

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS

St. Paul, Minnesota

May 22, 1976

The great scientist, Albert Einstein, once observed that we as a people are "always becoming, never being" -- always dynamic, never static. His remark might be taken as an appropriate motto for your commencement in this Bicentennial era.

We Americans have always had our eyes fixed on the future. The most distinguishing mark of American character since the first colonists arrived on this continent has been a profound faith in progress, in our ability to create a better life for ourselves and for future generations. Our progress as a Nation has been a constant process of becoming, of constant motion and growth, of evolving aspirations and ideals.

What was declared in 1776 was not the fullness of American freedom, but the common privilege of laboring for its fulfillment -- and that task will never be finished. Each generation has its own summons to the cause of life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness.

The record of America in the last 200 years reflects the gradual evolution of individual liberty, an ideal that was revolutionary at its birth and remains so today. Our Bicentennial calls us to study that record; to focus our thoughts on our past heritage, our present prospects, and our hopes for the future.

The American Dream is simply a metaphor for the creation of a truly open society.

Such a society is one in which men and women are free to develop their talents, to pursue their dreams.

It is one that is free of the specters that have haunted generations of mankind -- hunger, disease, ignorance, fear, racial prejudice, slavery and serfdom, political oppression and religious persecution.

Instead, the Open Society is based on the idea, set forth in our Declaration of Independence, of the inherent dignity of man, endowed by our creator with a soul and with certain rights that cannot be taken away.

This emphasis on the dignity and rights of man is what gives sense and reason to the system of government we call democracy. Without it, men become things to be manipulated and controlled, rather than respected as democracy requires.

Respect for the dignity and rights of all men -- the notion that "all men are created equal" and are thus entitled to equal treatment under the law -- is a very recent development in the history of the human race. Even in this, the greatest of all democracies, the ideals stated in the Declaration of Independence are not yet fully reflected in our social, economic and political system.

In the last 200 years we have only gradually extended the franchise and other civil rights and liberties to include the poor and women, as well as racial and ethnic minorities. Yet painfully slow as our progress might appear in hindsight, we have come a long way in these 200 years. And we can do even better if we can overcome some of the flaws, some of the all too human frailties, that have plagued the great American experiment.

Most of our flaws and failures have arisen as natural consequences of freedom, just as have those things that are best about America.

Our treatment of the Indians, and of racial, ethnic and religious minorities; our often wasteful and destructive use of natural resources; our exploitation of the immigrant's labor and his vote; our periodic abridgments of constitutional rights; our reverence for wealth, power and speed; -- these less admirable aspects of our national character are as much a part of the development of freedom in America as the great achievements in which we take so much pride. Acknowledging them and understanding the consequences they have had for our society today is essential for future progress.

I cite these blots on the national conscience not to discredit our society, but rather so we can make a clear-sighted evaluation of how far we have come, especially during the last 50 years. Time after time, the ideals expressed in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution have overcome oppression and injustice. Invariably, it has been the people of America who have come together and demanded that our ideals be carried out in practice -- that the human rights and national goals we have affirmed must become realities.

At the same time, the expansion of opportunity and the incredible productivity of our agriculture and industry, have liberated millions of ordinary citizens from the shackles of poverty and ignorance. The record of our first 200 years shows that the expansion of economic opportunity and civil liberties are very closely related.

Gradually, over these two centuries, we have learned that it is just as important to develop our human resources as it is to develop our natural resources.

Gradually we have learned that the rights guaranteed by our Constitution are meaningless unless they apply to all the people -- the poor as well as the rich, to women as well as men, to the illiterate as well as the educated.

Gradually we have extended the concept of equal justice under the law so that it applies to every citizen, not just to an elite minority.

Ultimately, it was our belief in the ideals in the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution that enabled us to endure through the dark days of the Great Depression and World War II while other nations lost their freedom or embraced totalitarian governments voluntarily.

Our experience during those terrible years of the Great Depression and World War II had a strong impact on our image of ourselves as a people and the role of our nation in the world.

Poverty and hunger and unemployment cast dark shadows over the growing-up years of a whole generation of Americans. On top of that, there was World War II, to show us how fragile are the bonds of civilization against the lust for power that sometimes seizes individuals and nations.

When the war was over, we were determined that it would not happen again. We were determined that our children would never have to go through what we went through.

We were determined to eliminate poverty at home and to protect our allies against totalitarian aggression abroad.

In those years just after World War II, the United States was the hero of the world. We had destroyed fascism. Technologically, militarily and economically we were the strongest nation on earth. We gave our wealth generously to rebuild a devastated Europe. We helped establish democratic governments in Germany and Japan that have flourished for 30 years, so that today our former enemies are among our strongest and most important allies.

At home, we provided for veterans' benefits that enabled hundreds of thousands of returning veterans to get a college education -- something many of them would never have dreamed possible otherwise.

It was only natural that these experiences would color our view of ourselves and the world. We had saved civilization from fascist aggression, and we were determined to protect it against communist aggression. Our technological prowess and supplies of cheap energy enabled us to achieve the highest standard of living in the history of the world. And this high standard of living was not limited to just a privileged few, but was enjoyed by a majority of Americans. From the Depression-era promise of a "chicken in every pot," we went to "two cars in every garage."

We shared our wealth generously with poorer nations and gave away surplus food to help prevent starvation around the world.

We made tremendous progress in wiping out dread diseases and improving housing, health care, education and other public services for all our citizens.

I don't have to list all our successes for you; everybody knows what they are. Looking back on them, they seem almost miraculous. Human nature being what it is, it is not surprising that we came to look at ourselves as heroes. We were the good guys, the guys in the white hats whose motives were always pure; the ones who protected the weak and helpless from the wicked evil-doer; the ones who always fought for the right and emerged the triumphant victors in the last frame.

But while we were busy congratulating ourselves on our successes, the currents of change were sweeping our society and the world, and our institutions were found to be sadly unequipped to cope with new realities.

Events of the last decade or so have forced us to re-examine some of our most cherished assumptions about ourselves, our lifestyle, and our role in the world.

The civil rights movement of the mid-1960's made us see that prejudice and discrimination had denied large groups of people the constitutional protections and economic opportunities to which they were entitled as American citizens.

The tragic experience in Vietnam divided us as a people, called into question the foundations of our foreign policy since World War II, and forced us to evaluate carefully the limits of our power and of our knowledge of the world. We have been called to a new role in world leadership as new nations, although crippled by poverty, struggle to achieve independence with majority governments.

The energy crisis forced us to recognize how dangerously dependent we are upon an uninterrupted, abundant supply of cheap energy for our economy, our lifestyle and our national security.

We became deeply concerned over the degradation of our environment and the exploitation and depletion of our natural resources.

We have confronted a totally unique phenomenon in economic history, of simultaneous inflation and recession, while the tension and tragedy of unemployment have entered the homes of countless American families.



We have watched major cities falling into decay. We have seen too many of our people denied adequate health care because they cannot afford it or there is no clinic or hospital nearby.

The list of major problems could go on.

But the point is that human beings, even with the very best of intentions, are far from infallible. Our intelligence and creativity, magnificent as they are, are frequently matched by our capacity for self-delusion. Our most generous and worthy impulses are too often marred by the sins of pride and condescension. Our institutions have not kept pace with changing needs in a changing world.

We Americans face tremendous challenges today. We must learn to conserve our natural resources, so that there will be something left for our children and our children's children.

We must stop the terrible waste of human resources in rural areas and in the inner city, where poverty, illiteracy, and unemployment blight lives and breed crime.

We must find and support leaders with imagination and integrity; men and women who have both ideas and ideals; and we must demand that they tell the American people the truth.

Most of all, we must restore the sense of community, of caring for each other and working together, of individual responsibility and involvement, that has always been one of America's greatest virtues and the source of much of our strength and success as a Nation and a people.

This is not something that the government can do for us. The government can provide leadership, with our support. It can provide money, with our tax dollars. But in our democratic society it cannot force us to be wise or virtuous citizens.

The problems we face are not abstract: they affect your lives directly. To take just one example, some of you are about to confront the cruel reality of unemployment. Some of you are going on to graduate school. Some will be very lucky, and find jobs in their chosen fields almost immediately. But for others of you, the struggle to get the job you want may take months or even years. In the meantime, you will have to endure frustration, discouragement, and economic hardship.

Because you have the advantage of an outstanding education here at the College of St. Thomas, and because many of you have sufficient resources of your own and the help of your families to back you up, most of you will eventually find good jobs.

But I would urge you, in the years to come, never to forget what it is like to be willing to work, to want desperately to work, when there are no jobs available and when no one seems to want or need the skills you have to offer.

There are millions of people in America today whose lives are being blighted and even destroyed because they can't find jobs. They have families to support, but they cannot support them. They lose their homes, because they cannot afford to make the mortgage payments. Eventually many give up even trying to find a job.

Our Nation cannot afford these stark consequences of unemployment. We must ensure a decent job at a decent wage to every youth and adult who desires it.

The issue is whether or not we are prepared to accept responsibility as individuals and as a society -- whether or not we have the will and the determination to keep equal employment opportunity and the open society from becoming a bitter joke to large portions of our population.

As a United States Senator, I feel this responsibility very heavily. I have introduced legislation, the Full Employment and Balanced Growth Act, which establishes national planning and decision-making processes to enable us to achieve the goal, primarily through the private sector, of providing the opportunity of a job at a decent wage to every American who is able and wants to work.

But that legislation, if enacted, will not be worth the paper it's written on without the dedication and support and involvement of millions of private citizens. It will require planning and initiative in every community, and cooperation from all levels of government -- local, state, and national. It will require all our efforts, working together, to make full employment a reality.

Our generation, too, has been summoned to the cause of "life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness." Like our forebearers, we must be willing to experiment, to risk failure and to bear the consequences of our mistakes, both past and yet to come.

We must be prepared to do the things we ought to do, because they are right.

We must be willing to make some sacrifices now in order to protect and preserve what we most cherish in American life for the benefit of future generations.

We must accept the burdens of leadership as the strongest nation of the free world and set a good example by adhering to our principles both at home and abroad.

We must accept responsibility for our actions, both as individuals and as a Nation.

This is the challenge of our Bicentennial year: to continue to chart our progress by the liberation of the human spirit and to work for its fulfillment. As the great author Thomas Wolfe put it: "To every man his chance, to every man his shining golden opportunity -- to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and vision can combine to make him -- this is the promise of America."

Bob Hope - my Advice  
those who about to go out  
into world - Don't go!

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ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA

MAY 22, 1976

May 27  
1967  
Dr. Glavin

✓ The <sup>Excellent</sup> Archbishop Roach  
✓ <sup>Charles</sup> Dr. Keffer - V. President

President - Mayor Murphy  
in Rome

✓ Rev clergy  
✓ Faculty  
✓ Students

L THE GREAT SCIENTIST, ALBERT EINSTEIN, ONCE OBSERVED  
THAT WE AS A PEOPLE ARE "ALWAYS BECOMING, NEVER BEING" --  
ALWAYS DYNAMIC, NEVER STATIC HIS REMARK MIGHT BE TAKEN AS  
AN APPROPRIATE MOTTO FOR YOUR COMMENCEMENT IN THIS BICEN-  
TENNIAL ERA.

L WE AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS HAD OUR EYES FIXED ON THE  
FUTURE. THE MOST DISTINGUISHING MARK OF AMERICAN CHARACTER  
SINCE THE FIRST COLONISTS ARRIVED ON THIS CONTINENT HAS BEEN  
A PROFOUND FAITH IN PROGRESS, IN OUR ABILITY TO CREATE A  
BETTER LIFE FOR OURSELVES AND FOR FUTURE GENERATIONS. ~~OUR~~  
~~PROGRESS AS A NATION HAS BEEN A CONSTANT PROCESS OF BECOMING,~~  
~~OF CONSTANT MOTION AND GROWTH, OF EVOLVING ASPIRATIONS AND~~  
IDEALS.

WHAT WAS DECLARED IN 1776 WAS NOT THE FULLNESS OF  
AMERICAN FREEDOM, BUT THE COMMON PRIVILEGE OF LABORING FOR  
ITS FULFILLMENT -- AND THAT TASK WILL NEVER BE FINISHED.

✓ EACH GENERATION HAS ITS OWN SUMMONS TO THE CAUSE OF LIFE,  
LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

✓ THE RECORD OF AMERICA IN THE LAST 200 YEARS REFLECTS  
THE GRADUAL EVOLUTION OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY, AN IDEAL THAT  
WAS REVOLUTIONARY AT ITS BIRTH AND REMAINS SO TODAY. OUR  
BICENTENNIAL CALLS US TO STUDY THAT RECORD; TO FOCUS OUR  
THOUGHTS ON OUR PAST HERITAGE, OUR PRESENT PROSPECTS, AND  
OUR HOPES FOR THE FUTURE.

✓ THE AMERICAN DREAM IS SIMPLY A METAPHOR FOR THE CREATION  
OF A TRULY OPEN SOCIETY.



SUCH A SOCIETY IS ONE IN WHICH MEN AND WOMEN ARE FREE  
TO DEVELOP THEIR TALENTS, TO PURSUE THEIR DREAMS.

~~IT IS ONE THAT IS FREE OF THE SPECTERS THAT HAVE  
HAUNTED GENERATIONS OF MANKIND -- HUNGER, DISEASE, IGNOR-  
ANCE, FEAR, RACIAL PREJUDICE, SLAVERY AND SERFDOM, POLITICAL  
OPPRESSION AND RELIGIOUS PERSECUTION.~~

~~INSTEAD~~ THE OPEN SOCIETY IS BASED ON THE IDEA, SET  
FORTH IN OUR DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, OF THE INHERENT  
DIGNITY OF MAN, ENDOWED BY OUR CREATOR WITH A SOUL AND WITH  
CERTAIN RIGHTS THAT CANNOT BE TAKEN AWAY.

THIS EMPHASIS ON THE DIGNITY AND RIGHTS OF MAN IS WHAT  
GIVES SENSE AND REASON TO THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WE CALL  
DEMOCRACY - or *self government.*



YET PAINFULLY SLOW AS OUR PROGRESS MIGHT APPEAR IN HIND-  
SIGHT, WE HAVE COME A LONG WAY IN THESE 200 YEARS. AND WE  
CAN DO EVEN BETTER IF WE CAN OVERCOME SOME OF THE FLAWS,  
SOME OF THE ALL TOO HUMAN FRAILTIES, THAT HAVE PLAGUED THE  
GREAT AMERICAN EXPERIMENT.

MOST OF OUR FLAWS AND FAILURES HAVE ARISEN AS NATURAL  
CONSEQUENCES OF <sup>our</sup> FREEDOM, JUST AS HAVE THOSE THINGS THAT ARE  
BEST ABOUT AMERICA.

OUR TREATMENT OF THE INDIANS, AND OF RACIAL, ETHNIC AND  
RELIGIOUS MINORITIES; OUR OFTEN WASTEFUL AND DESTRUCTIVE USE  
OF NATURAL RESOURCES; OUR EXPLOITATION OF THE IMMIGRANT'S  
LABOR AND HIS VOTE; OUR PERIODIC ABRIDGMENTS OF CONSTITU-  
TIONAL RIGHTS; OUR REVERENCE FOR WEALTH, POWER AND SPEED;

-- THESE LESS ADMIRABLE ASPECTS OF OUR NATIONAL CHARACTER

ARE AS MUCH A PART OF THE DEVELOPMENT OF FREEDOM IN AMERICA

AS THE GREAT ACHIEVEMENTS IN WHICH WE TAKE SO MUCH PRIDE,

ACKNOWLEDGING THEM AND UNDERSTANDING THE CONSEQUENCES THEY

HAVE HAD FOR OUR SOCIETY TODAY IS ESSENTIAL FOR FUTURE

PROGRESS.

*In fact, it is out of the pain and shame of our excesses, our mistakes, yes our imperfections, that we have made the reforms.*

I CITE THESE BLOTS ON THE NATIONAL CONSCIENCE NOT TO

DISCREDIT OUR SOCIETY, BUT RATHER SO WE CAN MAKE A CLEAR-

SIGHTED EVALUATION OF HOW FAR WE HAVE COME, ESPECIALLY

DURING THE LAST 50 YEARS. TIME AFTER TIME, THE IDEALS

EXPRESSED IN THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE CON-

STITUTION HAVE OVERCOME OPPRESSION AND INJUSTICE.

INvariably, IT HAS BEEN THE PEOPLE OF AMERICA WHO HAVE COME  
TOGETHER AND DEMANDED THAT OUR IDEALS BE CARRIED OUT IN  
PRACTICE -- THAT THE HUMAN RIGHTS AND NATIONAL GOALS WE HAVE  
AFFIRMED MUST BECOME REALITIES.

At THE SAME TIME, THE EXPANSION OF OPPORTUNITY AND THE  
INCREDIBLE PRODUCTIVITY OF OUR AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRY,  
HAVE LIBERATED MILLIONS OF ORDINARY CITIZENS FROM THE  
SHACKLES OF POVERTY AND IGNORANCE. THE RECORD OF OUR FIRST  
200 YEARS SHOWS THAT THE EXPANSION OF ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY  
AND CIVIL LIBERTIES ARE VERY CLOSELY RELATED.

Gradually, OVER THESE TWO CENTURIES, WE HAVE LEARNED  
THAT IT IS JUST AS IMPORTANT TO DEVELOP OUR HUMAN RESOURCES  
AS IT IS TO DEVELOP OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.



L GRADUALLY WE HAVE LEARNED THAT THE RIGHTS GUARANTEED BY  
OUR CONSTITUTION ARE MEANINGLESS UNLESS THEY APPLY TO ALL  
THE PEOPLE -- THE POOR AS WELL AS THE RICH, TO WOMEN AS WELL  
AS MEN, TO THE ILLITERATE AS WELL AS THE EDUCATED.

L GRADUALLY WE HAVE EXTENDED THE CONCEPT OF EQUAL JUSTICE  
UNDER THE LAW SO THAT IT APPLIES TO EVERY CITIZEN, NOT JUST  
TO AN ELITE MINORITY.

L ULTIMATELY, IT WAS OUR BELIEF IN THE IDEALS IN THE  
DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE AND THE CONSTITUTION THAT ENABLED  
US TO ENDURE THROUGH THE DARK DAYS OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION  
AND WORLD WAR II WHILE OTHER NATIONS LOST THEIR FREEDOM OR  
EMBRACED TOTALITARIAN GOVERNMENTS, VOLUNTARILY.

OUR EXPERIENCE DURING THOSE TERRIBLE YEARS OF THE GREAT  
DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II HAD A STRONG IMPACT ON OUR IMAGE  
OF OURSELVES AS A PEOPLE AND THE ROLE OF OUR NATION IN THE  
WORLD.

POVERTY AND HUNGER AND UNEMPLOYMENT CAST DARK SHADOWS  
OVER THE GROWING-UP YEARS OF A WHOLE GENERATION OF AMERICANS.

ON TOP OF THAT, THERE WAS WORLD WAR II, TO SHOW US HOW  
FRAGILE ARE THE BONDS OF CIVILIZATION AGAINST THE LUST FOR  
POWER THAT SOMETIMES SEIZES INDIVIDUALS AND NATIONS.

WHEN THE WAR WAS OVER, WE WERE DETERMINED THAT IT WOULD  
NOT HAPPEN AGAIN. WE WERE DETERMINED THAT OUR CHILDREN  
WOULD NEVER HAVE TO GO THROUGH WHAT WE WENT THROUGH.

↳ WE WERE DETERMINED TO ELIMINATE POVERTY AT HOME AND TO  
PROTECT OUR ALLIES AGAINST TOTALITARIAN AGGRESSION ABROAD.

↳ IN THOSE YEARS JUST AFTER WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED  
STATES WAS THE HERO OF THE WORLD. ↳ WE HAD DESTROYED FASCISM.

↳ TECHNOLOGICALLY, MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY WE WERE THE  
STRONGEST NATION ON EARTH. ↳ WE GAVE OUR WEALTH GENEROUSLY TO  
REBUILD A DEVASTATED EUROPE. ↳ WE HELPED ESTABLISH DEMOCRATIC  
GOVERNMENTS IN GERMANY AND JAPAN THAT HAVE FLOURISHED FOR 30  
YEARS, SO THAT TODAY OUR FORMER ENEMIES ARE AMONG OUR  
STRONGEST AND MOST IMPORTANT ALLIES.

↳ AT HOME, WE PROVIDED FOR VETERANS' BENEFITS THAT ENABLED  
HUNDREDS OF THOUSANDS OF RETURNING VETERANS TO GET A COLLEGE  
EDUCATION--SOMETHING MANY OF THEM WOULD NEVER HAVE DREAMED  
POSSIBLE OTHERWISE.

L IT WAS ONLY NATURAL THAT THESE EXPERIENCES WOULD COLOR  
OUR VIEW OF OURSELVES AND THE WORLD. WE HAD SAVED CIVILIZA-  
TION FROM FASCIST AGGRESSION, AND WE WERE DETERMINED TO  
PROTECT IT AGAINST COMMUNIST AGGRESSION. OUR TECHNOLOGICAL  
PROWESS AND SUPPLIES OF CHEAP ENERGY ENABLED US TO ACHIEVE  
THE HIGHEST STANDARD OF LIVING IN THE HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

L AND THIS HIGH STANDARD OF LIVING WAS NOT LIMITED TO JUST A  
PRIVILEGED FEW, BUT WAS ENJOYED BY A MAJORITY OF AMERICANS,

L FROM THE DEPRESSION-ERA PROMISE OF A "CHICKEN IN EVERY POT,"  
WE WENT TO TWO CARS IN EVERY GARAGE.

L WE SHARED OUR WEALTH GENEROUSLY WITH POORER NATIONS AND  
GAVE AWAY SURPLUS FOOD TO HELP PREVENT STARVATION *and famine,* AROUND THE  
WORLD.

WE MADE TREMENDOUS PROGRESS IN WIPING OUT DREAD DISEASES  
AND IMPROVING HOUSING, HEALTH CARE, EDUCATION AND OTHER  
PUBLIC SERVICES FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS.

I DON'T HAVE TO LIST ALL OUR SUCCESSES FOR YOU; EVERYBODY  
KNOWS WHAT THEY ARE. LOOKING BACK ON THEM, THEY SEEM ALMOST  
MIRACULOUS. HUMAN NATURE BEING WHAT IT IS, IT IS NOT  
SURPRISING THAT WE CAME TO LOOK AT OURSELVES AS HEROES. WE  
WERE THE GOOD GUYS, THE GUYS IN THE WHITE HATS WHOSE MOTIVES  
WERE ALWAYS PURE, THE ONES WHO PROTECTED THE WEAK AND  
HELPLESS FROM THE WICKED EVIL-DOER, THE ONES WHO ALWAYS  
FOUGHT FOR THE RIGHT AND EMERGED THE TRIUMPHANT VICTORS IN  
THE LAST FRAME.




h BUT WHILE WE WERE BUSY CONGRATULATING OURSELVES ON OUR  
SUCCESSSES, THE CURRENTS OF CHANGE WERE SWEEPING OUR SOCIETY  
AND THE WORLD, AND OUR INSTITUTIONS WERE FOUND TO BE SADLY  
UNEQUIPPED TO COPE WITH NEW REALITIES.

L EVENTS OF THE LAST DECADE OR SO HAVE FORCED US TO RE-  
EXAMINE SOME OF OUR MOST CHERISHED ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT OUR-  
SELVES, OUR LIFESTYLE, AND OUR ROLE IN THE WORLD.

L THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT OF THE MID-1960'S MADE US  
SEE THAT PREJUDICE AND DISCRIMINATION HAD DENIED LARGE  
GROUPS OF PEOPLE THE CONSTITUTIONAL PROTECTIONS AND ECONOMIC  
OPPORTUNITIES TO WHICH THEY WERE ENTITLED AS AMERICAN  
CITIZENS.

The Shocking Revelations of  
Corruption + and Abuse of Power  
As revealed in what is known  
as Watergate, demanded election  
and political reform. ~~and the~~  
~~restoration of~~



L THE TRAGIC EXPERIENCE IN VIETNAM DIVIDED US AS A  
PEOPLE, CALLED INTO QUESTION THE FOUNDATIONS OF OUR FOREIGN  
POLICY SINCE WORLD WAR II, AND FORCED US TO EVALUATE CARE-  
FULLY THE LIMITS OF OUR POWER AND OF OUR KNOWLEDGE OF THE  
WORLD. *and,* WE HAVE BEEN CALLED TO A NEW ROLE IN WORLD LEADER-  
SHIP AS NEW NATIONS, ALTHOUGH CRIPPLED BY POVERTY, STRUGGLE  
TO ACHIEVE INDEPENDENCE WITH MAJORITY GOVERNMENTS.

← L THE ENERGY CRISIS FORCED US TO RECOGNIZE HOW DANGEROUSLY  
DEPENDENT WE ARE UPON AN UNINTERRUPTED, ABUNDANT SUPPLY OF

CHEAP ENERGY FOR OUR ECONOMY, OUR LIFESTYLE AND OUR NATIONAL

SECURITY. *It underscores interdependence  
as a prerequisite of Independence*

L WE BECAME DEEPLY CONCERNED OVER THE DEGRADATION OF OUR  
ENVIRONMENT AND THE EXPLOITATION AND DEPLETION OF OUR  
NATURAL RESOURCES.

L WE HAVE CONFRONTED A TOTALLY UNIQUE PHENOMENON IN  
ECONOMIC HISTORY, OF SIMULTANEOUS INFLATION AND RECESSION,  
WHILE THE TENSION AND TRAGEDY OF UNEMPLOYMENT HAVE ENTERED  
THE HOMES OF COUNTLESS AMERICAN FAMILIES.

L WE HAVE WATCHED MAJOR CITIES FALLING INTO DECAY,  
L WE HAVE SEEN TOO MANY OF OUR PEOPLE DENIED ADEQUATE HEALTH  
CARE BECAUSE THEY CANNOT AFFORD IT OR THERE IS NO CLINIC OR  
HOSPITAL NEARBY.

L THE LIST OF MAJOR PROBLEMS COULD GO ON.

✓ BUT THE POINT IS THAT HUMAN BEINGS, EVEN WITH THE VERY  
BEST OF INTENTIONS, ARE FAR FROM INFALLIBLE. ✓ OUR INTEL-  
LIGENCE AND CREATIVITY, MAGNIFICENT AS THEY ARE, ARE FRE-  
QUENTLY MATCHED BY OUR CAPACITY FOR SELF-DELUSION. ✓ OUR MOST  
GENEROUS AND WORTHY IMPULSES ARE TOO OFTEN MARRED BY THE  
SINS OF PRIDE AND CONDESCENSION. ✓ OUR INSTITUTIONS HAVE NOT  
KEPT PACE WITH CHANGING NEEDS IN A CHANGING WORLD.

yes ✓ WE AMERICANS FACE TREMENDOUS CHALLENGES TODAY. ✓ WE MUST  
LEARN TO CONSERVE OUR NATURAL RESOURCES, SO THAT THERE WILL  
BE SOMETHING LEFT FOR OUR CHILDREN AND OUR CHILDREN'S  
CHILDREN.



We must place restraints on the  
use of power, and demand  
accountability; We must  
restore the Balance between  
Executive Authority and  
Congressional responsibility;

↳ WE MUST STOP THE TERRIBLE WASTE OF HUMAN RESOURCES IN  
RURAL AREAS AND IN THE INNER CITY, WHERE POVERTY, ILLITERACY,  
AND UNEMPLOYMENT BLIGHT LIVES AND BREED CRIME.

↳ WE MUST FIND AND SUPPORT LEADERS WITH IMAGINATION AND  
INTEGRITY; MEN AND WOMEN WHO HAVE BOTH IDEAS AND IDEALS; AND  
WE MUST DEMAND THAT THEY TELL THE AMERICAN PEOPLE THE TRUTH.

← ↳ MOST OF ALL, WE MUST RESTORE THE SENSE OF COMMUNITY, OF  
CARING FOR EACH OTHER AND WORKING TOGETHER, OF INDIVIDUAL  
RESPONSIBILITY AND INVOLVEMENT, THAT HAS ALWAYS BEEN ONE  
OF AMERICA'S GREATEST VIRTUES AND THE SOURCE OF MUCH OF  
OUR STRENGTH AND SUCCESS AS A NATION AND A PEOPLE.

THIS IS NOT SOMETHING THAT THE GOVERNMENT CAN DO FOR

US. THE GOVERNMENT CAN PROVIDE LEADERSHIP, WITH OUR SUPPORT,

IT CAN PROVIDE MONEY, WITH OUR TAX DOLLARS. BUT IN OUR

DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY IT CANNOT FORCE US TO BE WISE OR VIRTUOUS

CITIZENS.

THE PROBLEMS WE FACE ARE NOT ABSTRACT; THEY AFFECT

YOUR LIVES DIRECTLY. TO TAKE JUST ONE EXAMPLE, ~~SOME OF YOU~~ <sup>as you</sup>

~~leave St. Thomas, some of you~~  
~~ARE ABOUT TO CONFRONT THE CRUEL REALITY OF UNEMPLOYMENT.~~

~~SOME OF YOU ARE GOING ON TO GRADUATE SCHOOL.~~

~~SOME WILL~~ <sup>of you</sup>

~~we all find employment in your~~  
~~VERY LUCKY, AND FIND JOBS IN THEIR CHOSEN FIELDS. AND~~

~~IMMEDIATELY.~~ BUT FOR OTHERS ~~OF YOU~~, THE STRUGGLE TO GET THE

JOB YOU WANT MAY TAKE MONTHS OR EVEN YEARS. IN THE MEAN-

TIME, YOU WILL HAVE TO ENDURE FRUSTRATION, DISCOURAGEMENT,  
AND ECONOMIC HARDSHIP.

BECAUSE YOU HAVE THE ADVANTAGE OF AN OUTSTANDING  
EDUCATION HERE AT THE COLLEGE OF ST. THOMAS, AND BECAUSE  
MANY OF YOU HAVE SUFFICIENT RESOURCES OF YOUR OWN AND THE  
HELP OF YOUR FAMILIES TO BACK YOU UP, MOST OF YOU WILL  
EVENTUALLY FIND GOOD JOBS.

L BUT I WOULD URGE YOU, IN THE YEARS TO COME, NEVER TO  
FORGET WHAT IT IS LIKE TO BE WILLING TO WORK, TO WANT

DESPERATELY TO WORK, *and no one seems to*  
~~WHEN THERE ARE NO JOBS AVAILABLE AND~~  
*need your skills.*  
~~WHEN NO ONE SEEMS TO WANT OR NEED THE SKILLS YOU HAVE TO~~

~~OFFER~~

L THERE ARE MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN AMERICA TODAY WHOSE  
LIVES ARE BEING BLIGHTED AND EVEN DESTROYED BECAUSE THEY  
CAN'T FIND JOBS.

THEY HAVE FAMILIES TO SUPPORT, BUT THEY CANNOT SUPPORT THEM. THEY LOSE THEIR HOMES, BECAUSE THEY CANNOT AFFORD TO MAKE THE MORTGAGE PAYMENTS. EVENTUALLY, MANY GIVE UP EVEN TRYING TO FIND A JOB.

OUR NATION CANNOT AFFORD THESE STARK CONSEQUENCES OF UNEMPLOYMENT. *It is a tragic waste of Human Resources, WE MUST ENSURE A DECENT JOB AT A DECENT WAGE, Production and Income - But even more significantly TO EVERY YOUTH AND ADULT WHO DESIRES IT. unemployment is being told you are not needed.*

THE ISSUE IS WHETHER OR NOT ~~WE ARE PREPARED TO ACCEPT~~ *we have the will* RESPONSIBILITY AS INDIVIDUALS AND AS A SOCIETY WHETHER OR ~~NOT WE HAVE THE WILL~~ AND THE DETERMINATION TO KEEP EQUAL

EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY AND THE OPEN SOCIETY FROM BECOMING A

*Hoax*  
BITTER JOKE TO LARGE PORTIONS OF OUR POPULATION.

*Are we prepared to pay that*



AS A UNITED STATES SENATOR, I FEEL THIS RESPONSIBILITY  
VERY HEAVILY. I HAVE INTRODUCED LEGISLATION, THE FULL  
EMPLOYMENT AND BALANCED GROWTH ACT, WHICH ESTABLISHES  
NATIONAL PLANNING AND DECISION-MAKING PROCESSES TO ENABLE US  
TO ACHIEVE THE GOAL <sup>of full employment</sup> PRIMARILY THROUGH THE PRIVATE SECTOR,  
OF PROVIDING THE OPPORTUNITY OF A JOB AT A DECENT WAGE TO  
EVERY AMERICAN WHO IS ABLE AND WANTS TO WORK.

↳ BUT THAT LEGISLATION, IF ENACTED, WILL NOT BE WORTH THE  
PAPER IT'S WRITTEN ON WITHOUT THE DEDICATION AND SUPPORT AND  
INVOLVEMENT OF MILLIONS OF PRIVATE CITIZENS. / IT WILL REQUIRE  
PLANNING AND INITIATIVE IN EVERY COMMUNITY, AND COOPERATION  
FROM ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT -- LOCAL, STATE, AND NATIONAL.

IT WILL REQUIRE ALL OUR EFFORTS, WORKING TOGETHER, TO MAKE  
FULL EMPLOYMENT A REALITY.

OUR GENERATION, TOO, HAS BEEN SUMMONED TO THE CAUSE OF  
"LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS." LIKE OUR  
FOREBEARERS, WE MUST BE WILLING TO EXPERIMENT, TO RISK  
FAILURE AND TO BEAR THE CONSEQUENCES OF OUR MISTAKES, BOTH  
PAST AND YET TO COME. (Pioneer, optimism, faith, tolerance.)

WE MUST BE PREPARED TO DO THE THINGS WE OUGHT TO DO,  
BECAUSE THEY ARE RIGHT.

WE MUST BE WILLING TO MAKE SOME SACRIFICES NOW IN ORDER  
TO PROTECT AND PRESERVE WHAT WE MOST CHERISH IN AMERICAN  
LIFE FOR THE BENEFIT OF FUTURE GENERATIONS.

WE MUST ACCEPT THE BURDENS OF LEADERSHIP AS THE STRONGEST  
NATION OF THE FREE WORLD AND SET A GOOD EXAMPLE BY ADHERING  
TO OUR PRINCIPLES BOTH AT HOME AND ABROAD.

WE MUST ACCEPT RESPONSIBILITY FOR OUR ACTIONS, BOTH AS  
INDIVIDUALS AND AS A NATION.

THIS IS THE CHALLENGE OF OUR BICENTENNIAL YEAR: TO  
CONTINUE TO CHART OUR PROGRESS BY THE LIBERATION OF THE  
HUMAN SPIRIT AND TO WORK FOR ITS FULFILLMENT AS THE GREAT  
AUTHOR THOMAS WOLFE PUT IT: "TO EVERY MAN HIS CHANCE, TO  
EVERY MAN HIS SHINING GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY -- TO EVERY MAN  
THE RIGHT TO LIVE, TO WORK, TO BE HIMSELF, AND TO BECOME  
WHATEVER THING HIS MANHOOD AND VISION CAN COMBINE TO MAKE  
HIM -- THIS IS THE PROMISE OF AMERICA."



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