

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

GRADUATION EXERCISES

UNITED STATES CAPITOL PAGE SCHOOL

Washington, D. C.

June 7, 1976

I am pleased to be here to mark with you the milestone of your high school graduation.

You should be very proud of your accomplishments, for not only have you completed your high school studies -- you have done it under less than agreeable circumstances, rising early in the morning to attend classes and working all day -- and sometimes into the night -- in the House and Senate.

I know I speak in behalf of all my colleagues in Congress when I thank you for your dedicated and willing assistance. Your help is invaluable to Members of Congress who call on you for a variety of services. And in a very real way, you have given service to your country.

You have had the rare opportunity to see American government -- especially the Legislative branch -- from the inside. You know about some of the shortcomings of the Congress, and you are aware, hopefully, of the strong points of this Body.

This valuable "inside education" should prepare you -- perhaps better than most high school graduates -- for participation and leadership in community and government affairs.

Your experience here must be counted as more than simply a privilege; you must view this opportunity as a serious responsibility.

I first visited this city some 40 years ago. I still remember my first visions of Washington -- the buildings, the people and the debates. Needless to say, I was quite taken with the workings of the Federal government, particularly the Congress.

Few Americans have had the opportunity to reach out and touch the very structure of their government as you have. Washington is a mystical city which enthralls most of its visitors. The bright and bristling buildings which house our government have become to many the very symbols of this Republic.

But one of the principal -- and often difficult -- tasks of students of any age is to separate the form from the substance. That is something no one can fully accomplish in one week, one year, or even in a lifetime.

But it is an effort that must be undertaken by every citizen.

I hope that your sojourn in the Nation's Capital has helped you to test your assumptions about the Congress and the Federal government. For Washington, indeed, is the place to test your impressions of history against the realities of the present and your hopes for the future.

As those who have been on the inside, you are somewhat better equipped to challenge the way things are done than people who have not had the benefit of your special experience. That is why I challenge you to make this a foundation for future accomplishments.

\* \* \*

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 and women become things to be manipulated and controlled, rather than respected as democracy requires.

Respect for the dignity and rights of all -- the notion that "all 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.

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 the dark days of the Great Depression and World War II while other nations lost their freedom or embraced totalitarianism.

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.

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.

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 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 your children and my grandchildren.

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.

This 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 a challenge of our Bicentennial year: to continue to chart our progress by the liberation of the human spirit and to work for its fulfillment.

Franklin Delano Roosevelt captured the essence of this challenge when he said, "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with strong and active faith."

This is my challenge to you.

# # # # #

Mr Speaker Carl Albert

Mr Elson

Principal John Hoffman

President of class Jim Mangels

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Mrs <sup>Elizabeth</sup> ~~Elizabeth~~ Jancy

GRADUATION EXERCISES

act Supt Schools DC

members of Congress

UNITED STATES CAPITOL PAGE SCHOOL

9 students  
Parents

WASHINGTON, D. C.

JUNE 7, 1976

Dr. H. R. Marine Band

Salad, S.D. High School

47 yrs ap

1926  
1976

L I AM PLEASED TO BE HERE TO MARK WITH YOU THE MILESTONE OF  
YOUR HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATION.

L YOU SHOULD BE VERY PROUD OF YOUR ACCOMPLISHMENTS, FOR NOT

ONLY HAVE YOU COMPLETED YOUR HIGH SCHOOL STUDIES -- YOU HAVE

✓ DONE IT UNDER LESS THAN AGREEABLE CIRCUMSTANCES, RISING EARLY

IN THE MORNING TO ATTEND CLASSES AND WORKING ALL DAY -- AND

SOMETIMES INTO THE NIGHT -- IN THE HOUSE AND SENATE.

*Thanks*

#  
L I KNOW I SPEAK IN BEHALF OF ALL MY COLLEAGUES IN CONGRESS

WHEN I THANK YOU FOR YOUR DEDICATED AND WILLING ASSISTANCE.

4 YOUR HELP IS INVALUABLE TO MEMBERS OF CONGRESS WHO CALL ON

YOU FOR A VARIETY OF SERVICES. AND IN A VERY REAL WAY, YOU

HAVE GIVEN SERVICE TO YOUR COUNTRY.

*our  
thanks*

and

YOU HAVE HAD THE RARE OPPORTUNITY TO SEE AMERICAN GOVERNMENT --

ESPECIALLY THE LEGISLATIVE BRANCH -- FROM THE INSIDE. YOU KNOW

ABOUT SOME OF THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE CONGRESS, AND YOU ARE

AWARE, HOPEFULLY, OF THE STRONG POINTS OF THIS BODY.

THIS VALUABLE "INSIDE EDUCATION" SHOULD PREPARE YOU --

PERHAPS BETTER THAN MOST HIGH SCHOOL GRADUATES -- FOR PARTICIPATION

AND LEADERSHIP IN COMMUNITY AND GOVERNMENT AFFAIRS.

YOUR EXPERIENCE HERE MUST BE COUNTED AS MORE THAN SIMPLY A  
PRIVILEGE; YOU MUST VIEW THIS OPPORTUNITY AS A SERIOUS RESPONSIBILITY.

I FIRST VISITED THIS CITY SOME 40 YEARS AGO. I STILL REMEMBER

MY FIRST VISIONS OF WASHINGTON -- THE BUILDINGS, THE PEOPLE AND

THE DEBATES. NEEDLESS TO SAY, I WAS QUITE TAKEN WITH THE WORKINGS

OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT, PARTICULARLY THE CONGRESS.

my  
visit  
to D.C.



*Long* FEW AMERICANS HAVE HAD THE OPPORTUNITY TO REACH OUT AND  
TOUCH THE VERY STRUCTURE OF THEIR GOVERNMENT AS YOU HAVE *Washington*  
IS A MYSTICAL CITY WHICH ENTHRALLS MOST OF ITS VISITORS. *The*  
BRIGHT AND BRISTLING BUILDINGS WHICH HOUSE OUR GOVERNMENT HAVE  
BECOME TO MANY THE VERY SYMBOLS OF THIS REPUBLIC.

*L* BUT ONE OF THE PRINCIPAL -- AND OFTEN DIFFICULT -- TASKS OF  
STUDENTS OF ANY AGE IS TO SEPARATE THE FORM FROM THE SUBSTANCE.  
*2*  
*L* THAT IS SOMETHING NO ONE CAN FULLY ACCOMPLISH IN ONE WEEK, ONE  
YEAR, OR EVEN IN A LIFETIME.

*L* BUT IT IS AN EFFORT THAT MUST BE UNDERTAKEN BY EVERY CITIZEN.

*L* I HOPE THAT YOUR *time* ~~sojourn~~ IN THE NATION'S CAPITAL HAS HELPED  
YOU TO TEST YOUR ASSUMPTIONS ABOUT THE CONGRESS AND THE FEDERAL  
GOVERNMENT.

L FOR WASHINGTON, INDEED, IS THE PLACE TO TEST YOUR IMPRESSIONS  
OF HISTORY AGAINST THE REALITIES OF THE PRESENT AND YOUR HOPES  
FOR THE FUTURE.

L AS THOSE WHO HAVE BEEN <sup>11</sup> ON THE <sup>4</sup> INSIDE, YOU ARE SOMEWHAT BETTER  
EQUIPPED TO CHALLENGE THE WAY THINGS ARE DONE THAN PEOPLE WHO  
HAVE NOT HAD THE BENEFIT OF YOUR SPECIAL EXPERIENCE, THAT IS  
WHY I CHALLENGE YOU TO MAKE THIS A FOUNDATION FOR FUTURE  
ACCOMPLISHMENTS. !

\* \* \*

L THE GREAT SCIENTIST, ALBERT EINSTEIN, ONCE OBSERVED THAT WE

L 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. !

L WE AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS HAD OUR EYES FIXED ON THE FUTURE.

*Jefferson, Hamilton, Madison, Washington*

Pioneering, optimism, faith  
-5-

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.

(Signers among  
age 36 - Jefferson  
33)

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 <sup>1</sup>LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

Let me give you some hope, in this period of doubt.

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.

L 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.

L ~~THE~~ AMERICAN DREAM IS SIMPLY A METAPHOR FOR THE CREATION OF  
A TRULY OPEN SOCIETY!

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

L 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.

L ~~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.

L THIS EMPHASIS ON THE DIGNITY AND <sup>Human</sup> RIGHTS OF ~~HUMAN~~ IS WHAT GIVES

SENSE AND REASON TO THE SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT WE CALL DEMOCRACY.

L WITHOUT IT, MEN AND WOMEN BECOME THINGS TO BE MANIPULATED AND

CONTROLLED, RATHER THAN RESPECTED AS DEMOCRACY REQUIRES.

L RESPECT FOR THE DIGNITY AND RIGHTS OF ALL -- THE NOTION THAT

"ALL 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. L 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.

L IN THE LAST 200 YEARS WE HAVE ONLY GRADUALLY EXTENDED THE

vote FRANCHISE AND OTHER CIVIL RIGHTS AND LIBERTIES TO INCLUDE THE

POOR AND WOMEN, AS WELL AS RACIAL AND ETHNIC MINORITIES.



4 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.

4 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.

4 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.

4 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  
THE DARK DAYS OF THE GREAT DEPRESSION AND WORLD WAR II WHILE  
OTHER NATIONS LOST THEIR FREEDOM OR EMBRACED TOTALITARIANISM.

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.

h WE WERE DETERMINED THAT OUR CHILDREN WOULD NEVER HAVE TO GO  
THROUGH WHAT WE WENT THROUGH.

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

h IN THOSE YEARS JUST AFTER WORLD WAR II, THE UNITED STATES WAS  
THE HERO OF THE WORLD. h WE HAD DESTROYED FASCISM. ( TECHNOLOGICALLY,  
MILITARILY AND ECONOMICALLY WE WERE THE STRONGEST NATION ON EARTH.

h WE GAVE OUR WEALTH GENEROUSLY TO REBUILD A DEVASTATED EUROPE. h 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.

h 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.

↳ 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.

↳ 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 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 ENVIRON-

MENT AND THE EXPLOITATION AND DEPLETION OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.

and WE HAVE ~~GENERATED~~ <sup>faced</sup> 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.

5 BUT THE POINT IS THAT HUMAN BEINGS, EVEN WITH THE VERY BEST  
OF INTENTIONS, ARE FAR FROM INFALLIBLE. L OUR INTELLIGENCE AND

CREATIVITY, MAGNIFICENT AS THEY ARE, ARE FREQUENTLY MATCHED BY  
OUR CAPACITY FOR SELF-DELUSION. *our most generous + worthy*  
~~OUR MOST GENEROUS AND WORTHY~~

IMPULSES ARE TOO OFTEN MARRED BY THE SINS OF PRIDE AND

CONDESCENSION. L OUR INSTITUTIONS HAVE NOT KEPT PACE WITH

CHANGING NEEDS IN A CHANGING WORLD. — *But we can learn —*

L WE AMERICANS FACE TREMENDOUS CHALLENGES TODAY. L WE MUST LEARN

TO CONSERVE OUR NATURAL RESOURCES, SO THAT THERE WILL BE SOMETHING  
LEFT FOR YOUR CHILDREN AND MY GRANDCHILDREN,

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.

*your* 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.

*runner, slave, to*

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.

L 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.

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

L THIS IS A CHALLENGE OF OUR BICENTENNIAL YEAR: TO CONTINUE  
TO CHART OUR PROGRESS BY THE LIBERATION OF THE HUMAN SPIRIT  
AND TO WORK FOR ITS FULFILLMENT.

L FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT CAPTURED THE ESSENCE OF THIS  
CHALLENGE WHEN HE SAID, "THE ONLY LIMIT TO OUR REALIZATION OF  
TOMORROW WILL BE OUR DOUBTS OF TODAY. L LET US MOVE FORWARD WITH  
STRONG AND ACTIVE FAITH."

THIS IS MY CHALLENGE TO YOU.





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