

President Kerr

Chancellor Murphy

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

at

Charter Day

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES

FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1965

My topic is freedom + opportunity and
an exciting period

Today, I wish to suggest two important propositions
about contemporary American life.

First: That the opportunity to choose is the
foundation of freedom And never in our history has
the individual American had the range of choices and
the capacity to choose that he has today.

Second: That we must, nevertheless, continue to seek
ways to expand this foundation of freedom -- this
opportunity to choose -- until it becomes a reality for
all Americans.

ⓧ

Liberty + Justice for all
Can a Prosperous Society have Conscience?

↳ The vision of a Great Society is not the ~~structure~~
of a welfare state. ↳ Welfare programs provide only
temporary assistance to persons in urgent economic
or social need. Today we must look beyond this. We
must attack also the root causes of ignorance, disease
and poverty. *and Today, we have the means to do it.*

↳ Let us, therefore, describe the Great Society not
as a welfare state, but as a state of opportunity.

↳ Man must possess opportunity in tangible terms
to develop his abilities and potentialities to the
fullest, if he is to be truly free.

↳ And although some men may choose to squander this
opportunity -- all men must be given the chance to
lead meaningful and satisfying lives,

and, The Great Society is based on the proposition that
every American shall have that chance.

*The Great Society is concerned with the
Quality of our lives, not merely the
Quantity of our goods.*

No opportunity is more vital to the future of
 this republic than the opportunity to receive an
 education to the limits of one's abilities and
 according to one's willingness to work. Thomas Jefferson
 recognized this fundamental truth over 150 years ago:

"If you expect a nation to be ignorant and free, you
 expect what never was and never will be."

*we are
 proud and inspired
 by respect for & love
 of education*

In the past 60 years we have made impressive progress
 in expanding educational opportunities.

*Close the Citizenship
 - GAP -*

In 1900, four Americans in every hundred between the
 ages of 18 and 21 attended college. In 1961 it was
 over thirty-two. In 1900 rich and poor alike, if
 adequately qualified, had the right to attend college

*No legal
 right!*

But how much real choice existed?

In terms of 1900, seven-eighths of you would not be
 here listening to me... seven-eighths of you would not
 have had the choice of attending this university ...
seven-eighths of you would not look forward to the

opportunities open to you.

↳ But, never forget, you are still among a
privileged minority in this country.

You are receiving a first-class education at
this great university. But what of the more than
100 thousand of our brightest high school graduates
each year who will not go to college unless
opportunity is expanded still further?

↳ What of the million young people who will quit *- drop out -*
high school each year if we fail to make learning *?*
an exciting and challenging experience? *!*

↳ What of the 400 thousand new classrooms needed
to absorb the young minds coming to our elementary
and secondary schools in the next five years? *?*

↳ President Johnson proposed in his historic education
message to the Congress that we declare a national goal
of Full Educational Opportunity. The evidence indicates
that the American people support this goal.

↳ This year, for the first time, public opinion polls show that Americans consider opportunity for education to be their most important domestic concern.

↳ This feeling reflects a growing realization of the cost of inadequate or incomplete education: the waste of human potential.

and our goal must be the conservation and development of human resources.

*Fraser!
see how
know -
(1)*

↳ Inadequate education leads to unemployment: The high school dropout is twice as likely to be unemployed as the high school graduate, and five times as likely *to be unemployed* as the college graduate.

(2) ↳ Inadequate education leads to poverty: Two-thirds of the families in which the father had less than eight years of schooling find themselves locked in economic hopelessness - *poverty and misery.*

(3) ↳ Inadequate education perpetuates itself in future generations: The children of the unemployed and poor become themselves unemployed and poor.

We know above all else that education is the main spring
of social & economic progress - and the shield of our
defense & security. -6- In this crucial and challenging
period the

The American people are ready for bold and
creative efforts in education.

and ^{the} generous allocation of our resources for education is a wise
and ^{productive} investment.

Late last Friday evening the House of Representatives
demonstrated this readiness by passing overwhelmingly

the Elementary and Secondary Education Bill of 1965.

L ^{measure} This bill will help more than 48 million school
children in this country. It provides one and a third
billion dollars for elementary and secondary education
(and more than 92 million dollars will come to California).

and More than a billion dollars will be devoted specifically
to helping the children of the poor. - operation - catch-up!

L ^{and it} The Elementary and Secondary Education Bill will
attack other problems -- old problems extending far
beyond the question of poverty.

L It provides funds for elementary and secondary school
libraries.

L It helps local schools acquire up-to-date textbooks and
teaching materials.

It authorizes the development of community education centers to enable students of all ages to supplement and continue their education in new imaginative ways.

Training
+
Development

~~It provides for greater educational research and development -- and this has been seriously neglected in recent years.~~

President Johnson has also proposed a comprehensive program of assistance for our colleges and universities.

Fed Aid
AEC
Defense
NIH
NSF
NASA
\$500

This ~~legislation~~'s Higher Education ~~bill~~ provides undergraduate scholarship grants of up to 800 dollars a year for high school graduates from low-income families.

It establishes a student loan insurance fund and extends the National Defense Education student loan program for an additional three years.

Insurance

This legislation establishes a program to help colleges and universities develop more effective adult education and extension courses.

It authorizes a five-year program to help colleges and universities acquire library materials and trained library personnel. And, finally, it establishes a program to assist smaller colleges in strengthening their academic programs.

We seek to help students - *expand opportunity*

In adopting this approach, we look beyond conflicts that have divided us in the past, and deprived us of essential educational aid. We look beyond regional conflicts, federal-state conflicts and church-state conflicts to the real challenge: the education of millions *young people* and the future of America. And it will be done within the guidelines of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The federal government is ready and willing to assume its full share of the burden of expanding educational opportunity. We appreciate that tax resources of many states, even of California, will not permit great enough

expansion of educational facilities.

↳ This challenge requires commitment and action at every level of government: federal, state, and local.

↳ California, perhaps more than any other state, has sought to make equal educational opportunity a reality for every child. In so doing, California has provided the nation with a model higher educational system.

↳ Your education at the University of California gives you a rare opportunity to lead productive lives.

↳ Hopefully, you will continue your education so that the old idea of graduation as a "commencement" will be realized in your lives and in the lives of your children.

↳ Hopefully, you will recognize the obligation to return to your community and participate actively in bettering your society and your nation. ↳ Education is not just receiving. True education also involves giving

of one's knowledge ... talents ... ability ... faith
and compassion. ~~→ inspiration~~

↳ And each of us bears an even higher obligation.

Alexander Hamilton wrote in the First Federalist paper:

"It seems to have been reserved for the people of this
country by their conduct and example to decide the
important question: whether societies of men are really
capable or not of establishing good government from
reflection and choice, or whether they are forever
destined to depend for their constitutions on accident
and chance."

↳ Do we today possess the courage, the wisdom, the
sense of justice, and the determination to continue to
answer "yes" to Hamilton's question? Can we make good
government a product of our minds and our hearts? Will
we possess the breadth of vision to fully develop

democratic government for ourselves and all
mankind?

↳ The founders of this Republic considered
Americans a chosen people capable of accepting the
burden of choice -- a people who could assume
voluntarily the burden of freedom.

↳ Our founders accepted that responsibility. And,
in doing so, they changed the world. ↳ Today a similar
opportunity is within our grasp -- the chance to more
nearly complete this task in America.

Let us, then, accept seriously our obligation to
liberate the human spirit in America ... to extend to
everyone the opportunity to lead a life of choice. This
life is never easy -- for freedom entails responsibility,
and responsibility brings lasting burdens. ↳

↳ And, yet, this life also offers the rare opportunity
of self-fulfillment.

*Freedom, like a beautiful Cathedral -
years to build - each generation adds to it.*

↳ This life offers us opportunity to join in the
creative task of building the America begun but
never complete. ;

*an exciting ~~time~~
challenge
opportunity
of excellence*

INFORMATION

FROM THE
PRESIDENT'S COMMITTEE
-ON-
EQUAL EMPLOYMENT OPPORTUNITY
Washington 25, D. C.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
AT UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA AT LOS ANGELES
FRIDAY, APRIL 2, 1965

Today, I wish to suggest two important propositions about contemporary American life.

First: That the opportunity to choose is the foundation of freedom. And never in our history has the individual American had the range of choices and the capacity to choose that he has today.

Second: That we must, nevertheless, continue to seek ways to expand this foundation of freedom -- this opportunity to choose -- until it becomes a reality for all Americans.

The vision of a Great Society is not the vision of a welfare state. Welfare programs provide only temporary assistance to persons in urgent economic or social need. Today, we must look beyond this. We must attack also the root causes of ignorance, disease and poverty.

Let us, therefore, describe the Great Society not as welfare state, but as a state of opportunity.

Man must possess opportunity in tangible terms to develop his abilities and potentialities to the fullest, if he is to be truly free.

And although some men may choose to squander this opportunity -- all men must be given the chance to lead meaningful and satisfying lives.

The Great Society is based on the proposition that every American shall have that chance.

No opportunity is more vital to the future of this republic than the opportunity to receive an education to the limits of one's abilities and according to one's willingness to work. Thomas Jefferson recognized this fundamental truth

over 150 years ago: "If you expect a nation to be ignorant and free, you expect what never was and never will be."

In the past 60 years we have made impressive progress in expanding educational opportunities.

In 1900, four Americans in every hundred between the ages of 13 and 21 attended college. In 1961 it was over thirty-two. In 1900 rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified, had the right to attend college, but how much real choice existed?

In terms of 1900, seven-eighths of you would not be here listening to me ... seven-eighths of you would not have had the choice of attending this university ... seven-eighths of you would not look forward to the opportunities open to you.

But, never forget, you are still among a privileged minority in this country.

You are receiving a first-class education at this great university. But what of the more than 100 thousand of our brightest high school graduates each year who will not go to college unless opportunity is expanded still further.

What of the million young people who will quit high school each year if we fail to make learning an exciting and challenging experience?

What of the 400 thousand new classrooms needed to absorb the young minds coming to our elementary and secondary schools in the next five years?

President Johnson proposed in his historic education message to the Congress' that we declare a national goal of Full Educational Opportunity. The evidence indicates that the American people support this goal.

This year, for the first time, public opinion polls show that Americans consider opportunity for education to be their most important domestic concern. This feeling reflects a growing realization of the cost of inadequate or incomplete education:

the waste of human potential.

Inadequate education leads to unemployment: The high school dropout is twice as likely to be unemployed as the high school graduate, and five times as likely as the college graduate.

Inadequate education leads to poverty: Two-thirds of the families in which the father had less than eight years of schooling find themselves locked in economic hopelessness.

Inadequate education perpetuates itself in future generations: The children of the unemployed and poor become themselves unemployed and poor.

The American people are ready for bold and creative efforts in education.

Late last Friday evening the House of Representatives demonstrated this readiness by passing overwhelmingly the Elementary and Secondary Education Bill of 1965.

This Bill will help more than 48 million school children in this country. It provides one and a third billion dollars for elementary and secondary education, (and more than 92 million dollars will come to California). More than a billion dollars will be devoted specifically to helping the children of the poor.

The Elementary and Secondary Education Bill will attack other problems -- old problems extending far beyond the question of poverty.

It provides funds for elementary and secondary school libraries.

It helps local schools acquire up-to-date textbooks and teaching materials.

It authorizes the development of community education centers to enable students of all ages to supplement and continue their education in new imaginative ways.

It provides for greater educational research and development -- and this has been seriously neglected in recent years.

President Johnson has also proposed a comprehensive program of assistance for our colleges and universities. This Administration's Higher Education Bill provides undergraduate scholarship grants of up to 300 dollars a year for high school graduates from low-income families. It establishes a student loan insurance fund and extends the National Defense Education student loan program for an additional three years.

This legislation establishes a program to help colleges and universities develop more effective adult education and extension courses.

It authorizes a five-year program to help colleges and universities acquire library materials and trained library personnel. And, finally, it establishes a program to assist smaller colleges in strengthening their academic programs.

We seek to help students.

In adopting this approach, we look beyond conflicts that have divided us in the past, and deprived us of essential educational aid. We look beyond regional conflicts, federal-state conflicts and church-state conflicts to the real challenge: the education of millions and the future of America. And it will be done within the guidelines of the First Amendment to the Constitution.

The federal government is ready and willing to assume its full share of the burden of expanding educational opportunity. We appreciate that tax resources of many states, even of California, will not permit great enough expansion of education facilities.

This challenge requires commitment and action at every level of government: federal, state, and local. California, perhaps more than any other state, has sought to make equal educational opportunity a reality for every child. In so doing, California has provided the nation with a model higher educational system.

Your education at the University of California gives you a rare opportunity to lead productive lives. Hopefully, you will continue your education so that the old idea of graduation as a "commencement" will be realized in your lives and in the lives of your children.

Hopefully, you will recognize the obligation to return to your community and participate actively in bettering your society and your nation. Education is not just receiving. True education also involves giving of one's knowledge talents ... ability ... faith and compassion.

And each of us bears an even higher obligation. Alexander Hamilton wrote in the First Federalist paper: "It seems to have been reserved for the people of this country by their conduct and example to decide the important question: whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their constitutions on accident and chance."

Do we today possess the courage, the wisdom, the sense of justice, and the determination to continue to answer "yes" to Hamilton's question? Can we make good government a product of our minds and our hearts? Will we possess the breadth of vision to fully develop democratic government for ourselves and all mankind?

The founders of this Republic considered Americans a chosen people capable of accepting the burden of choice -- a people who could assume voluntarily the burden of freedom.

Our founders accepted that responsibility. And, in doing so, they changed the world. Today a similar opportunity is within our grasp -- the chance to more nearly complete this task in America.

Let us, then, accept seriously our obligation to liberate the human spirit in America ... to extend to everyone the opportunity to lead a life of choice. This life is never easy -- for freedom entails responsibility, and responsibility brings lasting burdens.

And, yet, this life also offers the rare opportunity of self-fulfillment.

This life offers us opportunity to join in the creative task of building the America begun but never complete.

(typescript from recording of speech)

CHARTER DAY SPEECH
by the
Vice President of the United States
The Honorable Hubert Horatio Humphrey
at
University of California, Los Angeles
Friday, April 2, 1965

Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you.

Thank you, President Kerr, for your generous, gracious introduction, and more significantly for your meaningful and powerful message.

Chancellor Murphy, Governor Brown, the Regents, those distinguished Americans that are here today to be honored by this great University, my fellow Americans, and my fellow students:

This is a wonderful opportunity and privilege for any man, and my topic today is going to be on the subject of opportunity and freedom in this, the most exciting period of history.

I must say that it always gladdens my heart a bit to know how the process of emancipation constantly moves through the American scene, and I stand before you today as one example. For years, years, unto fifty-three years, I've gone through life being known as Hubert H. Humphrey (laughter) and at long last, in the spirit of good fellowship and strong partisanship, I was exposed. (Applause). And today, I stand before you, the truth having made me free (laughter) being known to friend and foe alike as Hubert Horatio Humphrey. (More laughter and applause)

I am indeed honored to be invited as the Charter Day speaker. This, the 97th anniversary of this great university, a university that has excelled in scholarship, science, the humanities and the

arts, and basketball (applause) and I am looking forward to the day that I can go home to my own university and say exactly the same thing. (Laughter)

I enjoy visiting with fellow students, and I say fellow students because I feel that in a very real sense the process of learning never stops, if you will but let it continue. And I have a great teacher and very renowned professor that has been teaching me and guiding me in the ways of political life and political science for better than 16 years, and I'm here to tell you that he knows how to exercise all of the elements of both discipline and inspiration. My teacher is our President, President Lyndon Johnson (applause) and his theme and his guiding spirit is found in those words that he chooses to recite so many times from the prophet Isaiah, "Come, let us reason together." And may I add that in a time of emotion, tension and irrationality that to ask me to come and reason together is not always the most popular course, but it is without doubt the right course. And today and tomorrow I am going to place myself on the side of reason, on the side of asking people to think things through rather than just to fight about all things.

Yes, freedom and opportunity, two old words in the lexicon of democracy. Two words that frequently are bandied about with all too little interpretation. Freedom and opportunity are the key words; they set the tone and the theme of current, contemporary American society. In fact, this is what the whole world wants. People do not seek to be enslaved; they do not ask for dictatorship; they do not ask to be dominated. They seek freedom in all of its beauty and all of its demands and they surely seek opportunity.

This is at the heart of the restlessness of our time. And for those that want a tranquil and almost an apathetic existence, do not indulge yourself then in thoughts of freedom and opportunity because freedom is energetic and opportunity promotes a form of restlessness that is best known to youth and often and best understood by those in maturity.

I wish, therefore, to suggest two important propositions about contemporary American life. First the opportunity to choose is the foundation of freedom. And never in our history has the individual American had the wide range of choices and the capacity to choose that he has today. Second, that we must continue to seek ways to expand this foundation of freedom, the opportunity to choose, until it becomes a reality for all Americans because freedom is not static, nor is opportunity. It must grow or die. It must either expand or wither. And this is a nation that I trust has dedicated itself to the continuing processes of growth. As I listened to the remarks of Dr. Kerr, I couldn't help but once again reflect upon this continuing process of emancipation. Each generation, each decade, we seek to free ourselves, I hope and trust, from the limitations of other days.

I have said from many a platform that I believe in the study of history. But I believe, more importantly, in making history. Each of us should add our line, our chapter, our paragraph to the history of our times. History then becomes exciting rather than just a requirement. And who else but students can add to the chapters of history?

When I speak of opportunity as a reality for all Americans, I do not once again just utter a platitude, but I speak of it as the challenge and as the demanding requirement of our time. It is about time that the hypocrisy that we have indulged in for so long be cast aside. If we really mean "One nation, under God, with liberty and justice for all," then let's live it, and not ask our children to merely mouth it. And repeat it. Because the repetition of less than a fact can distort the concept of truth.

The challenge, therefore, in every home and in every area of this nation is that "liberty and justice for all" be not only a promise, but a reality.

Now the vision of a Great Society---what is your vision? Well, my vision is not the structure of a welfare state. Welfare programs, of course, are need^{ed} and they provide, however, only temporary assistance to persons in urgent economic and social need. Today we know that we must look beyond this. We must attack the root causes of our present disability. The root causes of ignorance, of disease, of poverty, and better yet, today we have the means to do it. Oh, I've heard so frequently that the poor will always be with us, and I've heard of course that there is little or nothing that you can do about the poor. But that was for a yesteryear. Today we have the know-how, the means and the resources to do much about this ancient plague. Let us therefore describe our Great Society not as a welfare state but as a state of opportunity. Man must possess opportunity and possess it in tangible terms to develop his abilities and his potentialities to

the fullest if man is to be truly free. This is what the late beloved President Kennedy said in his message to the Congress on his Education Act of 1962 which I note is quoted in your program today. And although some men may choose to squander this opportunity in their right of choice, all men, all men must be given the chance to lead meaningful and satisfying lives. To put it more simply, no government owes every man a living, but a just government of the people, by the people and for the people does owe everyone an opportunity to enjoy the blessings of life. (Applause)

The Great Society is based on the proposition that every man shall have that chance, not merely the theoretical choice but a choice that he can make intelligently because he's equipped to decide between alternatives. The Great Society is concerned not with the quantity of our lives, but rather with its quality, with the true richness of character, of enlightenment, of understanding. And not merely the richness of the purse or the property or the goods. And I submit that no opportunity is more vital to the future of this Republic, indeed of all mankind, than the opportunity to receive an education to the limits of one's abilities and according to one's willingness to work.

Thomas Jefferson, truly a great educator, recognized this fundamental truth over 150 years ago and his words of that day apply today, even more so. He said, "If you expect a nation to be ignorant and free, you expect what never was and never will be. Thomas Jefferson said in other words that the price of freedom

is enlightenment. The inspiration of progress is education and I believe that we Americans have been moved from the beginning of our national existence by respect and love for education. This tremendous effort of both public and private education bears witness to my claim. We've made impressive progress in expanding educational opportunities. But let me review a little history for you:

In 1900, not long ago, four Americans in every hundred between the ages of 18 and 21 - four! - attended college. In 1961 the record was much better. It was 32 out of one hundred. In 1900 rich and poor alike, if adequately qualified, had the right to attend college. But how much real choice existed? In terms of 1900, seven eighths of all the students here listening to me today would not be here.

Seven-eighths of you would not have had the choice of attending this university. Seven-eighths of you would not look forward to the opportunities now open to you. But never forget this: that even though our record today is better now in this year 1965, much better, approximately 35 out of every 100, you are still among a privileged minority in this country. And a privileged minority has an obligation to a deprived minority. (Applause)

It is well recognized that you are receiving first class education at this great university. But what of the more than 100,000 of our brightest high school graduates each year who will not go to class or to college unless opportunity is still further extended? What about this shameful waste? What of the million young people who will drop out of high school each year if we

continue to fail to make learning an exciting and challenging experience?

Let me digress to say that I think part of the problem of dropout is the lack of excitement and challenge in the curriculum. (Applause) And I would like to add my word for good teaching, (Applause) exciting teaching. I know I venture into dangerous ground (laughter) but I must add that there must be an appropriate balance in the presence of these great men of the letters, of learning, appropriate balance between research and teaching. (Sustained applause)

Now what of the four hundred thousand new classrooms needed to absorb the young minds coming into our elementary and secondary schools in the next five years? A higher education of quality is impossible for the many unless there is elementary and secondary education of superior quality.

President Johnson proposed in his historic Education Message to this Congress that we declare a national goal of full educational opportunity. And the evidence is that the American people support this goal because this year, for the first time, and I repeat, for the first time, public opinion polls show that American citizens consider opportunity for education to be their most important domestic concern. Far above taxes, far above anything else, the American populace, the American people, in their wisdom and maturity have come to the conclusion that the most important problem facing this nation today is opportunity for education. Now this feeling reflects itself in a growing realization of the cost, the tragic cost, of inadequate or incomplete education, the waste of human potential, and that is the waste that should be the concern of everyone. Our goal must be the conservation and the development of human resources.

There are certain facts that we now know: we know that inadequate education does lead to unemployment; and that there is no correction for unemployment until you correct the deficiencies of education. The high school dropout is twice as likely to be unemployed as the high school graduate. And five times as likely to be unemployed as the college graduate. Indisputable facts. Too, inadequate education leads to poverty. Two-thirds of the families in which the father has less than eight years of schooling find themselves locked in economic hopelessness, locked in on poverty and misery for decades to come. Inadequate education perpetuates itself unto future generations. The children of the unemployed and the poor become themselves unemployed and poor. We know these facts and once you know the problem, then the challenge is before you.

Once you know the difficulty, then you change it into an opportunity. And we know above all else that good education, meaningful education, education in the classics as well as the contemporary needs, is the mainspring of social and economic progress, and is the shield of our defense and security. There is no security without it. And there is no progress economically or socially without it. In this unusual therefore and challenging period the American people are ready. They are ready for bold and creative efforts in education. They are ready for investment in education. The American people are demonstrating a quality of citizenship which is most commendable. They know that freedom is not free and that the generous allocation of resources for education is the wisest investment that a free people can make.

Late last Friday the House of Representatives demonstrated this readiness by passing with an overwhelming majority the Elementary and Secondary Education Act of 1965, and next week, by the middle of next week, the Senate of the United States will have done the same, and by the end of the week, the President of the United States will have signed the most important education bill ever passed by the Congress of the United States since the Land Grant College Act of the eighteen hundred and sixties. This measure will help more than 48,000,000 school children in this country. It provides one and one-third billions of dollars for elementary and secondary education. And, Governor, more than 92 million dollars will come to California. (Applause)

But here's the important part of it. More than a billion dollars will be devoted specifically to helping the children of the poor, those who have been left behind, many of those who were victims of this play upon words, this ironical and hypocritical situation, "separate, but equal." (Applause)

A billion dollars will be poured into that. A billion dollars poured in to the educational structure, in operation catch-up because that's what it really is, giving people a chance to participate. And it will attack other problems long overdue for attack. Old problems extending far beyond the question of poverty. It provides funds for libraries and up to date textbooks and teaching materials, development of community education centers to students of all ages to supplement and continue their education in new and imaginative ways. And it will provide funds for research in education sothat we will apply new teaching techniques

to our schools like industry has applied it to their corporations. Isn't it interesting that a nation that prides itself on so many innovations continues to hang on with dogged determination to old habits when at a time we need innovation and creativeness as never before? Now President Johnson has also proposed the most comprehensive program of aid to higher education that this nation has ever known and we are going to pass it. I do not come here to explain failure. I come here to proclaim success. (Sustained applause)

And may I add that while many of the theoreticians, the pundits, the commentators, the columnists have been arguing about the merits and the demerits, the pros and cons, of federal aid to education, some of us have been busy getting it done. (Applause) In fact, may I say that some of us have even almost encouraged the arguments so that we could get it done.

Federal aid has been poured out for the good of the nation. Federal aid through Dr. Glenn Seaborg's Atomic Energy Commission, federal aid through the Department of Defense, federal aid through the National Institutes of Health in the United States Public Health Service, federal aid through the National Science Foundation, federal aid through the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, federal aid wherever we could put our hands on it to the tune of eight billions of dollars. So to those who prefer to argue its merits and demerits, enjoy yourselves while we get on with the business (laughter and applause) and we shall have more, because it is needed.

We do not seek to verify the principle of federal aid or of

local control. We seek to help students and thereby to expand opportunity and in adopting this approach, looking beyond the nit-picking and the theoretical arguments, looking beyond conflicts that have divided us in the past, deprived us of essential educational aid, we look beyond regional conflicts, federal-state conflicts, church-state conflicts to the real challenge, the education of millions of our young people in order to give some assurance to the future of America. And I can assure you that it will be done, and it will be done within the guidelines of the First Amendment to the Constitution. We will help students, people, citizens because it is the student of today that is the responsible leader of tomorrow. And without all the niceties of the arguments we shall proceed to do our duty.

Now the Federal government is ready and willing to assume its full share. We appreciate the limitations of state and local government even here in rich and growing California. We appreciate the tax resources that many of these states will not permit all of the expansion of the educational facilities that are needed. This challenge requires commitment and action at every level of government, federal, state and local.

California, perhaps, more than any other state, has sought to make equal educational opportunity a reality for every child. May I say to the distinguished governor of this state that any man that serves as the chief executive of this state, and anyone who serves as a member of the Board of Regents of this great university system can hold his or her head high in the knowledge that at least the policy commitment, the goal, of the great State of California

has been equal educational opportunity for every man, woman and child without regard to race, color or creed. (Applause)

Might I just add this as a bit of obiter dictum: that possibly it is your educational establishment rather than your climate that has brought you the vast numbers of people to this great western state and has given you the fastest growing economy of any place in the world. A wise investment, even to the most conservative of financiers. (Laughter and applause)

Now, my fellow students, your education at the University of California gives you a rare opportunity to lead productive lives, and that's what you really want to do. Hopefully you will continue your education so that the old idea of graduation as a commencement will be realized as a commencement in your lives and the lives of your children. Remember, the person that takes this first step in education has entered and has completed the longest journey. It's the beginnings, it's that first step, and once you've taken it, then you commence. And the continuing process of advancement can be yours. Hopefully you will recognize the obligation that you owe to your community to return to your community and to participate actively in securing your society and your nation.

And I want to say to my fellow students that not a one of us, or should I put it affirmatively, that every one of us that have been the beneficiaries of public education or parochial education, of higher education, public or private, every one of us have been the beneficiaries at the expense of someone else. We never paid our way as individuals. People without the blessings of family have helped

pay the way for another family. Therefore those of us that are in this fortunate minority of having received a college education, we have a social obligation out of simple justice to help others, in a very real sense to be our brother's keeper. (Applause)

Education is not just receiving and true education involves giving, giving of one's knowledge, talents, ability, faith and compassion. Just giving of oneself to the good of a community or of a nation or a cause. And each of us bears an even higher obligation. Alexander Hamilton wrote in the first Federalist paper, "It seems to have been reserved for the people of this country by their conduct and example to decide the important question whether societies of men are really capable or not of establishing good government from reflection and choice, or whether they are forever destined to depend for their constitutions on accident and chance."

Yes, a higher obligation, the obligation of providing for responsible social order, a responsible social order that is characterized by a crusading zeal for social justice. Do we today possess the courage, the wisdom and that sense of justice? And the determination to continue to answer "yes" to Hamilton's question? Can we make good government a product of our minds and our hearts? Or must it just be ^a hopeful development of accidental circumstances?

Will we possess the breadth of vision to fully develop democratic government for ourselves and hopefully, for mankind? Can we as the most prosperous nation on the face of the earth

still have a conscience and be concerned about the least of these, the dispossessed and the unfortunate? I think so. I do not find my America, our America, without conscience.

If, for no other reason, this declaration of the war on poverty is good simply because it reveals that there is yet a sense of justice and conscience in the American people. At the time of our greatest power and wealth we seek peace and justice. At the time of our greatest production and prosperity we seek a social order in which these benefits and fruits can be properly shared. The founders of this Republic considered the Americans a chosen people capable of accepting the burden of choice. A people who could assume voluntarily the burden of freedom because freedom is at times a heavy cross to carry. But what a blessed experience for those that are up to it! Our founders accepted that responsibility of the burden of freedom and in doing so they changed the world. And they changed it with the power of mind and spirit. They changed a whole world with the promulgation of ideas and the reiteration of an ancient but living truth of the dignity of man.

I say that today a similar opportunity is within our grasp. And an old and tired and sick world wants once more to hear these words of encouragement, this expression of faith that we do believe in human equality, that we do believe in dignity, that we do believe in freedom of conscience and that we believe in it not as a matter of law, but as a matter of spirit and soul, that we recognize that this great concept of human dignity is God-given

and God-born and not the creation of man's hand. It is a fact that the motivating impulse of freedom and of democracy is found in the spiritual tenets of our Judaic-Christian faith. It is a fact that God created man in His own image and in so doing expected man to be respectful of that creation. From this, as an old political science teacher, I say, comes the only verification for the doctrine of natural rights, for the belief in human equality, for the commitment to liberty and justice. So let us then accept seriously our obligation to liberate the human spirit at least here in America, to extend to everyone the opportunity to lead a meaningful life and a life of choice. This life is never easy. And why should it be? It offers much, it demands equally for freedom entails responsibility. And responsibility in peace or in war, in the past as in the present, brings lasting burdens. And yet this life offers the rare opportunity of self-fulfillment. Freedom, like a beautiful cathedral, is the work of many generations. It takes sometimes centuries to build but each generation has an obligation to add its part and no generation has the right to destroy or to detract.

And I say to those that are privileged to have a college education, "Lift your eyes and lift your sights," because you cannot build the grand towers and spires of this cathedral of freedom by looking inward and down. You must look outward and up with optimism and with confidence.

This life that I speak of offers us opportunity. And it offers us the opportunity to join in the creative task of building the America begun by our forbears, but never complete.

Yes, the first step is the longest journey. But we are privileged each year, each decade, each generation in our time to take another step in that journey. How fortunate we are to live in this exciting dramatic period of creativeness, of change, of challenge, of opportunity. And above all, how great a responsibility is ours to recognize in this exciting period excellence of performance; excellence of mind and spirit is the only sure safeguard that we have. I appeal, therefore, to my young friends of the year 1965 and the years to come to set as your standard not the goals of father and mother nor the goals of yesterday, but to set as your standard the goals of excellence as you see it, something that will challenge you to do the impossible. Because only then is it possible to save the peace and to promote the society, the Great Society, of which we dream. (Prolonged applause.)

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