Today's major problems are global in nature. It is the rare one indeed that we will be able to deal with effectively on our own.

The time and space distances between peoples and nations have been reduced immeasurably by modern technology in my lifetime. During your lifetime, they will become insignificant. You should ponder this prophesy as you "commence" a new phase in your life. Its implications are profound.

In these days of national pessimism, the prophetic words of Aldous Huxley -- "I have peered into the future, and it won't work" -- come perhaps too frequently to mind.

But, we have been down before. We have seen hard times. We have gone through wars and depressions, internal dissension and civil strife. Each time we have bounced back a stronger nation.

The only obstacle and only hope for an America and a world that "will work" is you. Each generation must find within itself and for itself the vision it will pursue, the values it will enshrine, and the leadership and conviction that will move our nation toward them.

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COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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FAIRLEIGH-DICKINSON UNIVERSITY

RUTHERFORD, NEW JERSEY Refugee for Bob Hope at Benghin @ Recyle My advice to your young gradentes imy advice to your young gradentes allout readerto go out into the allout readerto go out into the wored - don't go' May 20, 1974

I would like to begin your Commencement today with the HUMPHREY "SHORT COURSE IN POLITICAL SCIENCE." A BRIEF LOOK AT THOSE BASIC TRUTHS THAT PROVIDE THE FOUNDATION FOR OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM. L TODAY, MORE THAN EVER, WE WET RETURN TO T THESE FUNDA-MENTALS AND REVIVE THE WEARY SPIRIT OF OUR NATION. THE PREAMBLE TO THE CONSTITUTION SAYS IT ALL . IT SPELLS OUT THE FAITH, THE ASPIRATION, THE PURPOSE OF AMERICA.

LET ME READ THOSE HALLOWED WORDS TO YOU:

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"WE THE PEOPLE OF THE UNITED STATES, IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION, ESTABLISH JUSTICE, INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY, PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE, PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE, AND 4 SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, DO ORDAIN AND ESTABLISH THIS CONSTITUTION FOR THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA." / The first three words are the most important. They ESTABLISH FOR ALL TIME THAT AMERICA IS "WE THE PEOPLE." NOT "WE THE GOVERNMENT," NOT "WE THE POLITICAL PARTIES," NOT "WE THE RICH," NOT "WE THE WHITE," BUT "WE THE PEOPLE." THIS IS THE ÷. CENTRAL REFERENCE, THE FOCAL POINT OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT.

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"IN ORDER TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION" -- WITH ALL OF THE DIFFERENCES BETWEEN REGIONS OF OUR COUNTRY, ECONOMIC INTERESTS, RELIGIONS AND ETHNIC BACKGROUNDS, THE FOUNDING FATHERS WISELY RECOGNIZED THAT SIMPLY KEEPING OUR NATION TOGETHER WOULD REQUIRE CONSTANT EFFORT.

As we approach our bicentennial anniversary in 1976, we must forge the people of this country into a "more perfect union"

WITH EACH OTHER.

OF COURSE, THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE IF THE EXTREMES OF THE

SELF-SERVING RIGHT OR THE SELF-RIGHTEOUS LEFT ARE ALLOWED TO

DOMINATE THE POLITICAL PROCESS.

IN A NATION AS DIVERSE AS OURS, NATIONAL UNITY IS ONLY

POSSIBLE IF TOLERANCE AND COMPROMISE ARE RECOGNIZED AS VITAL

DEMOCRATIC PRINCIPLES, AND NOT SEEN AS EXCUSES FOR THE ACTIONS OF THOSE WITHOUT PRINCIPLE. - Pluralism - Substitute "ESTABLISH JUSTICE" -- NOT SIMPLY TO ENACT LAWS, BUT TO "ESTABLISH JUSTICE FOR ALL THE PEOPLE JUSTICE THAT IS BLIND TO WEALTH, TO COLOR, TO RELIGION JUSTICE THAT TREATS ALL Proper EQUALLY. THIS IS THE TEST OF A DEOMCRACY. "INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY" -- THIS IS NOT APATHY OR INDIFFERENCE TRANQUILITY MEANS PEACE AND HARMONY. IT IS AKIN

TO THE HEBREW WORD "SHALOM." IT IMPLIES A RESPECT FOR OUR FELLOW

MAN AND A CONCERN FOR HIS WELL-BEING.

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"PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE" -- THE FOUNDING FATHERS KNEW THAT ALL OF THE THINGS WE VALUED COULD ONLY BE NURTURED IF WE WERE SECURE FROM THE DICTATES OF OTHERS. "PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE" -- THE IMPORTANT WORD HERE IS "PROMOTE." IT IMPLIES THAT IF THE WELL-BEING OF CITIZENS IS THREATENED, YOU DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT. (IT SAYS THAT GOVERN-MENT IS TO BE RESPONSIBLE FOR IMPROVING THE LIVES OF THE PEOPLE. AND -- "SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY" -- "THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY" IS THE WAY IT IS PUT. TODAY WE USUALLY TAKE LIBERTY FOR GRANTED. BUT THE PEOPLE WHO WROTE THIS HAD JUST GONE THROUGH A BLOODY WAR TO SECURE THEIR FREEDOM FROM FOREIGN DOMINANCE.

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THEIR COURAGE PURCHASED THIS "BLESSING" OF LIBERTY FOR US. AND WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT IT CAN BE ERODED FROM WITHIN AS WELL AS ATTACKED FROM WITHOUT. LOOK AGAIN AT SOME KEY WORDS THAT ARE USED -- "PROMOTE," "INSURE," "PROVIDE," "SECURE." THESE ARE NOT PASSIVE OR TIMID WORDS THEY DO NOT SPEAK OF A GOVERNMENT THAT IS TO BE NEUTRAL IN DEALING WITH THE PEOPLE. No, THESE ARE THE ACTIVE, CONFIDENT WORDS OF A GOVERNMENT THAT WILL USE ITS POWER TO ENHANCE THE LIVES OF ITS CITIZENS. L FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT MADE AN OBSERVATION THAT Seferies and durinkes THIS ATTITUDE ABOUT GOVERNMENT. AN ATTITUDE AND APPROACH TO WHICH I HAVE ALWAYS SUBSCRIBED. HE SAID:

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"Governments can err, Presidents do make mistakes, but the immortal Dante tells us that Divine Justice weighs the sins of the cold-blooded and the sins of the warm-hearted on a different scale. Better the occasional faults of a government living in the spirit of charity than the consistent omissions of a government frozen in the ice of its own indifference."

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IT IS ALSO WORTH NOTING THAT THERE IS NOT ONE WORD IN OUR CONSTITUTION TO PROTECT GOVERNMENT FROM THE PEOPLE, BUT EVERY WORD IS DESIGNED TO PROTECT THE PEOPLE FROM THE ABUSE OF POWER

BY THOSE IN GOVERNMENT.

THAT IS MY "SHORT COURSE." AND THESE ARE THE FUNDAMENTALS

ON WHICH ALL OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT IS BASED.

GOVERNMENT ITS MEANING.

AT THE BALLOT BOX.

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WE CAN DO A BETTER JOB OF SELECTING OUR PUBLIC OFFICIALS. OUR POLITICAL PROCESS HAS BECOME TOO COMMERCIALIZED. POLITICANS ARE SOLD TO THE PUBLIC AS IF THEY WERE PRODUCTS IN THE MARKET PLACE AND THIS PROCESS HAS RUN AFOUL OF THE SAME TEMPTATIONS AND PIT-FALLS AS COMMERCIAL ADVERTISING. TODAY THE PREMIUM IS ON "IMAGE," NOT "SUBSTANCE"; ON "CHARISMA," NOT CHARACTER"; ON "PROMISES" AND NOT PERFORMANCE"; AND ON THE "SENSATIONAL" AND NOT THE "SENSIBLE," FACED WITH A GROWING NUMBER OF FALSE CLAIMS AND MISLEADING ADVERTISEMENTS IN THE COMMERCIAL MARKETPLACE, CONGRESS PASSED "TRUTH IN LABELING," "TRUTH IN ADVERTISING," AND "TRUTH IN LENDING" LAWS,

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L TODAY WE NEED TO START MAKING THE SAME DEMANDS FOR HONESTY AND CANDOR ON THOSE WHO WANT OUR VOTES WE NEED MORE "TRUTH IN POLITICS," OUR POLITICAL PROCESSES MUST BE CLEANSED. WE ARE MAKING PROGRESS. CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION REFORM ARE COMING, AND THAT WILL HELP. NEVER AGAIN WILL BIG MONEY PLAY THE ROLE IN POLITICS IT HAS IN THE PAST. No campaign in the future will be run as they have been IN THE PAST / INTEGRITY HAS BECOME THE MOST PRECIOUS ASSET OF THE POLITICIAN,

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-11-BUT CLEANING UP CAMPAIGNS IS JUST THE BEGINNING. PEOPLE ARE GED UP WITH VAGUE AND EMPTY PROMISES. OUR PEOPLE HAVE NOT THROWN IN THE TOWEL AND GIVEN UP ON ACHIEVING OUR TREASURED GOALS OF ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE, BUT THEY ARE FINISHED CHASING RAINBOWS. THEY STILL WANT POLITICIANS WITH DREAMS AND IMAGINATION, BUT THEY WANT MORE. THEY WANT PEOPLE IN GOVERNMENT WHO ARE EFFECTIVE. THE PREMIUM TODAY IS ON RESULTS. and the second se UNLESS OUR GOVERNMENT BUCKLES DOWN AND BEGINS TO MEET POLITICIANS BECOME MORE THE NEEDS OF OUR PEOPLE RESPONSIBLE IN PURSUING THE PUBLIC, INTEREST AND IN LEVELING THE PEOPLE, ALL THE CAMPAIGN AND ELECTION REFORM IN THE

WORLD WILL NOT RESTORE THE PEOPLE'S FAITH IN GOVERNMENT PARTICULARLY IN THE INSTITUTIONS OF GOVERNMENT WHICH ARE 60 MUCH IN NEED OF REBUILDING L Sure, Watergate is important. But we have some other "GATES" THAT ARE BEING FORGOTTEN AND NEGLECTED THAT NEED OUR ATTENTION. - The gates of apportunity - relentless was on descrimination, Bigstry, intolesance OUR FACTORY GATES -- UNEMPLOYMENT IS RUNNING AT OVER 5% AND WEL INCREASE, YET NOTHING IS BEING DONE, AND SOME SIMPLY ACCEPT IT. OUR SCHOOL YARD GATES -- EQUAL EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY

REMAINS AN UNMET GOAL, RECEIVING LITTLE ATTENTION.

At our Institution gates - There is a deepenale need to prove better care through for our handicapped DUR PRISON GATES -- LITTLE PROGRESS HAS BEEN MADE IN MAKING THESE INSTITUTIONS MORE HUMANE AND REHABILITATIVE. OUR CITY GATES -- THE FIGHT TO MAKE OUR URBAN AREAS LIVEABLE HAS BEEN VIRTUALLY ABANDONED. AND OUR NATION HAS OTHER PROBLEMS THAT CRY OUT FOR ACTION, GOALS AND PRIORITIES THAT DESERVE THE COMMITMENT OF COLUMN THE REPORT OF THE PARTY OUR PEOPLE, BUT THEY ARE NOT BEING ATTENDED TO WE FIND OUR-Concession in the local division in the loca SELVES INSTEAD RUNNING FROM BRUSH FIRE TO BRUSH FIRE, USING ALL OF OUR SKILL AND RESOURCES TO PREVENT A MAJOR CONFLAGRATION, WITH NO ATTEMPT AT FIRE PREVENTION AT ALL. RAPID CHANGE AND INCREASED COMPLEXITY ARE CHARACTERISTICS

OF MODERN SOCIETIES. THEY RESULT IN COMPLEX PROBLEMS OF

IMPORTANCE, LITERALLY JUMPING UP AT US WITH LITTLE OR NO WARNING.

FOR THUS REASON, IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE FIND WAYS TO ANTICIPATE

THE ENERGY CRISIS, THE CRITICAL WORLD FOOD SITUATION,

Contraction of the second states of the second

AND THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF INCREASED

MOBILITY, ARE ONLY A FEW OF THE MOST OBVIOUS EXAMPLES OF FAILURES

TO ANTICIPATE BASIC CHANGES AND THEIR RESULTS.

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AT PRESENT, WE DO NOT HAVE THE INSTRUMENTS OF GOVERNMENT

anticipating charge or for

THAT ARE NEEDED FOR PLANNING OUR NATION'S BALANCED GROWTH AND

DEVELOPMENT .

IT IS INCREDIBLE THAT THE UNITED STATES, THE FIRST NATION IN THE WORLD TO ENTER THE MODERN WORLD OF THE 20TH CENTURY, MAY WELL BE THE LAST NATION TO DEVELOP THE INSTITUTIONS AND PROCESSES NEEDED TO DEAL WITH THE COMPLEXITY AND RAPID CHANGE THAT COME WITH A MODERN TECHNOLOGICAL SOCIETY.

IF WE ARE TO "DESIGN" OUR FUTURE AND NOT SIMPLY "RESIGN"

GROWTH AND DEVELOPMENT.

A POLICY OF BALANCED NATIONAL GROWTH AND DEVELORMENT WOULD BE A REVOLUTIONARY STEP TOWARD EFFECTIVE 20TH CENTURY COVERNMENT FOR AMERICA. DESPITE THE PROBLEMS WE FACE AT HOME, WE MUST NEVER FORGET THAT WE ARE PART OF A LARGER WORLD. WHETHER WE LIKE THE IDEA OR NOT, IT IS A FACT THAT WHAT OUR NATION DOES OR FAILS TO DO WILL HAVE TREMENDOUS IMPLICATIONS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD AS WELL AS IN OUR OWN BACKYARD. RECENT EXPERIENCE WITH THE "ENERGY CRISIS," WORLD FOOD SCARCITY, A SHORT SUPPLY OF MINERALS, INFLATION, AND THE LIKE, MAKE IT CLEAR THAT THE ARGUMENTS BETWEEN THE "ISOLATIONISTS"

AND "INTERNATIONALISTS" ARE SIMPLY NO LONGER REAL. "ISOLATIONISM" --

IT IS A FANTASY.

TODAY'S MAJOR PROBLEMS ARE GLOBAL IN NATURE IS THE RARE ONE INDEED THAT WE WILL BE ABLE TO DEAL WITH

EFFECTIVELY ON OUR OWN.

THE TIME AND SPACE DISTANCES BETWEEN PEOPLES AND NATIONS HAVE BEEN REDUCED IMMEASURABLY BY MODERN TECHNOLOGY DURING YOUR LIFETIME, THEY WILL BECOME INSIGNIFICANT. YOU SHOULD PONDER THIS PROPHECY AS YOU "COMMENCE" A NEW PHASE IN YOUR LIFE. ITS IMPLICATIONS ARE PROFOUND.

IN THESE DAYS OF NATIONAL PESSIMISM, THE PROPHETIC WORDS OF ALDOUS HUXLEY -- "I HAVE PEERED INTO THE FUTURE, AND IT WON'T WORK" -- COME PERHAPS TOO FREQUENTLY TO MIND. BUT, WE HAVE The BUT, WE HAVE SEEN HARD TIMES. WE HAVE GONE THROUGH WARS AND DEPRESSIONS, INTERNAL DISSENSION AND CIVIL STRIFE, EACH TIME WE HAVE BOUNCED BACK A STRONGER NATION. THE ONLY OBSTACLE AND ONLY HOPE FOR AN AMERICA AND A WORLD THAT "WILL WORK" IS YOU EACH GENERATION MUST FIND WITHIN ITSELF AND FOR ITSELF THE VISION IT WILL PURSUE, THE VALUES IT WILL ENSHRINE, AND THE LEADERSHIP AND CONVICTION THAT WILL MOVE fandburg. OUR NATION TOWARD THEM.

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