

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA  
Philadelphia, Pennsylvania  
May 22, 1977



# A new world order

By Hubert H. Humphrey

**W**E no longer can talk about American foreign policy as an isolated subject, sufficient unto itself. What happens, or fails to happen, in America has an impact on the rest of the world. And surely what happens in other parts of the world—the Middle East, Africa, Western Europe, Asia, and the Soviet bloc—can have, and does have, a significant impact on our well-being and security.

The basic reality of today is that we are solidly entrenched in an era of interdependence—an era in which domestic and global distinctions have become increasingly blurred. And we are fast approaching the time when domestic and foreign policy concerns will be inseparable.

Interdependence has become the catchword of the 1970s. And while it is all too commonly used, it is all too little understood.

The post-World War II foreign policy of this nation has focused on the maintenance of the balance of power between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. As we enter our third century, protection against military threats still remains a major foreign policy focus of our nation.

However, our national security also is endangered by events outside the political-military sphere of major powers. The advances of modern technology have

reduced the time and spatial distances between peoples and nations to relative insignificance. In so doing, technology has increased the magnitude and importance of interaction among peoples and nations—and we are no longer immune from this interaction.

The problems of energy, material resources, environment, employment, inflation, population, hunger, disease, and illiteracy; the question of the uses of space and the seas; and the trends in nuclear proliferation and terrorism—all these issues threaten the national security of our country and make possible nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union.

The international economic system created after World War II has shown itself to be inadequate for addressing the changing patterns of economic development and the increasing interdependence among nations.

Both the developed and the developing countries agree on the need for major changes in the existing international economic and political system. This process of renegotiating the world order already is under way in a variety of forums, where a changing political climate is evidenced by the demands of the developing nations for a greater role in global decision-making.

We are compelled to recognize that no one nation dominates the international scene. Our relations with the developing countries are fast becoming a major element of our foreign policy.

It also is clear that the importance of America's economic relations with developing countries continues to grow. Our

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*This is the address delivered by the senior U.S. Senator from Minnesota and former Vice President of the United States at the University of Pennsylvania's 221st Commencement on May 22.*

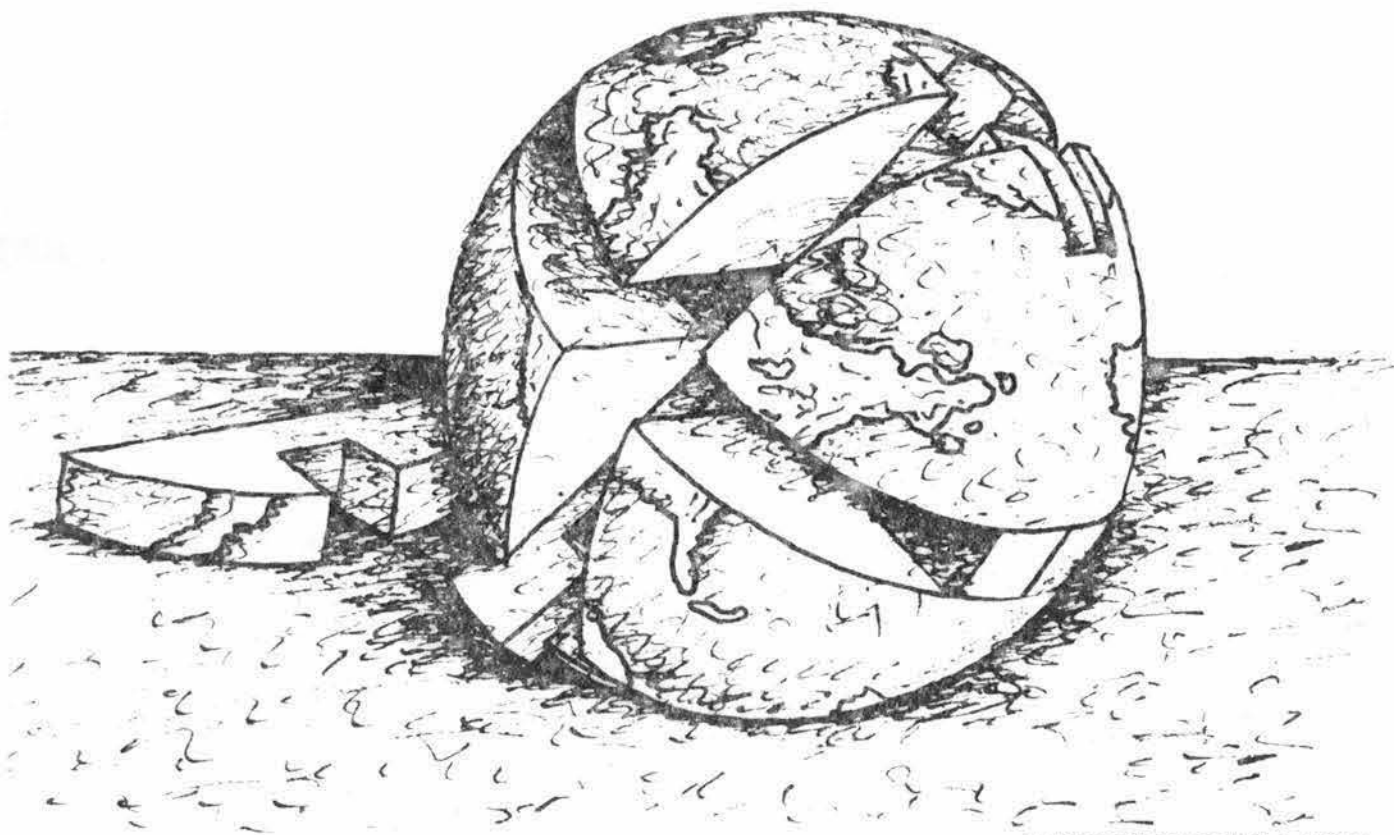


ILLUSTRATION BY RICHARD E. BROWN

nation sells more of its goods to developing countries than to the European Community, Eastern Europe, and the Soviet Union combined. And developing countries provide us with both critical raw materials and essential consumer goods.

With only 6 per cent of the world's population, we consume nearly 40 per cent of the world's resources. By 1985, the United States will depend on imports for more than one-half of our supplies of 9 out of the 13 critical minerals necessary to maintain our industrial economy. By the year 2000 we will be dependent primarily on foreign sources for our supply of each of the 13 critical raw materials.

The demands of the developing countries and the requirements of the developed countries are a permanent feature of our evolving international relations. And how we respond will have a major impact on world peace, prosperity, and stability for decades.

The major decisions in the world no longer can be made by a handful of Western leaders sharing a similar view of the world. These decisions increasingly are made in global forums, unwieldy in their size and torn by radically different perceptions of the world.

The inability to reach agreement at the protracted Law of the Sea Conference is just one example of likely future frustrations the industrial nations will suffer if they refuse to understand the concerns of developing nations and encourage their cooperation.

Failure, frustration, and stalemate on vital issues will persist until we change the very nature of our decision-making

process to reflect the democratization of world leadership.

The industrial nations quite understandably are reluctant to accept major changes in the present world system of relatively free trade and capital movements under which they have done so well for so long. However, it is equally understandable why the developing countries, frustrated so often in their attempts to improve their standards of living, are convinced that the current economic system has worked to their disadvantage.

The poorer countries no longer are willing to be dependent upon foreign aid alone for their progress, particularly where this assistance is subject to the uncertainties of the political climate in the richer countries. Instead, they want a more predictable foundation for their economic growth through the assurance of reasonable prices for their exports and guaranteed access to the world markets for their goods.

In essence, the developing countries are insisting upon a genuine commitment by the industrial nations to the principle of economic equity among all nations.

But the demand for change—yes, fundamental and radical change—has been coming. It is like a gathering storm, and it has now arrived in all its fury. We have hoped that it might pass away or that major adjustments would be sufficient to weather the storm. This is understandable. Change does not come easy. And change on a global basis is threatening, unsettling, and revolutionary.

But the fact is that the balance of this century will continue to be a period of

incredible, massive change in political, economic, and social institutions.

The question is: Will we, by our positive efforts, help to direct and affect this global upheaval in a direction consistent with our values and beliefs? Or will we merely resist it? Will we design our future, or will we simply resign ourselves to it?

If the United States is to develop an effective, positive response to the demands of the less-developed nations, we must first undertake some basic changes in our own thinking. These changes are likely to be far more difficult than devising the particular vehicles to implement economic and social reforms.

The first required change in our outlook is to recognize that we are not necessarily dealing with situations in which one side must lose for the other to gain.

For example, commodity agreements can stabilize prices and assure the supply of critical raw materials to the benefit of both producers and consumers. Resource transfers can help developing nations and also mean more exports of U.S. goods, and thus more jobs at home.

Second, we must understand that it is highly improbable that the developing nations will develop as did the West. There simply are not the resources and, least of all, the cheap energy to permit little copies of the United States to spring up around the world.

Perhaps the hardest adjustment in our thinking is to face the fact that our own society is likely to undergo far-reaching, even drastic, changes in the next few decades—quite apart from the demands of the developing countries—as we attempt

*continued on page 41*

to adapt our own life-style to a more realistic planetary scale.

The wastefulness that has been characteristic of our country cannot continue. Conservation must become priority national policy—both public and private.

This is the economic side of the concerns which we face. However, it is the human dimension of these problems which is even more threatening.

Today, there are 700 million adults in the world unable to read or write.

Today, there are 1.5 billion people in the world without effective health care.

Today, more than 500 million people in the world suffer from severe hunger and malnutrition.

And without a major effort by the international community, some 800 million of the world's poorest cannot expect any improvement in their condition of life for the rest of the decade.

These are some of the facts of our time. And these cruel, ugly facts are as threatening to our future as an uncontrolled arms race. These are time bombs which threaten global peace. As Pope John XXIII so dramatically emphasized: "In a world of constant want, there is no peace . . ."

Therefore, we must be as willing to respond to these threats as we are willing to face those of military aggression.

Last year, the development assistance programs of the entire free world to the developing countries totaled only \$17 billion. In the same time span, more than \$285 billion was spent in the world for guns, bombers, and missiles.

The question we must decide is whether or not the conditions of social and economic injustice—poverty, illiteracy, and disease—are a real threat to our security. I think they are.

And they require the same commitment of policy, will, and resources as our so-called conventional national defense.

World hunger cannot be solved merely by American charity, but by technology and improved production of food and fiber on a world-wide basis. It can be done.

Disease can be conquered or at least its ravages minimized. The modern world knows how to do this if we have the will and provide the means.

The basic changes in our international financial institutions, which were designed for a world of yesterday, can provide much of the capital for development.

A war-torn Europe was rebuilt by the Marshall Plan. Yes, planning, resources, and management accomplished its goal.

A highly nationalistic Europe was brought together in the European Economic Community by strong political leadership, motivated by economic necessity.

It is possible to make changes. We have demonstrated there are few, if any, physi-

## Our Founding Fathers promised us and the world a 'more' perfect—not 'the' perfect—union

cal or technological barriers that this country is incapable of overcoming, provided that we are willing to make a national commitment to do so.

And remember, we are not alone.

There is a whole world of skill, talent, and resources that must be called to the task.

What is needed is American leadership that understands and proclaims interdependence—the simple fact that we need each other; that no one is safe until all are secure.

What an exciting time to be alive. The frontiers of science and technology are always being pushed forward. But it is in the political, economic, and social fields where mankind's ingenuity and inventiveness must now be directed.

Who are we to be afraid of trying? Experimentation and change are a part of the American character and of our history.

The message of the United States is not nuclear power, arms sales, and resistance to change. The message of the United States is a spiritual message. A statement of high ideals and perseverance in their achievement. It is the message of human dignity; it is the message of the freedom of ideas, speech, press, the right to assemble, to worship, and the message of freedom of movement of peoples.

It is the message of the Bill of Rights. It is the message of the Declaration of Independence, where we boldly proclaimed to a world dominated by monarchs and tyrants that "all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

This is the message of America. This is the source of our power. This is the source of our strength.

Our nation's security lies in the strength of our people—our people at work, in prosperous communities, in sound mental and physical health. This is where our true national security lies. This is the source of our strength—moral, political, and economic.

America's leadership and concern in the area of human rights can't be exclusive, restrictive, or narrow in definition. For what are your human rights if you

have no job? What are your human rights if your children are hungry? What are your human rights if you have no opportunity for education? What are your human rights if you are forced to live in decaying slums?

America must champion all human rights, be they economic, social, or political. In essence, our democratic institutions are threatened by an acceptance of the blight of poverty in a nation characterized by its tremendous wealth.

Yet, this concern does not stop at our nation's shores. We cannot proclaim democracy, social and economic justice at home and abandon these principles abroad.

We have made significant strides in recent months. Support of human rights has become a central tenet of American foreign policy.

A sense of moral values should be an imperative of our foreign policy. Unless it is, we will find it difficult to gain the support of peoples around the world who look to us for moral support in their struggles for freedom.

While it is true that we don't have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, this does not mean we should not remind the world that human rights are of the highest priority of our government and our people, and that our policies will be directed accordingly.

When our Founding Fathers met in Philadelphia 200 years ago, they gave us and the world a set of promises—promises toward a *more* perfect, not *the* perfect union. America is a promise and a hope in the minds and hearts of all those who cherish liberty, justice, and opportunity.

We live by hope. We do not always get all we want when we want it. But we have to believe that someday, somehow, somehow it will be better—and that we can make it so.

Surely we will not give in to the pessimists.

America will provide world leadership by drawing on its greatest strength—the common sense of its people. And we will turn challenges into accomplishments and idealism, crises into opportunities, and problems into progress.

We can launch a global assault on the historic plagues of mankind—the bondage of hunger, disease, and illiteracy—if we have the will to do so.

And as we do, we will move closer to fulfilling the promise of America—a life with dignity in the pursuit of happiness in a free society for our own people and for those throughout the world.

As Franklin Delano Roosevelt so dramatically noted during one of the darker periods of our nation: "The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."



## 'This is some day, I can tell you that'

"This is some day, I can tell you that. This is some day," said Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, departing from his prepared text to catch the buoyant spirit at the University's 221st Commencement on May 22. Humphrey customarily exudes confidence. But others seemed to agree that it was some day.

In the morning, Sir Ernst Gombrich spoke at the Baccalaureate service on *ars longa, vita brevis* ("art is long, life is short"). "Too many of our university administrators and those who control them feel tempted to be swayed by considerations of quantity," he said. "Admittedly we need many more engineers than we need papyrologists, but the needs of the moment are not all that matters. I wish I could place over their desks the motto *ars longa, vita brevis*, and I would even supply a translation if needed."

On the College Hall Green, Ben Franklin was busy posing in front of cameras with many among the 5,000 graduates. Families and friends tried to solve the problem of getting everyone in the picture by collaring passers-by and quickly educating them on how to snap a shot. Parents were seen working on *The New York Times* crossword puzzle as their children were off in their rooms packing. In front of Irvine Auditorium, the pretzel-and-soda vendor lamented that business was "not too good"—his potential customers were presumably too wrapped up in their own business, adjusting their caps and gowns and hurrying to the next event.

In the afternoon, Convention Hall at the Civic Center was filled—overfilled, actually, with people who took to sitting on the balcony steps and standing five-deep on the ground floor to observe the graduation ceremonies.

They heard President Martin Meyerson recollect a fragment of political history. "In 1948, in this very hall where we are assembled today," he said, "a young mayor from Minneapolis who was heading the Minnesota delegation stayed on his feet at a great convention for 24 hours. He rose to propose an unpopular measure; and he remained to keep it in the platform of his party. The issue at stake was civil rights; his stated position, in his words, was this: 'There can be no compromise on the guarantee of civil rights. . . . There can be no hedging, no watering down. . . . For those who say to you, 'We are rushing into this issue of civil rights,' I say we are 172 years late. . . .'"

Humphrey remembered those words. "When I said that, large segments of the audience got up and left," he told the



Seven honorands and University officials at Commencement '77: (from left to right) Trustee Chairman Regan, Drs. Gombrich, Humphrey, Anderson, Brooks, MacLane, Lloyd, Pendergrass, Provost Stellar, and President Meyerson.

Commencement audience. "I thank you for staying."

They stayed, interrupted his speech a dozen times with cheers and applause, and heard Meyerson bestow the honorary degrees on:

ROBERT ORVILLE ANDERSON, chairman of the board and chief executive officer of Atlantic Richfield Company, chairman of the board of the Aspen Institute for Humanistic Studies. *Doctor of Fine Arts*: "A rancher and man of the outdoors, his concern for the environment is evinced by his co-chairmanship of the Institute for Environmental Affairs. . . . A believer in the need to extend education to large audiences, he acquired the *Observer*, thus preserving the highly literate standards of this august but financially troubled London paper."

GWENDOLYN BROOKS, poet. *Doctor of Humane Letters*: "Never forgetful of her own precept, 'that we are each other's harvest, we are each other's business,' [she] has received the acclaim of a Pulitzer Prize, the Shelley Memorial Award of the Poetry Society of America, and the Black Academy Award."

SIR ERNST HANS JOSEF GOMBRICH, retired director of the Warburg Institute, professor emeritus in the history of the classical tradition at the University of London. *Doctor of Humane Letters*: "[He brings] the qualities of a Renaissance mind to interests which range far beyond Renaissance art and culture and its Mediterranean origins. . . . In *The Story of Art* and *Art and Illusion*, he has unveiled the fundamentals of the world of art and placed in historical perspective our perception of reality."

HUBERT HORATIO HUMPHREY, United States Senator from Minnesota. *Doctor of Laws*: "[He has] supplied answers, where most were still fumbling for questions . . . worked successfully for extending civil rights . . . worked for a Wilderness Act before it was fashionable

to show concern for the environment. . . . An energetic man of action, he has never been content with merely observing what needed to be done."

ELEANOR BIDDLE LLOYD, member of the board of managers of the University Museum and of the board of overseers of the Graduate School of Fine Arts. *Doctor of Fine Arts*: "[She] has worked untiringly to protect the monuments of the past and to assure a place in the future for contemporary products of human genius. . . . She organized the United States Committee for the Preservation of the Nubian Monuments and the American Committee to Preserve Abu Simbel. Through these efforts, the colossal temple of Ramses II . . . was saved . . . from the elements. . . . Nearer to home, she vigorously chairs the Friends of the Library of the University of Pennsylvania."

SAUNDERS MACLANE, Max Mason Distinguished Service Professor of Mathematics at the University of Chicago, vice president of the National Academy of Sciences, former associate trustee of the University of Pennsylvania. *Doctor of Science*: "Following in the footsteps of René Descartes, [he] has shown that disparate parts of mathematics are categorically the same. Establishing himself as a master of several specialties, he went on to reach for universal solutions."

EUGENE PERCIVAL PENDERGRASS, '18 M, professor emeritus of radiology at the University of Pennsylvania, organizer of the radiologic division of the Atomic Bomb Casualty Commission in Hiroshima. *Doctor of Humane Letters*: "Equally concerned with the beneficent potential and with the hazardous side effects of the x ray, he was influential not only as a physician and a teacher, but as policy adviser. . . . The department he served so well has contributed to the endowment of the Eugene P. Pendergrass chair in radiology."

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

May 22, 1977

This year marks the celebration of our nation's entrance into its third century and establishes us as the world's oldest democracy. This in itself makes the Class of 1977 unique in many respects.

Many of you will move directly into the mainstream of American economic life. Others will continue your education pursuits, seeking advanced degrees. But all of you are part of a world of increasingly complex problems, unparalleled challenges and extraordinary opportunity.

My remarks today are directed toward defining the world you stand to inherit. And I do mean "world," not just "nation." Because the fact is that we no longer can talk about American foreign policy as an isolated subject, sufficient unto itself.

What happens, or fails to happen, in America has an impact on the rest of the world. And surely what happens in other parts of the world--the Middle East, Africa, Western Europe, Asia and the Soviet bloc--can have, and does have, a significant impact on our well-being and security.

The basic reality of today is that we are solidly entrenched in an era of interdependence--an era in which domestic and global distinctions have become increasingly blurred. And we are fast approaching the time when domestic and foreign policy concerns will be inseparable.

Interdependence has become the catchword of the 1970's. And while it is all too commonly used, it is all too little understood.

The post World War II foreign policy of this nation has focused on the maintenance of the balance of power between the U.S. and the Soviet Union. As we enter our third century, protection against military threats still remains a major foreign policy focus of our nation.

However, our national security also is endangered by events outside the political-military sphere of major powers. The advances of modern technology have reduced the time and spatial distances between peoples and nations to relative insignificance. In so doing, it has increased the magnitude and importance of interaction among nations--and we are no longer immune from this interaction.

The problems of energy, material resources, environment, employment, inflation, population, hunger, disease, and illiteracy; the question of the uses of space and the seas; and the trends in nuclear proliferation and terrorism--all these issues threaten the national security of our country as much as the possibility of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union.

The international economic system created after World War II has shown itself to be inadequate for addressing the changing patterns of economic development and the increasing interdependence among nations.

Both the developed and the developing countries agree on the need for major changes in the existing international economic and political system. This process of renegotiating the world order already is underway in a variety of forums, where a changing political climate is evidenced by the demands of the developing nations for a greater role in global decision-making.

We are compelled to recognize that no one nation dominates the international scene. Our relations with the developing countries are fast becoming a major element of our foreign policy.

It also is clear that the importance of America's economic relations with developing countries continues to grow. Our nation sells more of its goods to developing countries than to the European Community, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union combined. And developing countries provide us with both critical raw materials and essential consumer goods.

With only six percent of the world's population, we consume nearly 40 percent of the world's resources. By 1985, the United States will depend on imports for more than one-half of our supplies of nine out of the thirteen critical minerals necessary to maintain our industrial economy. By the year 2000 we will be dependent primarily on foreign sources for our supply of each of the thirteen critical raw materials.

The demands of the developing countries and the requirements of the developed countries are a permanent feature of our evolving international relations. And how we respond will have a major impact on world peace, prosperity and stability for decades.

The major decisions in the world no longer can be made by a handful of Western leaders sharing a similar view of the world. These decisions increasingly are made in global forums, unwieldy in their size and torn by radically different perceptions of the world.

The inability to reach agreement at the protracted Law of the Sea Conference is just one example of likely future frustrations the industrial nations will suffer if they refuse to understand the concerns of developing nations and encourage their cooperation.

Failure, frustration and stalemate on vital issues will persist until we change the very nature of our decision-making process to reflect the democratization of world leadership.

The industrial nations quite understandably are reluctant to accept major changes in the present world system of relatively free trade and capital movements under which they have done so well for so long. However, it is equally understandable why the developing countries, frustrated so often in their attempts to improve their standards of living, are convinced that the current economic system has worked to their disadvantage.

The poorer countries no longer are willing to be dependent upon foreign aid alone for their progress, particularly where this assistance is subject to the uncertainties of the political climate in the richer countries. Instead, they want a more predictable foundation for their economic growth through the assurance of reasonable prices for their exports and guaranteed access to the world markets for their goods.

In essence, the developing countries are insisting upon a genuine commitment by the industrial nations to the principle of economic equity among all nations.

But the demand for change--yes, fundamental and radical change--has been coming. It is like a gathering storm and it has now arrived in all its fury. We have hoped that it might pass away or that major adjustments would be sufficient to weather the storm. This is understandable. Change does not come easy. And change on a global basis is threatening, unsettling and revolutionary.

But the fact is that the balance of this century will continue to be a period of incredible, massive change in political, economic and social institutions.



The question is, will we, by our positive efforts, help to direct and affect this global upheaval in a direction consistent with our values and beliefs. Or will we merely resist it? Will we design our future, or will we simply resign ourselves to it?

If the United States is to develop an effective, positive response to the demands of the less developed nations, we must first undertake some basic changes in our own thinking. These changes are likely to be far more difficult than devising the particular vehicles to implement economic and social reforms.

The first required change in our outlook is to recognize that we are not necessarily dealing with situations in which one side must lose for the other to gain.

For example, commodity agreements can stabilize prices and assure the supply of critical raw materials to the benefit of both producers and consumers. Resource transfers can help developing nations and also mean more exports of U.S. goods, and thus more jobs at home.

Second, we must understand that it is highly improbable that the developing nations will develop as did the West. There simply are not the resources, least of all the cheap energy, that will permit little copies of the United States to spring up around the world.

Perhaps the hardest adjustment in our thinking is to face the fact that our own society is likely to undergo far-reaching, even drastic, changes in the next few decades--quite apart from the demands of the developing countries--as we attempt to adapt our own lifestyle to a more realistic planetary scale.

The wastefulness that has been characteristic of our country cannot continue. Conservation must become priority national policy--both public and private.

This is the economic side of the concerns which we face. However, it is the human dimension of these problems which is even more threatening.

Today, there are 700 million adults in the world unable to read or write.

Today, there are 1.5 billion people in the world without effective health care.

Today, more than 500 million people in the world suffer from severe hunger and malnutrition.

And without a major effort by the international community, some 800 million of the world's poorest cannot expect any improvement in their condition of life for the rest of the decade.

These are some of the facts of our time. And these cruel, ugly facts are as threatening to our future as an uncontrolled arms race. These are time bombs which threaten global peace.

As Pope John XXIII so dramatically emphasized:

"In a world of constant want, there is no peace..."

Therefore, we must be as willing to respond to these threats as we are willing to face those of military aggression.

Last year the development assistance programs of the entire free world to the developing countries totaled only \$17 billion. In the same time span, more than \$285 billion was spend in the world for guns, bombers, and missiles.

The question we must decide is whether or not the conditions of social and economic injustice--poverty, illiteracy, and disease, are a real threat to our security. I think they are.

And they require the same commitment of policy, will, and resources as our so-called conventional national defense.

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The basic changes in our international financial institutions, which were designed for a world of yesterday, can provide much of the capital which is needed for development.

A war-torn Europe was rebuilt by the Marshall Plan. Yes, planning, resources, and management accomplished its goal.

A highly nationalistic Europe was brought together in the European Economic Community by strong political leadership, motivated by economic necessity.

It is possible to make changes. We have demonstrated there are few, if any, physical or technological barriers that this country is incapable of overcoming, provided that we are willing to make a national commitment to do so.

And remember, we are not alone.

There is a whole world of skill, talent and resources that must be called to the task.

What is needed is American leadership that understands and proclaims interdependence--the simple fact that we need each other; that no one is safe until all are secure.

What an exciting time to be alive. The frontiers of science and technology are always being pushed forward. But it is in the political, economic and social fields where mankind's ingenuity and inventiveness must now be directed.

Who are we to be afraid of trying? Experimentation and change are a part of the American character and of our history.

The message of the United States is not nuclear power, arms sales, and resistance to change. The message of the United States is a spiritual message. A statement of high ideals and perseverance is the message of the freedom of ideas, speech, press, the right to assemble, to worship, and the message of freedom of movement of peoples.

It is the message of the Bill of Rights. It is the message of the Declaration of Independence where we boldly proclaimed to a world dominated by monarchs and tyrants that "all men are created equal, endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, and among these are life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness."

This is the message of America. This is the source of our power. This is the source of our strength.

Our nation's security lies in the strength of our people--our people at work, in prosperous communities, in sound mental and physical health. This is where our true national security lies. This is the source of our strength--moral, political and economic.

America's leadership and concern in the area of human rights can't be exclusive, restrictive, or narrow in definition. For what are your human rights if you have no job? What are your human rights if your children are hungry? What are your human rights if you have no opportunity for education? What are your human rights if you are forced to live in decaying slums?



America must champion all human rights, be they economic, social, or political. In essence, our democratic institutions are threatened by an acceptance of the blight of poverty in a nation characterized by its tremendous wealth.

Yet, this concern does not stop at our nation's shores. We cannot proclaim democracy, social and economic justice at home and abandon these principles abroad.

We have made significant strides in recent months. Support of human rights has become a central tenet of American foreign policy.

A sense of moral values should be an imperative of our foreign policy. Unless it is, we will find it difficult to gain the support of peoples around the world who look to us for moral support in their struggles for freedom.

While it is true that we don't have the right to interfere in the internal affairs of another country, this does not mean we should not remind the world that human rights are of the highest priority of our government and our people, and that our policies will be directed accordingly.

When our Founding Fathers met here in Philadelphia two hundred years ago, they gave us and the world a set of promises--promises toward a more perfect, not the perfect union. America is a promise and a hope in the minds and hearts of all those who cherish liberty, justice and opportunity.

We live by hope. We do not always get all we want when we want it. But we have to believe that someday, somehow, someday it will be better and that we can make it so.

Surely we will not succumb to the predictions of the naysayers.

America will provide world leadership by drawing on its greatest strength--the common sense of its people. And we will turn challenges into accomplishments and idealism, crises into opportunities, and problems into progress.

My message to you today is simply this. We face great problems in America and in the world today. But, we can, and we will, overcome them.

We can launch a global assault on the historic plagues of mankind--the bondage of hunger, disease, and illiteracy--if we have the will to do so.

And as we do, we will move closer to fulfilling the promise of America--a life with dignity in the pursuit of happiness in a free society for our own people and for those throughout the world.

As Franklin Delano Roosevelt so dramatically noted during one of the darker periods of our nation:

"The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith."

- ✓ President Meyerson
- Chairman <sup>Regan</sup> ~~Donald~~ Reagan (Trustees)

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

- Chaplain Johnson

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

Young Students

UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

30 years  
Ago  
Here.

MAY 22, 1977

221st Commencement

20 yrs before Dec. 7, 1947

Bob Hope - My Advice to you who  
are about to graduate + go out into  
the world - Don't go!

Al. Doerflinger  
I have passed into the  
future -  
I won't  
work!

THIS YEAR MARKS THE CELEBRATION OF OUR NATION'S ENTRANCE  
INTO ITS THIRD CENTURY AND ESTABLISHES US AS THE WORLD'S OLDEST

DEMOCRACY. THIS IN ITSELF MAKES THE CLASS OF 1977 UNIQUE IN  
MANY RESPECTS. (Hansen Phil)

MANY OF YOU WILL MOVE DIRECTLY INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF AMERICAN  
ECONOMIC LIFE. OTHERS WILL CONTINUE YOUR EDUCATION PURSUITS,  
SEEKING ADVANCED DEGREES. BUT ALL OF YOU ARE PART OF A WORLD  
OF INCREASINGLY COMPLEX PROBLEMS, UNPARALLELED CHALLENGES AND  
EXTRAORDINARY OPPORTUNITY.

MY REMARKS TODAY ARE DIRECTED TOWARD DEFINING THE WORLD YOU  
STAND TO INHERIT. AND I DO MEAN "WORLD," NOT JUST "NATION."

BECAUSE THE FACT IS THAT WE NO LONGER CAN TALK ABOUT AMERICAN  
~~POLICY~~ POLICY AS AN ISOLATED SUBJECT, SUFFICIENT UNTO ITSELF.



*a major*  
WHAT HAPPENS, OR FAILS TO HAPPEN, IN AMERICA HAS AN IMPACT  
ON THE REST OF THE WORLD. AND SURELY WHAT HAPPENS IN OTHER  
PARTS OF THE WORLD -- THE MIDDLE EAST, AFRICA, *Latin America* WESTERN EUROPE,  
ASIA AND THE SOVIET BLOC -- CAN HAVE, AND DOES HAVE, A SIGNIFICANT  
IMPACT ON OUR WELL-BEING AND SECURITY. *Need to remind you of*  
*the Oil Embargo of 1973 - and the subsequent rise in*  
*the price of oil*  
THE BASIC REALITY OF TODAY IS THAT WE ARE SOLIDLY ENTRENCHED

IN AN ERA OF INTERDEPENDENCE -- AN ERA IN WHICH DOMESTIC AND

*Interdependence*  
*Phil*  
GLOBAL DISTINCTIONS HAVE BECOME INCREASINGLY BLURRED. AND WE

ARE FAST APPROACHING THE TIME WHEN DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLICY

CONCERNS WILL BE INSEPARABLE.

INTERDEPENDENCE HAS BECOME THE CATCHWORD OF THE 1970's.

AND WHILE IT IS ALL TOO COMMONLY USED, IT IS ALL TOO LITTLE

UNDERSTOOD.

THE POST WORLD WAR II FOREIGN POLICY OF THIS NATION HAS  
FOCUSED ON THE MAINTENANCE OF THE BALANCE OF POWER BETWEEN THE  
U.S. AND THE SOVIET UNION. <sup>and</sup> AS WE ENTER OUR THIRD CENTURY,  
PROTECTION AGAINST MILITARY THREATS STILL REMAINS A MAJOR FOREIGN  
POLICY FOCUS OF OUR NATION.

HOWEVER, OUR NATIONAL SECURITY ALSO IS ENDANGERED BY EVENTS  
OUTSIDE THE POLITICAL-MILITARY SPHERE OF MAJOR POWERS. THE  
ADVANCES OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY HAVE REDUCED THE TIME AND  
SPATIAL DISTANCES BETWEEN PEOPLES AND NATIONS TO RELATIVE  
INSIGNIFICANCE. IN SO DOING, IT HAS INCREASED THE MAGNITUDE  
AND IMPORTANCE OF INTERACTION AMONG NATIONS -- AND WE ARE NO  
LONGER IMMUNE FROM THIS INTERACTION.

THE PROBLEMS OF ENERGY, MATERIAL RESOURCES, ENVIRONMENT,

EMPLOYMENT, INFLATION, POPULATION, HUNGER, DISEASE, AND ILLITERACY;

THE QUESTION OF THE USES OF SPACE AND THE SEAS; AND THE TRENDS

IN NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION AND TERRORISM -- ALL THESE ISSUES

THREATEN THE NATIONAL SECURITY OF OUR COUNTRY ~~AS MUCH AS THE~~ *along with*

*the* POSSIBILITY OF NUCLEAR CONFRONTATION WITH THE SOVIET UNION.

*Political and*  
THE INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC SYSTEM CREATED AFTER WORLD WAR  
IT HAS SHOWN ITSELF TO BE INADEQUATE FOR ADDRESSING THE CHANGING  
PATTERNS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT AND THE INCREASING INTERDEPENDENCE  
AMONG NATIONS.

BOTH THE DEVELOPED AND THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AGREE ON  
THE NEED FOR MAJOR CHANGES IN THE EXISTING INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC  
AND POLITICAL SYSTEM.



~~THE~~ PROCESS OF RENEGOTIATING THE WORLD ORDER ALREADY IS UNDERWAY  
IN A VARIETY OF FORUMS, WHERE A CHANGING POLITICAL CLIMATE  
IS EVIDENCED BY THE DEMANDS OF THE DEVELOPING NATIONS FOR A  
GREATER ROLE IN GLOBAL DECISION-MAKING.

controls  
1 WE ARE COMPELLED TO RECOGNIZE THAT NO ONE NATION DOMINATES  
THE INTERNATIONAL SCENE, <sup>and</sup> OUR RELATIONS WITH THE DEVELOPING  
COUNTRIES ARE FAST BECOMING A MAJOR ELEMENT OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY.

IT ALSO IS CLEAR THAT THE IMPORTANCE OF AMERICA'S ECONOMIC  
RELATIONS WITH DEVELOPING COUNTRIES CONTINUES TO GROW. OUR  
NATION SELLS MORE OF ITS GOODS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES THAN TO  
THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, EASTERN EUROPE, AND THE SOVIET UNION  
COMBINED. AND DEVELOPING COUNTRIES PROVIDE US WITH BOTH CRITICAL  
RAW MATERIALS AND ESSENTIAL CONSUMER GOODS.

*get*

THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS QUITE UNDERSTANDABLY ARE RELUCTANT  
TO ACCEPT MAJOR CHANGES IN THE PRESENT WORLD SYSTEM OF

RELATIVELY FREE TRADE AND CAPITAL MOVEMENTS UNDER WHICH THEY

HAVE DONE SO WELL FOR SO LONG. *L* HOWEVER, IT IS EQUALLY

UNDERSTANDABLE WHY THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES, *of Africa, Asia, + L.A.* FRUSTRATED SO OFTEN

IN THEIR ATTEMPTS TO IMPROVE THEIR STANDARDS OF LIVING, ARE

CONVINCED THAT THE CURRENT ECONOMIC SYSTEM HAS WORKED TO

THEIR DISADVANTAGE.

*so, we find that*

*get* THE POORER COUNTRIES NO LONGER ARE WILLING TO BE DEPENDENT

UPON FOREIGN AID ALONE FOR THEIR PROGRESS, PARTICULARLY WHERE

THIS ASSISTANCE IS SUBJECT TO THE UNCERTAINTIES OF THE POLITICAL

CLIMATE IN THE RICHER COUNTRIES.

L INSTEAD, THEY WANT A MORE PREDICTABLE FOUNDATION FOR THEIR  
ECONOMIC GROWTH THROUGH THE ASSURANCE OF REASONABLE PRICES  
FOR THEIR EXPORTS AND GUARANTEED ACCESS TO THE WORLD MARKETS  
FOR THEIR GOODS.

L IN ESSENCE, <sup>these</sup> ~~THE~~ DEVELOPING COUNTRIES ARE INSISTING UPON A  
GENUINE COMMITMENT BY THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS TO THE PRINCIPLE  
OF ECONOMIC EQUITY AMONG ALL NATIONS.

L ~~BUT~~ THE DEMAND FOR CHANGE -- YES, FUNDAMENTAL AND RADICAL  
CHANGE -- HAS BEEN COMING <sup>a long time.</sup> IT IS LIKE A GATHERING STORM AND IT  
HAS NOW ARRIVED IN ALL ITS FURY. WE HAVE HOPED THAT IT MIGHT  
PASS AWAY OR THAT <sup>MINOR</sup> ~~SMALL~~ ADJUSTMENTS WOULD BE SUFFICIENT

TO WEATHER THE STORM. THIS IS UNDERSTANDABLE. CHANGE DOES  
NOT COME EASY.



AND CHANGE ON A GLOBAL BASIS IS THREATENING, UNSETTLING AND *often*  
REVOLUTIONARY.

↳ BUT THE FACT IS THAT THE BALANCE OF THIS CENTURY WILL  
CONTINUE TO BE A PERIOD OF INCREDIBLE, MASSIVE CHANGE IN  
POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL INSTITUTIONS.

*and* THE QUESTION IS, WILL WE, BY OUR POSITIVE EFFORTS, HELP  
TO *influence* ~~the~~ AND AFFECT THIS GLOBAL UPEHAVAL IN A DIRECTION

CONSISTENT WITH OUR VALUES AND BELIEFS, OR WILL WE MERELY

RESIST IT? WILL WE DESIGN OUR FUTURE, OR WILL WE SIMPLY

RESIGN OURSELVES TO IT? #

↳ IF THE UNITED STATES IS TO DEVELOP AN EFFECTIVE, POSITIVE  
RESPONSE TO THE DEMANDS OF THE LESS DEVELOPED NATIONS, *Then we*  
~~we must~~

*must face up to the startling and*  
FIRST UNDERTAKE SOME BASIC CHANGES IN OUR OWN THINKING  
*shocking facts of the international scene -*

L TODAY, THERE ARE 700 MILLION ADULTS IN THE WORLD UNABLE TO  
READ OR WRITE.

L TODAY, THERE ARE 1.5 BILLION PEOPLE IN THE WORLD WITHOUT  
EFFECTIVE HEALTH CARE.

L TODAY, MORE THAN 500 MILLION PEOPLE IN THE WORLD SUFFER FROM  
SEVERE HUNGER AND MALNUTRITION.

L AND WITHOUT A MAJOR EFFORT BY THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY,  
SOME 800 MILLION OF THE WORLD'S POOREST CANNOT EXPECT ANY  
IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR CONDITION OF LIFE FOR THE REST OF THE DECADE.

L THESE ARE SOME OF THE FACTS OF OUR TIME. L AND THESE CRUEL,  
UGLY FACTS ARE AS THREATENING TO OUR FUTURE AS AN UNCONTROLLED  
ARMS RACE. [ THESE ARE TIME BOMBS WHICH THREATEN GLOBAL PEACE. ]

L AS POPE JOHN XXIII SO DRAMATICALLY EMPHASIZED:

"IN A WORLD OF CONSTANT WANT, THERE IS NO PEACE..."

↳ THEREFORE, WE MUST BE AS WILLING TO RESPOND TO THESE THREATS  
AS WE ARE WILLING TO FACE <sup>the threat</sup> ~~THE~~ OF MILITARY AGGRESSION. - But

*we fail to do it.*  
↳ LAST YEAR THE DEVELOPMENT ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS OF THE ENTIRE  
FREE WORLD TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TOTALED ONLY \$17 BILLION.

↳ IN THE SAME TIME SPAN, MORE THAN \$285 BILLION WAS SPENT IN THE  
WORLD FOR GUNS, BOMBERS, AND MISSILES.

↳ THE QUESTION WE MUST DECIDE IS WHETHER OR NOT THE CONDITIONS  
OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC INJUSTICE -- POVERTY, ILLITERACY, AND

DISEASE, ARE A REAL THREAT TO OUR SECURITY. / I THINK THEY ARE.

*and if they are, then*  
↳ THEY REQUIRE THE SAME COMMITMENT OF POLICY, WILL, AND  
RESOURCES AS OUR SO-CALLED CONVENTIONAL NATIONAL DEFENSE.

*This is an awesome challenge -  
requiring the planning and the  
daring of an all out attack - But*



it can be done, if it is international  
in its design and application -

[WORLD HUNGER CANNOT BE SOLVED MERELY BY AMERICAN CHARITY,  
BUT BY TECHNOLOGY AND IMPROVED PRODUCTION OF FOOD AND FIBER ON  
A WORLD-WIDE BASIS. it can be done  
~~IT CAN BE DONE.~~

[DISEASE CAN BE CONQUERED OR AT LEAST ITS RAVAGES MINIMIZED,

THE MODERN WORLD KNOWS HOW TO DO THIS IF WE HAVE THE WILL AND  
PROVIDE THE MEANS.]

L THE BASIC CHANGES IN OUR INTERNATIONAL FINANCIAL INSTITUTIONS,  
can and must be  
WHICH WERE DESIGNED FOR A WORLD OF YESTERDAY, ~~can and must be~~  
expanded so as to provide  
THE CAPITAL WHICH IS NEEDED FOR DEVELOPMENT. We have  
had some experience in such a massive effort,  
A WAR-TORN EUROPE WAS REBUILT BY THE MARSHALL PLAN, ~~but it required~~  
but it required with a long-term  
PLANNING, RESOURCES, AND MANAGEMENT ~~accomplished in 10 years~~  
commitment.

L A HIGHLY NATIONALISTIC EUROPE WAS BROUGHT TOGETHER IN THE  
EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY BY STRONG POLITICAL LEADERSHIP,  
MOTIVATED BY ECONOMIC NECESSITY.

L IT IS POSSIBLE TO MAKE CHANGES L WE HAVE DEMONSTRATED THERE  
ARE FEW, IF ANY, PHYSICAL OR TECHNOLOGICAL BARRIERS THAT THIS  
COUNTRY IS INCAPABLE OF OVERCOMING, PROVIDED THAT WE ARE WILLING  
TO MAKE A NATIONAL COMMITMENT TO DO SO.

L AND REMEMBER, WE ARE NOT ALONE.

L THERE IS A WHOLE WORLD OF SKILL, TALENT AND RESOURCES THAT  
MUST BE CALLED TO THE TASK.

(X) L WHAT IS NEEDED IS AMERICAN LEADERSHIP THAT UNDERSTANDS AND  
PROCLAIMS INTERDEPENDENCE -- THE SIMPLE FACT THAT WE NEED EACH  
OTHER; THAT NO ONE IS SAFE UNTIL ALL ARE SECURE.

L WHAT AN EXCITING TIME TO BE ALIVE. L THE FRONTIERS OF  
SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ARE ALWAYS BEING PUSHED FORWARD.

BUT IT IS IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELDS WHERE

MANKIND'S INGENUITY AND INVENTIVENESS MUST NOW BE DIRECTED,

*but* WHO ARE WE TO BE AFRAID OF TRYING? EXPERIMENTATION AND

CHANGE ARE A PART OF THE AMERICAN CHARACTER AND OF OUR HISTORY,

*Our Government is self-built - heterogeneous people*  
THE MESSAGE OF THE UNITED STATES IS NOT NUCLEAR POWER, ARMS

SALES, AND RESISTANCE TO CHANGE. THE MESSAGE OF THE UNITED

STATES IS A SPIRITUAL MESSAGE. A STATEMENT OF HIGH IDEALS AND

PERSEVERANCE IN THEIR ACHIEVEMENT. IT IS THE MESSAGE OF HUMAN

DIGNITY; IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE FREEDOM, ~~OF THE PEOPLE~~,

*It is the message of Adventure, of*  
~~PRESS, THE RIGHT TO ASSEMBLY, TO WORSHIP, AND THE MESSAGE OF~~

*Experimentation; of building, of*  
~~FREEDOM OF MOVEMENT OF PEOPLES,~~ *Disappointment!*

*A* IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE BILL OF RIGHTS.

*It is this message that represents*  
*our power - ~~the message of~~*  
*~~disappointment~~ ~~of the present that~~*

S

-18-

IT IS THE MESSAGE OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE WHERE WE  
BOLDLY PROCLAIMED TO A WORLD DOMINATED BY MONARCHS AND TYRANTS  
THAT "ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL, ENDOWED BY THEIR CREATOR  
WITH CERTAIN INALIENABLE RIGHTS, AND AMONG THESE ARE LIFE,  
LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS."

~~THIS IS THE MESSAGE OF AMERICA. THIS IS THE SOURCE OF OUR  
POWER. THIS IS THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH.~~

*and, moreover we must come to understand  
that* OUR NATION'S SECURITY LIES IN THE well-being OF OUR PEOPLE --

OUR PEOPLE AT WORK, IN PROSPEROUS COMMUNITIES, IN SOUND MENTAL  
AND PHYSICAL HEALTH. ~~THIS IS WHERE OUR TRUE NATIONAL SECURITY~~

~~THIS~~ THIS IS THE SOURCE OF OUR STRENGTH -- MORAL, POLITICAL  
AND ECONOMIC.

( *Convention Hall - 1946 - Civil Rights* )  
AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP AND CONCERN IN THE AREA OF HUMAN  
RIGHTS CAN'T BE EXCLUSIVE, RESTRICTIVE, OR NARROW IN DEFINITION.



FOR WHAT ARE YOUR HUMAN RIGHTS IF YOU HAVE NO JOB? WHAT ARE

YOUR HUMAN RIGHTS IF YOUR CHILDREN ARE HUNGRY? WHAT ARE YOUR

HUMAN RIGHTS IF YOU HAVE NO OPPORTUNITY FOR EDUCATION? WHAT

ARE YOUR HUMAN RIGHTS IF YOU ARE FORCED TO LIVE IN DECAYING SLUMS?

AMERICA MUST CHAMPION ALL HUMAN RIGHTS, BE THEY ECONOMIC,  
SOCIAL, OR POLITICAL. ~~IN FACT, OUR DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS~~

~~ARE THREATENED BY AN ACCEPTANCE OF THE BLIGHT OF POVERTY IN~~

~~A NATION CHARACTERIZED BY ITS TREMENDOUS WEALTH.~~

YET, THIS CONCERN DOES NOT STOP AT OUR NATION'S SHORES.

WE CANNOT PROCLAIM DEMOCRACY, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC JUSTICE AT

HOME AND ABANDON THESE PRINCIPLES ABROAD.

~~WE HAVE MADE SIGNIFICANT STRIDES IN RECENT MONTHS.~~

~~SUPPORT OF HUMAN RIGHTS HAS BECOME A CENTRAL TENET OF AMERICAN~~

~~FOREIGN POLICY.~~

L A SENSE OF MORAL VALUES SHOULD BE AN IMPERATIVE OF OUR  
FOREIGN POLICY. L UNLESS IT IS, WE WILL FIND IT DIFFICULT TO GAIN

THE SUPPORT OF PEOPLES AROUND THE WORLD WHO LOOK TO US ~~FOR~~

*as they struggle for their freedom. We*  
~~SUPPORT IN THEIR BATTLES FOR FREEDOM~~  
*offer hope?*

L WHILE IT IS TRUE THAT WE DON'T HAVE THE RIGHT TO INTERFERE

IN THE INTERNAL AFFAIRS OF ANOTHER COUNTRY, THIS DOES NOT MEAN

WE SHOULD NOT REMIND THE WORLD THAT HUMAN RIGHTS ARE OF THE

HIGHEST PRIORITY OF OUR GOVERNMENT AND OUR PEOPLE, AND THAT OUR

POLICIES WILL BE DIRECTED ACCORDINGLY,

~~WHEN OUR FOUNDING FATHERS MET HERE IN PHILADELPHIA TWO  
HUNDRED YEARS AGO, THEY GAVE US AND THE WORLD A SET OF PROMISES --  
THAT WOULD MOVE US  
PROMISES TOWARD A MORE PERFECT, NOT THE PERFECT UNION.~~

AMERICA IS A PROMISE AND A HOPE IN THE MINDS AND HEARTS OF ALL

THOSE WHO CHERISH LIBERTY, JUSTICE AND OPPORTUNITY.

*man kind lives by hope.*

~~WE LIVE BY HOPE~~ WE DO NOT ALWAYS GET ALL WE WANT WHEN

WE WANT IT, BUT WE HAVE TO BELIEVE THAT SOMEDAY, SOMEHOW,

SOMEWAY IT WILL BE BETTER AND THAT WE CAN MAKE IT SO,

SURELY WE WILL NOT *give in* ~~succumb~~ TO THE PREDICTIONS OF THE  
NAYSAYERS.

AMERICA *can* ~~will~~ PROVIDE WORLD LEADERSHIP BY DRAWING ON ITS  
GREATEST STRENGTH *our own heritage and* ~~1-~~ THE COMMON SENSE OF ITS PEOPLE. AND WE *can*

TURN CHALLENGES INTO ACCOMPLISHMENTS ~~and~~, CRISES INTO

OPPORTUNITIES, AND PROBLEMS INTO PROGRESS,

*yes* MY MESSAGE TO YOU TODAY IS SIMPLY THIS, WE FACE GREAT

PROBLEMS IN AMERICA AND IN THE WORLD TODAY.

L BUT, WE CAN, AND WE WILL, OVERCOME THEM.

L WE CAN LAUNCH A GLOBAL ASSAULT ON THE HISTORIC PLAGUES OF  
MANKIND -- THE BONDAGE OF HUNGER, DISEASE, AND ILLITERACY -- IF  
WE HAVE THE WILL TO DO SO,

L AND AS WE DO, WE WILL MOVE CLOSER TO FULFILLING THE PROMISE OF  
AMERICA -- A LIFE WITH DIGNITY IN THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS IN A  
FREE SOCIETY FOR OUR OWN PEOPLE AND FOR THOSE THROUGHOUT THE WORLD,

L AS FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT SO DRAMATICALLY NOTED DURING  
ONE OF THE DARKER PERIODS OF OUR NATION:

L "THE ONLY LIMIT TO OUR REALIZATION OF TOMORROW WILL BE OUR  
DOUBTS OF TODAY. LET US MOVE FORWARD WITH A STRONG AND ACTIVE  
FAITH."



[ WITH ONLY SIX PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S POPULATION, WE CONSUME  
NEARLY 40 PERCENT OF THE WORLD'S RESOURCES. BY 1985, THE UNITED  
STATES WILL DEPEND ON IMPORTS FOR MORE THAN ONE-HALF OF OUR  
SUPPLIES OF NINE OUT OF THE THIRTEEN CRITICAL MINERALS NECESSARY  
TO MAINTAIN OUR INDUSTRIAL ECONOMY. BY THE YEAR 2,000 WE WILL  
BE DEPENDENT PRIMARILY ON FOREIGN SOURCES FOR OUR SUPPLY OF EACH  
OF THE THIRTEEN CRITICAL RAW MATERIALS. ]

THE DEMANDS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES AND THE REQUIREMENTS  
OF THE DEVELOPED COUNTRIES ARE A PERMANENT FEATURE OF OUR  
EVOLVING INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS. AND HOW WE RESPOND WILL HAVE  
A MAJOR IMPACT ON WORLD PEACE, PROSPERITY AND STABILITY FOR  
DECADES.

THE MAJOR DECISIONS IN THE WORLD NO LONGER CAN BE MADE BY A HANDFUL OF WESTERN LEADERS SHARING A SIMILAR VIEW OF THE WORLD. THESE DECISIONS INCREASINGLY ARE MADE IN GLOBAL FORUMS, UNWIELDY IN THEIR SIZE AND TORN BY RADICALLY DIFFERENT PERCEPTIONS OF THE WORLD.

THE INABILITY TO REACH AGREEMENT AT THE PROTRACTED LAW OF THE SEA CONFERENCE IS JUST ONE EXAMPLE OF LIKELY FUTURE FRUSTRATIONS THE INDUSTRIAL NATIONS WILL SUFFER IF THEY REFUSE TO UNDERSTAND THE CONCERNS OF DEVELOPING NATIONS AND ENCOURAGE THEIR COOPERATION.

FAILURE, FRUSTRATION AND STALEMATE ON VITAL ISSUES WILL PERSIST UNTIL WE CHANGE THE VERY NATURE OF OUR DECISION-MAKING PROCESS TO REFLECT THE DEMOCRATIZATION OF WORLD LEADERSHIP.

L THESE CHANGES ARE LIKELY TO BE FAR MORE DIFFICULT THAN DEVISING  
THE PARTICULAR VEHICLES TO IMPLEMENT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL REFORMS.

THE FIRST REQUIRED CHANGE IN OUR OUTLOOK IS TO RECOGNIZE  
THAT WE ARE NOT NECESSARILY DEALING WITH SITUATIONS IN WHICH  
ONE SIDE MUST LOSE FOR THE OTHER TO GAIN.

L FOR EXAMPLE, COMMODITY AGREEMENTS CAN STABILIZE PRICES  
AND ASSURE THE SUPPLY OF CRITICAL RAW MATERIALS TO THE BENEFIT  
OF BOTH PRODUCERS AND CONSUMERS. [RESOURCE TRANSFERS CAN HELP  
DEVELOPING NATIONS AND ALSO MEAN MORE EXPORTS OF U.S. GOODS,  
AND THUS MORE JOBS AT HOME.]

h SECOND, WE MUST UNDERSTAND THAT IT IS HIGHLY IMPROBABLE  
THAT THE DEVELOPING NATIONS WILL DEVELOP AS DID THE WEST.

THERE SIMPLY ARE NOT THE RESOURCES, [LEAST OF ALL THE CHEAP  
ENERGY, THAT WILL PERMIT LITTLE COPIES OF THE UNITED STATES  
TO SPRING UP AROUND THE WORLD.]

PERHAPS THE HARDEST ADJUSTMENT IN OUR THINKING IS TO FACE  
THE FACT THAT OUR OWN SOCIETY IS LIKELY TO UNDERGO FAR-REACHING,  
EVEN DRASTIC, CHANGES IN THE NEXT FEW DECADES [-- QUITE APART  
FROM THE DEMANDS OF THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES --] AS WE ATTEMPT  
TO ADAPT OUR OWN LIFESTYLE TO A MORE REALISTIC PLANETARY SCALE.

[THE WASTEFULNESS THAT HAS BEEN CHARACTERISTIC OF OUR COUNTRY  
CANNOT CONTINUE. CONSERVATION MUST BECOME PRIORITY NATIONAL  
POLICY -- BOTH PUBLIC AND PRIVATE.]

THIS IS THE ECONOMIC SIDE OF THE CONCERNS WHICH WE FACE.  
HOWEVER, IT IS THE HUMAN DIMENSION OF THESE PROBLEMS WHICH IS  
EVEN MORE THREATENING.



5/22/77 - UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS, PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA

President Meyerson, Chairman Donald Reagan, Members of the Board of Trustees, the Members of the Administration and the faculty of this great University, Chaplain Johnson, the distinguished students from all the many schools. [The professional schools, those in the liberal arts and programs -- this is some day, I'll tell you that. This is some day-- (applause)-- I've given more speeches than any man ought to be permitted to. I have bored more people over a longer of period of time than any man ought to be permitted to. And when I come to a commencement address, despite the number of speeches I've made, The acquaint<sup>ance</sup>ship that I seem to feel with the <sup>WHOLE</sup> ~~old~~ business of public speaking, I shake all over. I don't know what to say-- and you'll soon find out that I told you the truth. [When I heard that this was the 221st commencement, that's history. Twenty years plus, before our independence. And, this great University, representing higher education in the building of this republic; I think it tells us something right quickly, as Thomas Jefferson said " You can not be both ignorant and free" and we decided early in this republic that we would be informed, That we would concentrate resources and attention upon education. [And, there is no finer example of the generosity of the American public <sup>AND</sup> ~~than~~ the dedication of truly fine people, than what has happened here at the University of Pennsylvania over these many years. And, I congratulate all those who have made it possible, this great University with a tremendous budget. That tells us that somebody had to be mighty generous.

Now, my graduate friends, it was thirty eight years ago that I was out there like you are at the University of Minnesota getting my Bachelors degree-- Bachelor of Arts degree. We had a lot of graduates that year, too. And, for the life of me, I can't remember what the commencement speaker said. And, I'll bet you that when you leave here, at least a year from now you're going to say, "Who was that fellow? What did he say?" <sup>That is</sup> Why it's a challenge for me to say something to you that is worthy of your time and attention.

Bob Hope, the great American comedian, was addressing the Georgetown University graduating class here a few years ago. He looked out over that audience, not as large as this, but, a great audience, and he said, "Those of you that are about to graduate and go out into this world of ours,

my advice to you is, don't go--(applause). <sup>W</sup> But, I'm afraid we've got to get rid of you. We have to make room for new students. You have to go. And, I want to talk to you a little bit about the country and the world, into which you are going to go, even though you've been very much a part of it. There really is no <sup>A</sup> separation by age, <sup>W</sup> we're a part of our community from the date of our birth. <sup>OR</sup> That old cynic, well I guess that's the best way to put it, <sup>A</sup> skeptic, Aldous Huxley, he said "I have peered into the future, it won't work." There are always people like that. But, the real truth is we've got to make it work. And, that's what you are here for. That's why you went on to the University, That's why so many of you have struggled hard to achieve the goals that you already achieved and new goals ahead of you. So we are going to make it work. <sup>I</sup> I've been reminded by President Meyerson <sup>P</sup> to the day I was here in July, 1948. Boy, was it hot, in more ways than one. I was the young mayor of the city of Minneapolis as he said, but in my heart I had something I wanted to tell my fellow partisans, and I did. And, <sup>I</sup> I said to them that it is time for America to walk out of the shadows of States Rights into the bright sunlight of human rights. And, ladies and gentlemen it is still <sup>THE</sup> time for us to do that. <sup>I</sup> The interesting thing is that when I said that a large segment of the audience got up and left. I thank you for staying. You're kind and you're courteous. But, it was an interesting time and a very historic time in American politics. Because this whole nation is the story of what happened in Philadelphia. The Philadelphia Story, really in two chapters-- the Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States. Beautiful magnificent doctrines and documents that laid before the American people not accomplishment as much as challenge. <sup>I</sup> And, from here on out that's what it is all about--Challenge. Now, this year marks the celebration of our entrance into that third century of our Independence and of our aspiration to be a democracy. And, that in itself makes this graduating class of 1977 unique. Many of you will move directly into the mainstream of economic life and professional life. Others <sup>THEIR</sup> will continue your education seeking advanced degrees. <sup>I</sup> But, all of you are part of a world of increasingly complex problems, unparalleled challenges, and above all extraordinary opportunity. Most everybody will tell you about the problems, and they are going to be here, and they have been with us ever since the beginning of time. But, there is with every challenge a chance to do something and we call it opportunity. <sup>I</sup> Now my remarks today

are directed towards defining the world. The world you stand to inherit, and I do mean world not nation. Because the fact is we no longer talk about American policy as an isolated subject sufficient unto itself. What happens or what fails to happen in America has a major impact on the rest of the world. [AND, what happens in the rest of the world has a significant impact upon us. Surely we learned that out of the Mid-east oil crisis and embargo of 1973. And, we learn it every day. The basic reality of today is that we are solidly entrenched not only in the period of independence which this city symbolizes, but we are solidly entrenched to an era of interdependence. An era of which domestic and global distinctions have become increasingly blurred. And, we are fast approaching the time when domestic and foreign policy concerns are one and inseparable.

[Now, I speak to you primarily as a public man, There is no way that you can legislate for example something for us in America without its impact <sup>BEING FELT</sup> abroad. And, I come from the Midwest. What happens in the Middle East might have more of an impact on my children and my grandchildren than any thing that happens in the Midwest. Therefore, we need to be not only citizens of this republic but we need to be knowledgeable individuals and hopefully citizens of this world. [Interdependence, that's the word. It's the catchword of the 1970's. Commonly used, and I wonder if fully understood. The post-war world, that is the post World War II ~~xxxx~~ foreign policy of this nation has focused on the maintenance of what we call the traditional balance of power; ~~Our~~ concern primarily with the Soviet Union and the Soviet Bloc. [And, as we enter this third century, protection against military threats still remain. Serious matter. And, a matter of major foreign policy focus of our nation. However our national security, and that's what your life is going to be all about, our national security is endangered by events outside of ~~the~~ the political and military sphere of the major powers. [The advances of modern technology have reduced the time and spatial distances between peoples and nations to relative insignificance. And, in so doing it has increased the magnitude and the importance of ~~inte~~ <sup>et.</sup> interaction among peoples--among nations. And, we are no longer immune from this interaction. The oceans are no longer a barrier. They are a bridge, a conduit. The problems of energy, material resources, environment, and employment, inflation, population, hunger, disease, illiteracy, and you've heard alot about it. The question of the use of the space, above us, and

the seas below us and the trends of nuclear proliferation and terrorism.

[All of these issues are within the spectrum of your lifetime and they threaten our security as a country along with the possibility of nuclear confrontation with the Soviet Union. We are compelled therefore to recognize some new facts. That no one nation dominates or controls the international scene. And, it is imperative that we get that clear. [Our relations with the developing countries, the poorest of the poor, countries far away, the names of which you cannot even pronounce, are fast becoming a major concern of our foreign policy and rightly so. [It is also clear that the importance of America's economic relations with these developing countries--Africa, Asia, Latin America, countries in far away places. That those economic relationships become more important and grow. Our nation sells more of its goods to these poor developing countries than to the European community, Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union all combined. And, the developing countries provide us with both the <sup>CRITICAL</sup> ~~critical~~ raw materials that we need and essential consumer goods. If for ~~no other~~ no other reason than self protection we must accept the doctrine of interdependence. [The industrial nations of course quite understandably are reluctant to accept any major changes in the world order. We've been built on the idea of <sup>free</sup> ~~world~~ trade and the movement of capital. And, we've done well under it, ~~however~~, it is equally understandable that these new countries--150 of them--frustrated as they are so often in their attempts to improve their standards of living are convinced that the current international economic system has worked to their disadvantage.

[So, we find that the poorer countries no longer are willing to be dependent <sup>of</sup> upon our generosity <sup>foreign aid</sup>. Particularly when they know that it varies according to the political climate year by year. Instead they want a more predictable foundation for their economic growth. And, what do they want? ~~What~~ you and I want. An assurance for a fair price for their commodities and a guaranteed access to the world markets for their goods. And, they not only <sup>now</sup> want it, they are demanding it. [In essence the developing countries are insisting upon a genuine commitment by the industrial nations to which we are the leader. To the principle of economic equity. Justice between all nations. Now the demand for change, yes, fundamental and radical change has been coming for a long long time. It is like a gathering storm. And, it <sup>HAS</sup> ~~is~~ now arrived in all of its fury. We see it in Latin America and Africa, particularly. [We had hoped that it might pass



away or that minor little ~~adjust~~ adjustments here and there might take care of ~~it~~ things, but it didn't. Our hopes are ~~not~~ understandable. Change never comes easy. And, change on a global basis is threatening. It is unsettling. And, very frankly, awfully revolutionary. But, the fact is that the balance of this century will continue to be a period of incredible massive change in political, economic, and social institutions, and you're going to have to live with it, And help shape it. [The question therefore is will we--this great America that gave the world such a marvelous message two hundred years ago-- will we help to influence and affect this global upheaval? In a direction consistent with our values and beliefs or will we merely resist it? Dig in, put our head in the sand. Will we design our future or will we simply resign ourselves to it? [Now it's my ~~own~~ judgment if the United States is to develop an effective, positive response to the demands of the less developed countries than we must face up to some startling and shocking facts on the international scene. Today there are seven hundred million adults in the world unable to read or write-- totally illiterate. Today there are a billion and a half people in the world that ~~know absolutely no~~ have not health care whatsoever. Today there are over five ~~hundred~~ hundred million people in the world that suffer from severe hunger and dangerous malnutrition. Today a majority of the people in the world are ill housed and almost the same that are ill fed and ill clothed. [And, I say to this graduating class and this audience, as an American that is concerned ~~with~~ about his country, without a major effort by the international community some eight hundred million of ~~the~~ the world's poorest have no reason to expect any improvement in their condition of life for the rest of this century. Now these are the facts of our times and there are many more that will shock us, ~~and~~ and these cruel ugly facts are as threatening to your future as they are to mine, but particularly to yours, <sup>EXPLODING WITH</sup> ~~as~~ an uncontrolled arms race. These are the time bombs that threaten global peace. As Pope John the XXIII so dramatically put it, "in a world of constant want there is no peace." Therefore, ~~as~~ we must be willing to respond to these threats as we are willing to respond and face the threat of military aggression, but the fact is that we don't. [Listen to this, last year the development assistance programs, the economic assistance programs of all of ~~the~~ the free world to the developing countries totalled approximately 17 billion dollars. In the



same time span more than 285 billion dollars was spent on the military. Bombs, missiles, planes, guns, that's the way the priorities are today.

[THE question, therefore, which we must decide is ~~whether~~ whether or not the conditions of social and economic justice, poverty, illiteracy, disease and all that it brings are a real threat to our security. I think they are. And, if they are then they require the same commitment of policy, will, and resources as the so-called conventional national defense. [This is an awesome challenge and some people do not like to face up to it.

And it's a challenge that is going to require planning and a daring all out attack as though you were fighting for your very existence. But, I'm here to tell you that it can be done. If it is international in its design and its application, [World hunger cannot be conquered just by ~~the~~ American charity as important as our contribution might be. But, by modern technology and improved production of food and fiber on a world wide basis, [With great commitment world hunger can be conquered. Disease can be conquered, or at least its ravages are minimized. The modern world knows how to do this, if we have the will, if we ~~we~~ will provide the manpower, the womanpower, the means, the resources then we can do it. [The basic changes in our international financial institutions which were designed for a world of yesterday at [Bretton Woods] The time of World War II. They are obsolete. They are out of date. And, they can and they must be modernized, and expanded so as to provide the capital which is needed for development. Because the new word for peace is development. [Now, we have had some experience in all of this. This is not all a lot of gibberish. And, just say well there he is up there talking about what we ~~we~~ ~~ought~~ ought to do. The fact is we have done some of it. A wartorn Europe, devastated, annihilated, mutilated, was rebuilt by the Marshall Plan. But, it required commitment. It required a Plan. It required resources, and it required cooperation. And, it required leadership.

[A highly nationalistic Europe, balkanized as they call it, was brought together in the European Economic Community by strong political leadership and imagination. Motivated by economic necessity. [You see it is possible to make changes. The question is are you going to do it on your deathbed or are you going to do it while you still have time. We have demonstrated there are few if any physical or technological barriers that this country is incapable of overcoming, provided that we are willing to

make a national commitment ~~to do~~ so. And then remember this, my fellow Americans, we are not alone, ~~we~~ don't own this world. We have no monopoly on brains and talent. There is a whole world out there of skill and talent and resources that needs to be mobilized and called to the task. [What does it all add up to? What am I trying to say? I'm trying to say that if we go about this world admitting at least to ourselves and frequently proclaiming to ~~the~~ the world that we are a leader, then we have to lead. And, leadership is not command. Leadership is persuasion. Present <sup>SENT</sup> an example <sup>OF</sup> moral fortitude, guts, courage, adventurism, initiative. Oh! what an exciting time to be alive. I envy all you young folks out there. Good Lord it is going to be so much, so much is going to happen these next twenty five years, and I'll be darned if I don't think the good Lord is going to cheat me out of some of it. You've really got something ahead of you. You've come through a very difficult time, but it's always been that way. I don't cry any tears for that. ] I have three sons and a daughter and I've heard them tell me about the tough <sup>THEY'RE</sup> times ~~their~~ <sup>you</sup> having. I said what's new? what's new? When were there good ole days? I'll tell <sup>you</sup> when the good ole days are-- the further you're away from them. That's when the ~~are~~ good ole days are. [So much is happening. And, it happens so fast, of course, that it overruns us. In technology and science alone--but it is in the political, economic and social fields where it is going to be interesting. For mankind's ingenuity and inventiveness will be tested, and must be directed. ] And who are we afraid <sup>OF</sup>? Who are we to be afraid of trying. We are the most inventive people in the world. Oh-- we didn't <sup>^</sup> invent the wheel, I know that, but <sup>^</sup> I'll tell you what we did do. [Right in this city we invented a practical, working adaptation of the doctrine of self-government. Government by the consent of the governed. And, we did it at a time when the world was dominated by the philosophy of the ~~divine~~ <sup>D</sup>ivine Right of Kings. We broke with the past. We cut it off. We severed it. ] And, we proclaimed to the world ~~that~~ that people were not things and property but that they were the instruments of a <sup>D</sup>ivine providence. We ~~announced~~ the doctrine of God given natural rights. And, we ~~said~~ said that governments had only one ~~justification~~ justification, and that is how they secured and protected those rights of life and liberty and the pursuit of the happiness. So we are adventuresome. We were, at least. [And, I don't want this graduating class to be any less daring. The age of pioneering is not over. Oh, I ~~know~~ know you don't have

to get in a covered wagon and go across the desert and over the rocky mountains and fight the Indians. That's over, I hope. Once in awhile when I see John Wayne I'm not sure, I think it's over. [But as was said the era of pioneering is not over & it's just that the arena ~~is~~ has changed. AND how many of you here know that, Whether it's in art or music whether it's in medicine or law or whether it is in architecture or design or whether it is in the dance or whatever it may be. Constantly new ~~forms~~ forms. We have to be willing to be as innovative in the political and the economic processes as we ~~are~~ are in what I just mentioned. [We are an experimental people. We have been running the greatest experiment the world has ever known and we are still waiting for all the results. Because the work of democracy is never completed. A heterogeneous people from all over the world from every different race, creed, nationality, background, trying to <sup>become</sup> ~~get~~ one nation without losing our respective identities. It is a great experiment. [But we've been doing pretty well. ~~We~~ We are the oldest democracy on the face ~~of~~ of this earth. We've been able to go through incredible periods of corruption, trauma, of secession, and war and depression, panic, of abuse of power in every conceivable thing from Vietnam and the Watergate and God knows what, and we ~~have~~ have survived. And, we have learned. [Now many people try to interpret this beautiful country of ours to the world as if it was nothing more or less as a country of wealth and power, Military power--that's not America. We are pleased. <sup>to the</sup> We are grateful Almighty for our wealth. We need power in this troubled world. But, the message of the United States is not nuclear power. It is not arms, it is not resistance to change. [The message of the United States is one of adventure, it is one of experimentation, it is one of building, it is one of development. The message of the United States is ~~is~~ a spiritual message. A bond between the sacred rights of the individual and the government that is to be responsive to that individual. [There will be those of you who will say "well I know but that doesn't all work". Of course it doesn't all work-- And do you want to know why because we are people. We loose it up. But the whole spirit ~~is~~, the whole test of democracy is trying to do better. Each generation adding a little something, making its own adjustment ~~to~~ to this magnificent cathedral of democracy, which is ours. [And, let me add this--We must continue to understand or should I say we should begin to understand that our nation's security is not to be found merely in the

size of our military, but lies in the well being of our people, our people at work. And, I'm here to tell you that one of the most fearful foes that we have today is the denial of job opportunities to people that want a job, that want to work, that ought <sup>N</sup> to be contributing to this economy. That's the danger to us. [Why if we knew we had 7 million Communists in the United States, we would have 40 Committees in Congress investigating it, but we've got 7½ million people unemployed and we're trying to tell ourselves "well in time this will work its way out." Let a man have nothing to do for his country, said John Stuart Mill, and he will have no love for it. Let millions of people be told there is no place for them--that they are not needed, they are not wanted. They'll have no love for that flag, because they have been told they are not needed. [The real strength then of this nation is in its people, its people educated, its people in sound mental and physical health. Its people that are erasing from their soul bigotry and intolerance. And, of course that was what we were trying to do here in 1948, just a little bit. [Now, America's leadership and concern is a broad one. Its in the area of human rights. But, when we talk about human rights we just can't talk about the right of free speech--or the right to emigrate. It can't be that restrictive. For what are human rights if you have no income? What are human rights if your children are hungry? What are human rights if you have no opportunity for an education? What are human rights if <sup>you're</sup> ~~xxxx~~ forced to live in filth and slums and decadence? [I ask America, as a proclaimed human rights of the world to cleanse its house. Let us be able to stand before the world as a shining example of real human rights. We've got to champion all of it. Economic, political, and social, and this concern does not stop at our nations doors. We cannot go around proclaiming democracy to the world and abandon these principles abroad. [A sense of moral values has got to be an imperative of our foreign policy. And, unless it is we will find it difficult to gain the respect and support of peoples around the globe who look to us as they struggle for their freedom. Here's what we offer to this world more than anything else. Hope, and people live by hope. While it is true that we don't have the right to interfere <sup>E</sup> in the internal affairs of other countries it does not mean that we shouldn't remind the world that human rights are the highest priority of the American people and government, [So, let me conclude my little sermon with these words of <sup>COUNSEL</sup> ~~consul~~ from one who has



made more than his fair share of mistakes, but who this very hour <sup>STRUGGLES</sup> struggle to find a better <sup>SOLUTION</sup> <sup>A</sup> I know that there is not going to be a quick fix to our problems. I know that there isn't going to be a Utopia tomorrow. I ~~now~~ know that the story <sup>A</sup> for ~~AMERICA~~ America is by trying to do better. Even the founding fathers of this republic said " We the People of the United States in order to form a more perfect union, they didn't say a perfect union, but a more perfect union. Each generation--do better. But, remember this don't sell this country short. I'm not talking about commodities or our goods even though we can be proud of that part of our development. America is a promise and ~~a~~ hope in the minds and the hopes of those who cherish liberty and yet suffer, <sup>W</sup> who want justice and yet are oppressed, <sup>W</sup> who cry out ~~and~~ for opportunity and ~~yet~~ are denied. Mankind lives by hope. <sup>A</sup> And, we do not always get what we want when we want it, <sup>A</sup> and you won't and I won't. I found that out-- I wanted one or two big things in this country and I didn't get it. <sup>B</sup> But, I say that we have to believe that some day somehow somehow it will be better, and that we can make it so. Surely we are not going to give in to the pessimists. I have little or no time for them. These people that have intellectual gastritis <sup>TIS</sup> looking as if they are constantly bothered. There is nothing wrong with having a smile on your face and some sense of confidence. That doesn't mean that you ignore the realities it means that you are prepared to deal with them. <sup>B</sup> My message to you is simply this--We face great problems--God only knows that we do, not only at home but abroad, <sup>B</sup> but I submit to you that we can and we will if we so desire to overcome them. We can launch a global assault on the historic plagues of mankind that I have talked to you about. We can do it right from Philadelphia. <sup>A</sup> The bondage of hunger, disease, and illiteracy if we have the will to do so. And, we can clean it up in America if we have the will to do so. We have the means, <sup>D</sup> don't tell me that if we can rebuild the cities of Europe--battered, torn, destroyed by bomb and shell that we are incapable of making the cities of America liveable, <sup>D</sup> don't tell me that we can't. <sup>E</sup> I grew up as a young man when a man by the name of Franklin Roosevelt was in the White House. And, I suppose like all of us we have heroes. I was a Depression boy from the plains of South Dakota. It seemed hopeless. The winds tore up our land, the banks had failed, the people were unemployed. The nations factories had stopped. That is when I went off to college. There wasn't much to look forward to. But we didn't <sup>cop</sup>

out. The <sup>COWARDS</sup>~~cowards~~ cop out, ~~and~~ <sup>T</sup>they're the ones who cop out. You've got to have the fortitude to stay the road--to stand the test and to recognize your limitations but not to play on them and constantly emphasize them.

[This man, Mr. Roosevelt--who could not walk. This man who was a victim of paralysis and finally a victim / of the war itself ~~as~~ said this, "In the darkest period of our nation the only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today--let us move forward with a strong ~~add~~ an active faith," ~~and~~ <sup>and</sup> I charge this graduating ~~x~~ class of 1977 to make up your minds that you individually, and as a group collectively, ~~help~~ make this country a better and a more ~~descent~~ place in which to live. And, that through your efforts--whatever they may be you will help make this world a little better place to live. If you make any contribution to that goal you will have fulfilled what God's destiny was for you.

Thankyou very much-----applause---





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