

The following is the text of the speech by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey at Commencement exercises at American University. Among those graduating is his son, Hubert H. Humphrey III.

Two years ago this week this university was privileged to have as its Commencement speaker one of the truly great Presidents of American history.

As the leader of the richest and most powerful nation on earth, John Kennedy stood on this platform to present a formula not for world domination, but for lasting peace. His was the voice of sanity and hope in a world plagued with dogma and despair.

On that day John Kennedy called for politics, "dynamic and not static, changing to meet the challenge of each generation."

"Our problems," he said, "are man made; therefore they can be solved by man."

Our aspiration, he said, is "the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living -- the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children -- not merely peace for Americans but peace for all men -- not merely peace in our time but peace for all time."

John Kennedy's voice on that day was the voice of America -- the voice of energy and hope, of optimism and idealism. His words expressed an American philosophy which we accept as self-evident.

But energy, hope, humanity and idealism are not so common in this world as we might believe them to be.

That is why John Kennedy's words inspired alike the Colombian campesino and the European cabinet minister.

They told the world that once again, in a new generation, there were new Americans to lead all men everywhere toward a better and freer life. They told the world that our strong, rich nation had rededicated itself to the real world revolution -- the revolution toward liberty and self-fulfillment for all people.

All of us are, in a sense, new Americans. All of us are immigrants of the sons of immigrants. We left the old behind to begin the new. We began by being willing to take risks ... to discard the unusable ... to find what works.

We have made change our ally, not our enemy.

That is why, when history demanded them, there have been new Americans to conquer a wilderness, to create a new technology, to seek new ways toward peace and security for men and nations.

Each American generation has made anew its own page in history.

In the Eighteenth century, men in Europe wrote of man's freedom and the concept of a more just society. But it was in America, not in Europe, that men rose to Thomas Paine's challenge in 1776:

"...Ye that love mankind. Ye that dare oppose not only the tyrrany but the tyrant, stand forth. Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her. Europe regards her as a stranger and England hath given her warning to depart. Receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."

Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, written six months later, seized this yet untested philosophy and transformed it into the dynamic force toward a revolution that still gains momentum.

The truths which Thomas Jefferson held to be self-evident -- and which we accept today as self-evident -- were based on the new Americans' abiding faith in the dignity and sacredness of every human being and on their own pragmatic experience in this new land.

A great idea's time had come. Our Declaration of Independence became for other men their declaration of independence -- a challenge to create governments deriving their powers from the consent of the governed for the purpose of effecting their safety and happiness.

As the world awoke to the possibility of a new relation between man and state, there were new Americans on this continent moving westward to gain a living out of new soil. These were people who only a few years before had cleared the land and built homes and towns where none had existed before. But they moved on to clear new land, to build new homes, and create new towns.

They were builders -- conquering the wilderness and building a nation.

They extended a vast, expanding continental nation in which democratic government might flourish, unthreatened by foreign force. They established a laboratory for democratic government -- a laboratory with unmatched resources and with men unsatisfied with the status quo and anxious to

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experiment -- restless, adventurous, forward-moving men.

In this laboratory we have achieved accelerated progress. There have been Know Nothings and haters in our society -- and some of these almost extinct creatures still exist today in some unlighted corners -- but they have in the long run been in the minority. There have been times in our history when they seemed to be gaining -- or should I say, the rest of us losing -- but they have been outnumbered in time and overcome by generations of new Americans dedicated to greater causes and higher goals.

Our American nation -- above all others -- has rejected the Know Nothings. For we have had, through our history, continuing commitment to moderation and, I might add, a disrespect for extremism and those who would destroy.

We have developed a lively, partisan political system -- but one which recognizes that all significant national decisions must ultimately be based on the consent of individual man.

The new American society, born through the efforts of Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Franklin and Hamilton, also produced an Abraham Lincoln to save the union and begin the emancipation which the American Negro now is achieving.

The society which produced Lincoln also gave us men to provide general education and broadened social welfare during a time of industrial revolution.

It produced Americans willing to open their arms to millions of tired, hungry and poor from other nations.

It produced a Woodrow Wilson to propose a bold new plan for world justice and peace.

It produced a Franklin Roosevelt to save the tree of democracy, with its old trunk and new branches, in face of some who would have cut the tree down and others who would have let it rot.

It gave us Harry Truman to propose the Marshall Plan and Point Four to resist aggression in Asia.

It gave us Dwight Eisenhower, schooled as a soldier, to devote his life to ending conflict.

It gave us a whole generation to fight a world war -- and, after winning that war, to seek no territory or plunder, but instead to rebuild the

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societies of its former enemies and to create new international machinery for peace.

It gave us John Kennedy and his vision of a New Frontier and an end to nuclear war.

It gave us President Lyndon Johnson and his determination to achieve a Great Society in which human opportunity and fulfillment might indeed be gained by all men and their children -- regardless of the color of their skin, their last name, or their religion.

It gives us today the Peace Corps Volunteer bringing hope to strangers ... the AID official and medical technician working in Viet Nam under threat of death ... the VISTA worker seeking to reclaim forgotten people here at home ... the astronaut circling the earth to expand man's knowledge of the unknown ... the American soldier or Marine dying on alien soil, but not in vain. All this is the sweep of our history.

It is necessary to know history, but, for this generation of new Americans it is better to make history. The standards of the past must serve as an inspiration for the future.

The world may ask: What is the nature of today's new American?

I see him as the same restless, adventurous, courageous citizen as his forebears.

I see this new American as the son or daughter of a rich nation yet a person of conscience, of deep concern for the fate of his fellow man.

I see the new American as one who has defeated the enemies of freedom, yet extends the hand of friendship and cooperation to build a new and better world community.

I see the new American surrounded by materialism, yet questioning its value.

Impatient with things as they are, but not impetuous in remedy or judgment.

Generous but not patronizing.

Seeking enlightenment but not indulging in intellectual vanity.

Respecting the arts, but not detached from reality.

Motivated by ideals, but satisfied only with accomplishment.

Strong and firm, but not belligerent or arrogant.

Willing to debate, but able to decide.

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The new American of this generation believes that the world need not destroy itself by war.

He knows that the pursuit of peace is an act of courage and that resisting aggression is the duty of free men.

Perhaps the qualities I see are those I want to see. For these are the qualities that must characterize the new American, in this exciting and uncertain age.

But I believe my thinking is not wishful.

I have faith in this generation. I have met and talked with you. I have seen your concern for the world around you. I know your commitment to peace and to justice. Yours is the volunteer generation; you have volunteered for difficult tasks the world around. There are few in this generation who seek the easy way or look selfishly inward.

Today there are those who take for granted our role as leader of the free world -- just as we take for granted our democratic American heritage.

But I ask you to consider that role.

The mantel of leadership is not a cloak of comfort, but rather the robe of responsibility.

Leadership does not permit a person or a nation license or luxury.

Leadership imposes responsibility and affords few privileges.

We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world ... that other people's problems needn't be our problems.

My friend, when that time comes, our leadership ends.

Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not?

Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do not?

We live in a time when everything is complex, when there are no more rapid or easy answers. We live in a time when we must exert our patience and our will as never before. Have we the patience, for instance, to work and bleed thousands of miles from home for months and years ahead? I can tell you that the forces of totalitarianism have that patience. If we have less, we fail.

We must recognize that there are times when American power must be used -- that there is no substitute for power in the face of determined aggression.

We must equally recognize that, in resisting aggression, military power alone is of little use without political and social reform and the

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promise to people of a better life.

Hope is still the world's most powerful antidote for disaffection and despair.

For we believe that we Americans can help others even as we help ourselves to find a better future.

We stand for something.

Each generation must discover it anew.

What is it that makes a new American? It is his discovery of the commitment of America and what it stands for.

It is his recognition that we stand for individual fulfillment of man and woman.

We stand for the chance for each man to make something better of himself.

We stand for free speech and government of the people, by the people and for the people.

We stand for peace without conquest.

We stand for the belief that others, too, in less fortunate places should have opportunity for the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny.

We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left the old continents and made this new America.

In the words of President Lyndon Johnson:

"We are grateful for the progress that we ourselves have achieved. We are pleased and we are determined to press forward -- not for our gain and our greatness alone, but rather for the gain and the good of all mankind everywhere."

It is in this spirit that I call on you today:

Have no little dreams. Make no little plans. Reach for the stars.

Do not be satisfied with things as they are.

Commit yourselves to the ideal that man, governing himself, can perfect a life of opportunity and justice -- not only in America, but for all mankind.

Be remembered, as Toynbee says, not for crimes or even for astonishing inventions, but as the first generation to dare to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

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And, finally, as the first Americans who have lived your lives in the nuclear age: Be firm ... be persevering... be devoted to the goal of peace "for all men, for all time."

For the pursuit of peace resembles the building of a great cathedral. It is the work of generations. In concept it requires a master architect; in execution, the labors of many. Make the pursuit of peace the work of your generation.

Do these things with faith and labor -- so that men in future generations may speak at Commencement as free men facing days ahead of peace and promise.

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✓ Dr. David Anderson

✓ Mr. Reeves - Trustee
Faculty
Students

REMARKS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY
AMERICAN UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

JUNE 13, 1965

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On that day John Kennedy called for
politics "dynamic and not static, changing to meet
the challenge of each generation."

↳ "Our problems," he said, "are man made;
therefore they can be solved by man."

↳ Our aspiration, he said, is "the kind of
peace that makes life on earth worth living -- the
kind that enables men and nations to grow, and, to
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↳ John Kennedy's voice on that day was the *True*
voice of America -- the voice of energy and hope,
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↳ All of us are, in a sense, new Americans.
All of us are immigrants or the sons of immigrants.
We left the old behind to begin the new. We began
by being willing to take risks . . . to discard the
unusable . . . to find what works.

↳ We have made change our ally, not our enemy.

∟ That is why, when history demanded them, there have been new Americans to conquer a wilderness, to create a new technology, to seek new ways toward peace and security for men and nations.

∟ Each American generation has made anew its own page in history.

∟ In the Eighteenth century, men in Europe wrote of man's freedom and the concept of a more just society. But it was in America, not in Europe, that men rose to Thomas Paine's challenge in 1776:

" . . . Ye that love mankind. Ye that dare oppose not only the tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth. ∟ Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom hath been hunted round the globe. Asia and Africa have long expelled her.

Europe regards her as a stranger and England hath given her warning to depart. Receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."

↳ Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence, written six months later, seized this yet untested philosophy and transformed it into the dynamic force toward a revolution that still gains momentum.

↳ The truths which Thomas Jefferson held to be self-evident -- and which we accept today as self-evident -- were based on the new Americans' abiding faith in the dignity and sacredness of every human being and on their own pragmatic experience in this new land.

↳ A great idea's time had come. Our Declaration of Independence became for other men their declaration of independence -- a challenge to create governments deriving their powers from the consent of the governed

for the purpose of effecting their safety and happiness.

↳ As the world awoke to the possibility of a new relation between man and state, there were new Americans on this continent moving westward to gain a living out of new soil. These were people who only a few years before had cleared the land and built homes and towns where none had existed before. But they moved on to clear new land, to build new homes, and create new towns.

↳ They were builders -- conquering the wilderness and building a nation.

↳ They extended a vast, expanding continental nation in which democratic government might flourish, unthreatened by foreign force. They established a laboratory for democratic government -- a laboratory with unmatched resources and with men unsatisfied

with the status quo and anxious to experiment

-- restless, adventurous, forward-moving men.

∠ In this laboratory we have achieved
accelerated progress. ^{yes,} There have been Know Nothings
and haters in our society -- and some of these almost
extinct creatures still exist today in some unlighted
corners -- but they have in the long run been in the
minority. ∠ There have been times in our history when
they seemed to be gaining -- or should I say, the
rest of us losing -- but they have been outnumbered
in time and overcome by generations of new Americans
dedicated to greater causes and higher goals.

∠ Our American nation -- above all others --
has rejected the Know Nothings. For we have had,
through our history, ^a continuing commitment to
moderation and, I might add, a disrespect for extremism
and those who would destroy.

↳ We have developed a lively, partisan political system -- but one which recognizes that all significant national decisions must ultimately be based on the consent of individual man.

↳ The new American society, born through the efforts of Jefferson, Madison, Washington, Franklin and Hamilton, also produced an Abraham Lincoln to save the union and begin the emancipation which the American Negro now is achieving.

↳ The society which produced Lincoln also gave us men to provide general education and broadened social welfare during a time of industrial revolution.

↳ It produced Americans willing to open their arms to millions of tired, hungry and poor from other nations.

↳ It produced a Woodrow Wilson to propose a bold new plan for world justice and peace.

↳ It produced a Franklin Roosevelt to save the tree of democracy, with its old trunk and new branches, in face of some who would have cut the tree down and others who would have let it rot.

↳ It gave us Harry Truman to propose the Marshall Plan and Point Four and to resist aggression *in Europe* *and* in Asia.

↳ It gave us Dwight Eisenhower, schooled as a soldier, to devote his life to ending conflict.

↳ It gave us a whole generation to fight a world war -- and, after winning that war, to seek no territory or plunder, but instead to rebuild the societies of its former enemies and to create new international machinery for peace.

↳ It gave us John Kennedy and his vision of a New Frontier and an end to nuclear war.

↳ It gave us President Lyndon Johnson and his determination to achieve a Great Society in which human opportunity and fulfillment might indeed be gained by all men and their children -- regardless of the color of their skin, their last name, or their religion.

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and, It is necessary to know history, but, for this generation of new Americans, it is better to make history. The standards of the past must serve as an inspiration for the future.

∟ The world may ask: What is the nature of today's new American?

∟ I see him as the same restless, adventurous, courageous citizen as his forebears.

∟ I see this new American as the son or daughter of a rich nation, yet a person of conscience, of deep concern for the fate of his fellow man.

∟ I see the new American as one who has defeated the enemies of freedom, yet extends the hand of friendship and cooperation to build a new and better world community.

∟ I see the new American surrounded by materialism, yet questioning its value.

yes I see him - 12 -

Impatient with things as they are, but

not impetuous in remedy or judgment.

↳ Generous but not patronizing.

↳ Seeking enlightenment but not indulging

in intellectual vanity.

↳ Respecting the arts, but not detached from

reality.

↳ Motivated by ideals, but satisfied only with

accomplishment.

↳ Strong and firm, but not belligerent or

arrogant.

↳ Willing to debate, but able to decide.

↳ The new American of this generation believes

that the world need not destroy itself by war.

↳ He knows that the pursuit of peace is an act

of courage and that resisting aggression is the duty of

free men.

Perhaps the qualities I see are those I want to see. For these are the qualities that must characterize the new American, in this exciting and uncertain age.

But I believe my thinking is not wishful.

I have faith in this generation. I have met and talked with you. I have seen your concern for the world around you. I know your commitment to peace and to justice. Yours is the volunteer generation; you have volunteered for difficult tasks the world around. There are few in this generation who seek the easy way or look selfishly inward.

Today there are those who take for granted our role as leader of the free world -- just as we take for granted our democratic American heritage.

But I ask you to consider that role - *its meaning - its requirements*.

↳ The mantel of leadership is not a cloak of comfort, but rather the robe of responsibility.

↳ Leadership does not permit a person or a nation license or luxury.

↳ Leadership imposes responsibility and affords few privileges.

↳ We hear many voices these days saying that America is overextended in the world . . . that other people's problems needn't be our problems.

↳ My friends, when that times comes, our leadership ends.

↳ Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not?

↳ Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do not?

↳ Who on the world can set the example for equal justice under law for all, if we do not.

↳ who can help, and share, and give to the
needy - the unfortunate, if we do not -

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↳ We live in a time when everything is
complex, when there are no more rapid or easy
answers. ↳ We live in a time when we must exert
our patience and our will as never before, ^{But} Have
we the patience, for instance, to work and bleed
thousands of miles from home for months and years
ahead? I can tell you that the forces of totalitarianism
have that patience. If we have less, we fail.

↳ We must recognize that there are times
when American power must be used -- that there is
no substitute for power in the face of determined
aggression.

^{But,} We must equally recognize that, in resisting
aggression, military power alone is of little use without
political and social reform and the promise to people of
a better life.

↳ Hope is still the world's most powerful
antidote for disaffection and despair.

↳ ~~and~~ we believe that we Americans can help
others even as we help ourselves to find a better
future. *So let us proclaim and live our beliefs.*

↳ We stand for something — *and*
Each generation must discover it anew.

↳ What is it that makes a new American? It
is his discovery of the commitment of America and
what it stands for.

↳ It is his recognition that we stand for
individual fulfillment of man and woman.

↳ We stand for the chance for each man to
make something better of himself. *— We stand for opportunity*

↳ We stand for free speech and government of *the RT of Peterson - the Redress of Grievances*
the people, by the people and for the people.

↳ We stand for peace without conquest.

↳ We stand for the belief that others, too, in less fortunate places should have opportunity for the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny.

↳ We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left the old continents and made this new America.

^{our}
In the words of [^]President ~~Lyndon Johnson~~:

"We are grateful for the progress that we ourselves have achieved. We are pleased and we are determined to press forward -- not for our gain and our greatness alone, but rather for the gain and the good of all mankind everywhere."

↳ It is in this spirit that I call on you today:

Have no little dreams. Make no little plans.

Reach for the stars.

↳ Do not be satisfied with things as they are.

↳ Commit yourselves to the ideal that man, governing himself, can perfect a life of opportunity

and justice -- not only in America, but for all mankind.

- "Omnipotence, under God, with liberty + Justice for all - a reality not a residual."

↳ Be remembered, as Toynbee says, not for crimes or even for astonishing inventions, but as the first generation to dare to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

↳ And, finally, as the first Americans who have lived your lives in the nuclear age: Be firm . . .
Be strong - but be just -
be persevering . . . be devoted to the goal of
peace "for all men, for all time."

↳ For the pursuit of peace resembles the building of a great cathedral. It is the work of generations.

↳ In concept it requires a master architect; in

execution, the labors of many. Make the pursuit

of peace the work of your generation. *Be builders.*

↳ Do these things with faith and labor --

so that men in future generations may speak at

Commencement as free men facing days ahead of

peace and promise.

Message American U -
6/13

Vice President Humphrey

Doctor Anderson, Mr. Reeves, members of the Board of Trustees, my colleagues in the Congress--or should I say my former colleagues?--Senator Sparkman, Senator Jordan, members of the faculty of American University, the graduating class of 1965, their parents and the friends of these students, and my fellow Americans, this is one of the few times of my life that I will be able to speak to my son without his interruption. (Laughter) This evening is also highlighted by the fact that other members of my family are here and I shall be able to speak to them without cross-examination--at least, for a moment.

But I recognize that I occupy a platform tonight--this evening--that has been graced in the past by some of the outstanding public figures of America and, indeed, of the entire world. Before us, facing you, and before me, is a monument and a plaque commemorating a historic event here on this campus, because it was just two years ago this week that this great University was privileged to have as its Commencement speaker one of the truly great Presidents of American history. And to even stand in the same place and be privileged to speak from this ground is a high responsibility and a high privilege.

As the leader of the richest and most powerful nation on earth, the late and beloved President John Kennedy stood right here on this platform to present a formula, not for

world domination, but for a just and a lasting peace, and his was the voice of sanity and of hope in a world plagued with dogma and despair. On that day, John Kennedy called for politics and policy, dynamic and not static, and changing beneath the challenge of each generation. A young man, speaking for a young nation--a youthful President, filled with the love of life and the hope and the promise of life. "Our problems," he said, "are man-made and, therefore, they can be solved by men. Our aspiration," he said, "is the kind of peace that makes life on earth worth living, the kind that enables men and nations to grow and to hope and to build a better life for their children. Not merely peace for Americans, but peace for all men; not merely peace in our time, but peace for all time."

John Kennedy's words and voice on that day--they were the words and the voice of the true voice of America. The voice of energy, of vitality, and of hope. The voice of optimism and idealism. But his words expressed an American philosophy which we, in our time, accept as self-evident. But the truth is that energy and vitality and hope, humanity, and idealism are not so common in this world as we might believe them to be. And that is why President Kennedy's words inspired alike the campesino in Colombia or the cabinet minister in Europe. They told this world once

again in a new generation that there were new Americans--new Americans to lead all men everywhere to a better and a freer life. They told this world that our strong and rich nation had rededicated itself to the real world revolution--the revolution toward liberty and self-fulfillment for all people.

Now, all of us are in a sense new Americans. All of us are immigrants or the sons of immigrants, and we left behind the old to begin the new. We begin by being willing to take risks, to discard the unusable, and to find out what works. And we Americans have been unafraid of change. We have made change our ally and not our enemy. Change is a pattern of our life. And that is why, when history demanded them, there have been new Americans to conquer a wilderness, to create a fantastic technology, and to seek new ways toward peace and security for men and nations. Each generation--each American generation--has made anew its page in history.

In the eighteenth century men in Europe wrote of man's freedom and wrote of a concept of a more just society. But it was in America, and not in Europe, that men rose to Thomas Paine's challenge in the spring of 1776. "Ye that love mankind," said Paine, "ye that dare oppose not only tyranny but the tyrant, stand forth. Every spot of the old world is overrun with oppression. Freedom has been hunted around the globe. Asia and Africa have expelled her.

Europe regards her as a stranger and England has given her warning to depart. Receive the fugitive and prepare in time an asylum for mankind."

This was the challenge then, and it is today. Thomas Jefferson's Declaration of Independence written scarcely six months later seized this untested philosophy and transformed it into a dynamic force toward revolution that gains, and still gains, momentum. And those self-evident truths which Thomas Jefferson held to be self-evident, and which we accept today as self-evident, were based on the new Americans' abiding faith and dignity, and the sacredness of every human being, and on their own pragmatic, day-to-day experience in this new land. A great idea's time had come. Our Declaration of Independence for ourselves became for other men their Declaration of Independence, a challenge to create governments deriving their powers from the consent of the governed, for the purpose of effecting their safety and happiness. The power of an idea that overwhelmed a world. And as that world awoke to the possibility of a new relation between man and state, there were new Americans on this continent moving westward to gain a living out of a new soil. And these were people who, only a few years before, had cleared the lands and built themselves homes and towns where none had existed before. But they moved on to clear new lands, to build new homes and to create new towns. They were Americans. They were builders, conquering

a wilderness and building a nation. They extended a vast expanding continental nation in which democratic government might flourish, unthreatened by foreign force. They established a laboratory--yes, a university--for democratic government, a laboratory with unmatched resources and with men unsatisfied with status quo, men anxious to experiment, restless, adventurous, forward-moving men, and in this laboratory, my fellow Americans, we have achieved unprecedented accelerated progress.

Oh, I know, there have been the know-nothings, and there have been the haters in our society, and some of these almost extinct creatures regrettably exist today in some unlighted corners of our land, but they have, in the long run, been in the minority. There have been times in our history when they seemed to be gaining, (or should I say the rest of us seemed to be losing?) but they have been outnumbered in time and overcome by generations of new Americans dedicated to greater causes and higher goals. Hate finds little comfort and few followers in America. Our American nation, above all others, has rejected the know-nothings and the haters, for we have had through our history, thank goodness, a continuing commitment to moderation and to understanding and, I might add, a disrespect for extremism and those who would destroy.

We've developed a lively partisan political system, but one that recognizes that all significant political decisions

must ultimately be based on the consent of individual man. The new American society, new it is today as it was yesterday, born through the efforts of a Jefferson, a Madison, a Washington, Franklin, Hamilton, also produced Abraham Lincoln to save the Union and to begin the emancipation which the American Negro is now at long last achieving. And that society which produced Lincoln also gave us men to provide general education for the people and broaden social welfare during the time of industrial revolution. It produced Americans willing to open their arms to millions, yea, many millions of tired, hungry and poor, from other nations. It produced a Woodrow Wilson to propose a bold new plan for world justice and peace. It produced a Franklin Roosevelt to save the tree of democracy with its old trunk and new branches, in the face of some who would have cut it down and others who would have let it rot.

It gave us Harry Truman to propose the Marshall Plan and Point IV, and to courageously resist aggression in Europe and in Asia. It gave us Dwight Eisenhower, schooled as a soldier, to devote his life to ending conflict. It gave us a whole generation to fight a world war, and after winning that war, to seek no territory or plunder but, instead, to rebuild the societies of its former enemies and to create new international machinery for peace.

The new America of every generation--it gave us John Kennedy and his vision of a New Frontier and, from this platform,

an end to nuclear war. And it gave us President Lyndon Johnson and his determination to achieve a Great Society in which human opportunity and individual fulfillment might, indeed, be gained by all men and their children, regardless of the color of their skin, their last name, or their religion. And it gives us today the Peace Corps volunteer, bringing hope to strangers, the foreign aid official and the medical technician, working in Vietnam under the threat of death, the VISTA worker seeking to reclaim forgotten people here at home. And it gives us the astronauts circling the earth to expand man's knowledge of the universe, the unknown. The American soldier and marine dying on alien soil, for others, but not in vain. All of this is our new America, and all of this is the sweep of our history.

And I say to these students tonight that it is necessary to know our history, but for this generation of new Americans, it is better that you make history. The standards of the past must serve only as the inspiration for the future.

Now, this world may ask us tonight, "What is the nature of today's new American?" Well, let me tell you what I think his nature is. I see him as the same restless, adventurous, courageous citizen as his forebears. I see this new American--our sons and daughters--as the son or the daughter of a rich nation, and yet a person of troubled conscience, of deep concern for the fate of his less fortunate fellow man. I see

the new American of 1965 as one who has defeated the enemies of freedom, yet extends the hand of cooperation and friendship to build a new and a better world community. I see the new American deeply devoted to his own country, but equally devoted to the aspirations and the hopes of the United Nations. I see the new American surrounded by materialism in abundance, yet questioning its value. Yes, I see him impatient with things as they are, but not at all impetuous for the remedy or judgment--generous, but not patronizing. I see him seeking enlightenment, but not indulging in intellectual snobbery or vanity; respecting the arts, but not detached from reality; motivated by high ideals, but satisfied only with accomplishment. I see him strong and firm, but not belligerent or arrogant. And I see him willing to debate, but also able to decide. The new American of this generation, above all others, believes that the world need not destroy itself by war. He knows that the pursuit of peace is not the work of a weakling, but an act of courage, and that resisting aggression is the duty of free men.

Perhaps these qualities that I see, as I've recited them to you, are those that I just want to see. For, to me, these are the qualities that must characterize the new American in this exciting and uncertain age. But I believe my thinking is not wishful. I know this generation, and I have faith in this generation. I have met and talked with you. I

have seen your concern for the world about you. I know of your commitment to a just peace. Yours is the volunteer generation. You have volunteered for the most difficult tasks around this world, and there are few, indeed, in this generation, who seek the easy way or look selfishly inward. Today there are those that take for granted our role of leader of the free world, just as too many of us take for granted our democratic American heritage.

For a brief moment I ask you to consider this role of leadership, its meaning and requirements, to consider it in the knowledge of your own experience. The mantle of leadership--that mantle is not a cloak of comfort, but the robe of responsibility. Leadership, my fellow Americans, does not permit a person or a nation license or luxury. Leadership imposes responsibility and affords few, if any, privileges. We hear many voices these days saying that our America is overextended in this world, telling us that other people's problems needn't be our problems, telling us to just enjoy the fruits of our prosperity. My friends, when that time comes, and we follow that call, our leadership ends. Who in the world will work for democracy if we do not? Who in the world can preserve the peace if we do not? Who in the world can set the example for equal justice under the law if we do not? And who, in light of our wealth, can share, can help, and can give to the needy, the unfortunate, if we do not? These questions have but one answer. Our role of leadership

demands that we fulfill the responsibilities. We live in a time when everything is complex; when every student, every mother and father know that there are no rapid or easy answers. And beware of those who seek to find the shortcuts and the do-it-yourself easy response. We live in a time when we must exert as never before our patience and our will, but I ask this question--have we the patience? Have we the patience, for instance, to work and to bleed and to give, thousands of miles from home for months and years ahead? I can tell you this that the forces of totalitarianism have that patience. And if we have less, we fail and they win.

We must recognize, therefore, that there are times when American power must be used, and that there is no substitute for power in the face of determined aggression, but we must equally recognize that in resisting aggression in its many faces and forms, military power alone is of little use without political and social reforms, and the promise to the people of a better life. Hope--hope is still the world's most powerful antidote for disaffection and despair. And America has represented the hope of the world for many generations. And we believe, too, that we Americans can help others, even as we help ourselves, to find a better future. So I say to this generation, let us proclaim our beliefs, and let us live them. We do stand for something, and each generation must discover it anew. What is it, then, that makes a new

American? It is his discovery of the commitment of this nation and what it stands for. It is his recognition that we do stand for individual fulfillment of man and woman. We do stand for the chance for each man to make something better of himself. We do stand for opportunity. We stand for free speech, but in many lands it is silenced; for the right of petition, for the redress of grievances. We stand for something that is yet new--government of the people and by the people and for the people, but, above all, this nation stands now, as it has in the past, for peace without conquest. We stand for the belief that others, too, in less fortunate places, should have the opportunity for the blessings of abundance and should be free of tyranny. What a noble cause!

We stand for the pledges made by men and women who left the old continents and made this the new America. In the words of your President, we are grateful for the progress that we, ourselves, have achieved, and we are pleased, and we are determined to press forward--not for our gain, our greatness alone, but rather for the gain and the good of all mankind everywhere. And it is in this spirit that I call on you today.

Have no little dreams. Make no little plans. Reach for the stars. They can be yours. And do not be satisfied with things as they are, because America seeks to be better. Commit yourselves to the ideal that man, governing himself, can, yes, can, perfect a life of opportunity and justice--not

only in America, but for all mankind.

Many is the time that I've wondered if we realized what we were saying when we repeat as children our so-called Pledge of Allegiance. It would appear to me that it would be better to know it than to recite it, to believe it and not just say it. What beautiful words and what a demand upon us. "One nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." A promise, a commitment, to be fulfilled in each generation. So I ask you to be remembered of this generation, as Toynbee says, not for the crimes that we read of, or even the astonishing inventions, but be remembered as the first generation to dare to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race. And, finally, as first Americans--the first Americans--who have lived your lives in this perilous nuclear age, characterized by balance of terror, I ask you to be firm; be persevering; be strong, but be just; be compassionate, but be thoughtful; be devoted to the goal of peace for all men, for all time. For the pursuit of peace is like a religious experience. It resembles the building of a great and mighty cathedral. It is not the work of a day, it is the work of generations. John Kennedy said peace is a process. It is dynamic, it is not static. The building of this mighty cathedral of peace is the work of generations, a process, a commitment. In concept, it requires a master architect; in its execution, the labors of many.

Therefore, make the pursuit of peace the work of your generation. Be the builders, not the destroyers. Do these things, my fellow Americans, with abiding faith and with labor, so that men and women in future generations may speak at a Commencement such as this as free men facing days ahead with hope, with peace, and the promise of a better life.

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