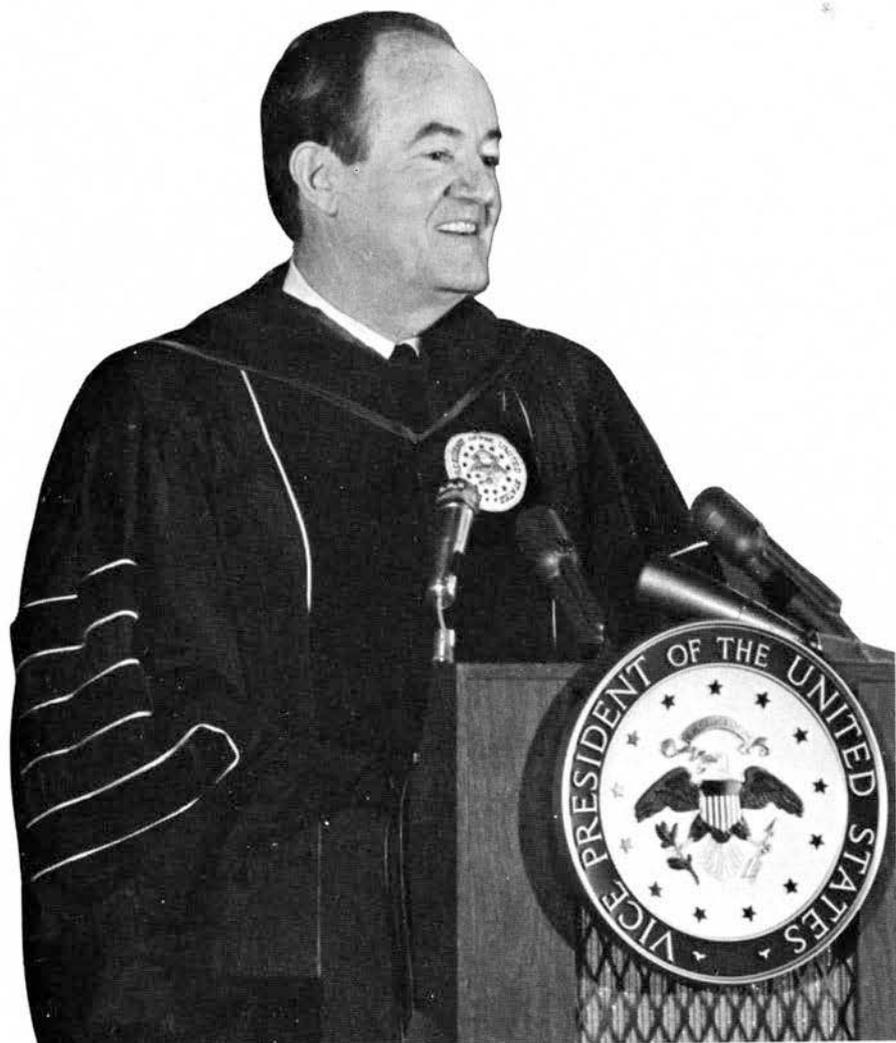


“The Role of American Universities in Today’s World”



“The American university—not just this one, but every one—should be in microcosm what we would wish for American society: A free and open community filled with searching, thinking people—each seeking his own answers in his own way, yet extending full respect for the ideas and life styles of others. This is the meaning of a pluralistic free society.”

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

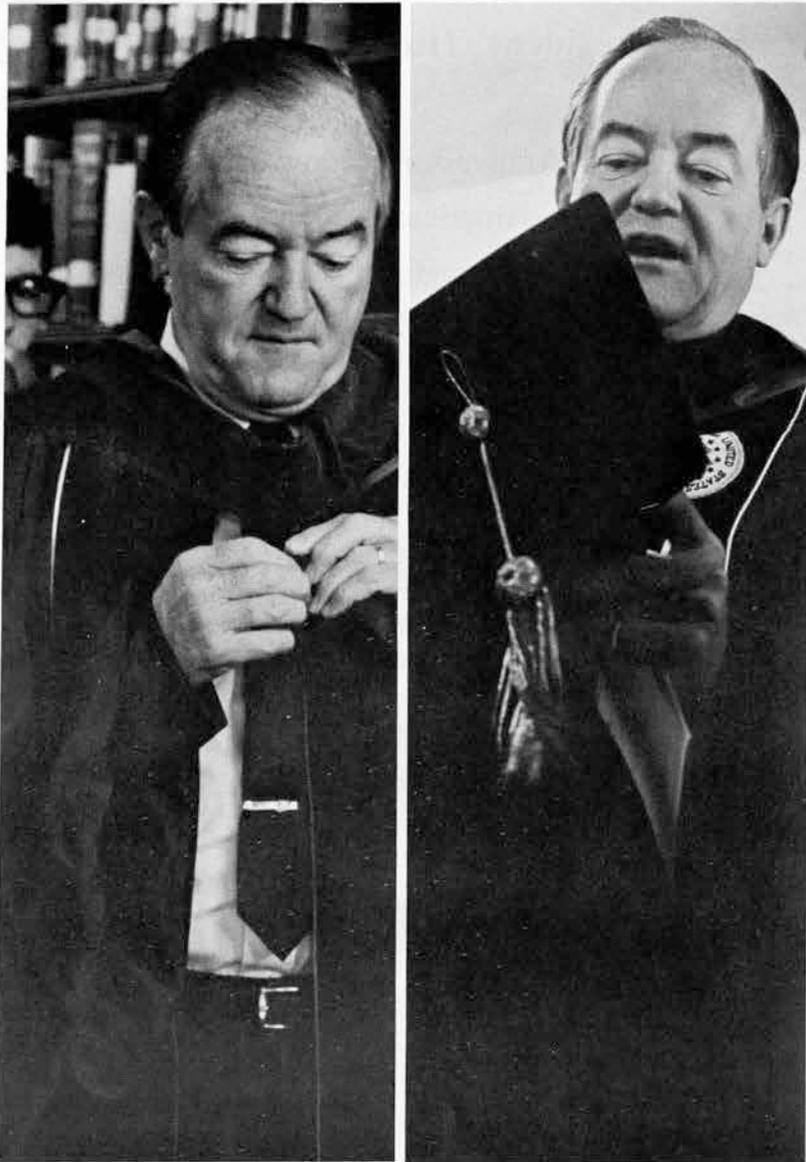
75th Anniversary Convocation

The American University

Washington, D.C.

February 24, 1968





These are times of ferment and change . . . of doubt and exhilaration . . . of danger and opportunity in America.

Many of the things we Americans have always sought are now—really for the first time—within our sight.

But they are still, frustratingly, beyond our reach.

Progress itself has meant rising frustration for many Americans. As de Tocqueville said:

“The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable, become intolerable the moment that it appears that there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable; the suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one’s sensitivity has become more acute.”

Perhaps most difficult of all, there is no magic target date . . . no time when we can say: “This is the time when our work will be over. This is when war will end . . . when the tensions within our own society will abate.”

Once again we are being tested.

We are, as President Kennedy put it, “destined—all of us here today—to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril.”

What is important is that each of us—and each of our democratic institutions—possess the strength, the vitality and the resilience to see through these uncertain times.

Among our citizens, and among our institutions, none must be stronger, more vital or resilient than those associated with the American university.

I want to do some plain talking about what I believe to be the responsibilities of American universities, their students and faculties, to provide both a forum for ferment and platform for progress.

Free Speech and Dissent

It is easy to make the case that this generation of college students is the most responsible we have ever known . . . progress-oriented, concerned, actively involved in public affairs. In fact, I have often made that case.

I doubt that more than a pound or two of goldfish have been swallowed in the last five years. One student to a telephone booth seems to be the accepted standard. Panty raids, for whatever reason, seem to have lost their appeal.

There is the Peace Corps—now 13,000 strong, with over 16,000 alumni and applications coming in faster than ever.

There is VISTA and the Teacher Corps.

Public service announcements clutter dormitory bulletin boards once filled only with party plans.

There were the peaceful sit-ins and the freedom marches of the early 1960's—largely the work of young people.

There are well over 300,000 college students voluntarily helping the disadvantaged.

There are over 500,000 young Americans bravely and patiently serving our country today in Vietnam in a difficult foreign conflict.

There are another 3 million standing guard for our security.

All of that is true. But, in all candor, it is not what represents your generation in much of the public mind today.

The heckler, the rioter, the draft card burner, and the flower child are unfortunately obscuring the Peace Corps volunteer, the veteran, the community action worker and the hard-working student.

The peaceful freedom marcher on the dusty Southern road is being replaced on our livingroom televisions by the shouter of obscenity.

The negative acts of the few, — and I repeat, of the few — are driving out the positive acts of the many.

This new image does not accurately describe the majority of American students today—any more than the old one did.

But there is enough truth in it to tatter the banner under which your generation marches and to undermine the critical role of free universities in our free society.

I am worried about it, and I think it is something all of us ought to worry about.

Our universities should be citadels of our freedom—the guardians and nourishers of free inquiry and expression. For they are the custodians of our cultural heritage and the progenitors of a new day.

They should be the testing ground of any and *all* ideas, even the foolish ones. As Woodrow Wilson once said, “The wisest thing to do with a fool is to encourage him to hire a hall and discourse to his fellow citizens. Nothing chills nonsense like exposure to the air.”

The American university—not just this one, but every one—should be in microcosm what we would wish for American society: A free and open community filled with searching, thinking people—each seeking his own answers in his own way, yet extending full respect for the ideas and life styles of others. This is the meaning of a pluralistic free society.

I fear that, on many American campuses today, that ideal is being threatened.

I fear that freedom of inquiry and expression is being censored.

We should not forget that there are many kinds of censorship.

There is book-burning. Some of you may not remember that there was some of that in this country only 15 years ago.

There is outright proscription.

And there is another censorship—censorship by intimidation. That is the kind I see growing today.

When some Americans cannot visit a university campus in safety—much less make their views heard—censorship is at work.

You say it can't happen in America? It is happening.

I visited Stanford University a year ago for a question and answer session before a group of several thousand students. It was a vigorous give-and-take session. A few walked out at the beginning without listening—imposing self-censorship. The rest of us had a constructive exchange of views.

But as we left the hall, some of us who had been inside were rushed by several hundred who had not even tried to participate in the discussion. We faced a chanting, routing, baiting mob—on a college campus.

My party and I were able to return to our cars only under armed protection. The Secret Servicemen with me were the victims of abuse and had filth thrown on them.

Is that freedom? Is that what we mean by cultural enrichment?

The result was this: The benefits of our constructive dialogue were all but lost. What Americans saw instead on their television screens—and in their newspapers—was the spectacle of their Vice President (not me personally, but the holder of the office) under threat of bodily harm from university students, the favored few among young Americans.

The same kind of thing has happened to Secretary McNamara at Harvard.

Arthur Goldberg, a former Supreme Court Justice and now our Ambassador to the United Nations, has been bullied and harrassed on several campuses. What is his crime? He works for peace. How does he threaten young Americans? His life is a testimonial to peace and racial justice, from defense of the oppressed worker, if you please, to the great cause of the United Nations.

I am not making a special case for members of the Administration. I am talking, too, about the George Wallaces at Dartmouth. I am talking about all the citizens of our nation who have the basic right to be heard—not necessarily to be taken seriously, *but to be heard*.

I've heard the angry voices a thousand times:

"No freedom of speech for reactionaries" . . . "No freedom of speech for socialists" . . . "No freedom of speech for warmongers" . . . "No freedom of speech for peaceniks" it soon becomes "No freedom of speech for anyone."

The university that requires 100 armed policemen to escort a member of the President's cabinet, or anyone else, to and from the podium, has to ask itself some serious questions. (I didn't have to have that here today, and I am deeply grateful to this university for the example it sets.)

If abuse, violence, obscenity, harrassment, and storm-trooper tactics have no place in our peaceful American society, they are dangerous in the extreme when they obscure and disrupt the purposes of a great university.

Sit-ins are not nearly as impressive as think-ins, and walk-outs never equalled a good talk-it-out.

The rhythmic chant of a noisy claue is not dialogue and debate. Muscle cannot substitute for mind.

The law of the jungle and the school of law cannot coexist.

Fascists, Communists, racists . . . cross-burners, book-burners, flag-burners . . . all of them share a basic intolerance for the views of others.

The next step is intolerance for the *rights* of others.

History is strewn with tangled wreckage left by militant minorities—each of which thought it had cornered the market in social justice and virtue, and had discovered the True Belief to the exclusion of all others.

What can you do?

Reverse the trend . . . bring free speech to a new high, rather than a new low . . . guarantee safe conduct on your campuses for *every* idea and for everyone.

Tutor America in freedom and liberty, not bigotry and violence.

The University and the Community

But the times demand even more of America's universities.

Free speech alone does not mean a free society.

Debate alone does not mean development.

Protest alone does not mean peace.

Study alone is not building.

With all their resources of knowledge and vitality, America's universities must become community action centers for an assault on the practical inequities that still limit freedom in our society. "The great end of life is not knowledge," said Huxley, "but action."

Freedom . . . human development and peace are the products of a lifetime—many lifetimes—of small and often obscure acts undertaken by people able to look beyond themselves.

Our most urgent domestic challenge today—to provide full and equal opportunity to *every* American—is *not* susceptible to dramatic or instant solution.

This is the time for Getting Down To It. We're past the time of the Grand and Dramatic Gesture—as noble as it may be.

Sit-ins are not going to produce job skills.

Banners and placards proclaiming justice are not going to unsnarl the tangled legacy of discrimination and second-class citizenship that is crushing millions of Americans today.

The solutions lie in long, hard, undramatic work—work which seldom puts your picture in the paper and won't get you a fifteen-second news clip on the seven o'clock news.

Project HEETH, is a good way to get started.

True, it is only a conference—although I hope it will be the first of many.

It is the beginning of a commitment by Washington's institutions of higher learning to help defeat the infection of blighted opportunity that besets our federal city.

I need not recite the considerable efforts of the past few years to come to grips with the crisis of urban America. Much has been done; far more needs to be done.

The big lesson of our times is that the federal government alone, no matter how great its efforts, can't rebuild society—and it shouldn't. We're a free people. The rebuilding has to be done by the people themselves, by society itself, through an intimate partnership for progress consisting of government at every level, business, labor, private and community organizations, and especially our universities.

And here I will engage in the plainest of talk:

I think the educational institution has to move back into the community. It must not be an ivory tower, but a tower of strength in the daily life of the people. Universities are not designed to be meadows of meditation alone.

I believe that each university which gains its support from either public or community sources—or from a private source on the basis of that university's contribution to the society as a whole—has an obligation to involve itself and its students, in its own time and place, for the practical betterment of that society.

Is this a new idea? Not at all.

The Land Grant colleges—one of America's noblest contributions to education—have improved the quality of life all over America. Public service is now a tradition in our great state universities as well.

Now, more than ever, we need a new affirmation of that tradition.

We have university participation in the War on Poverty, in creating Model Cities, in Community Action—but largely on the part of well-paid consultants. We need universities, students and faculty with their sleeves rolled up for practical engagement in the communities just outside their gates.

What does that mean?

— Twelve hours a week in the classroom and perhaps five in the "lab" of the ghetto youth center for student and faculty alike?

— Accepting those students not qualified under normal standards because their community needs them back as trained citizens?

— That the injunction to faculty members should be not "publish or perish" but "participate and perform?"

I believe so.

America's communities need help with the mundane but vital work of revising city charters, reforming state legislatures, building new and equitable tax structures, creating regional or metropolitan political institutions—help which is available in some places only from university faculty members.

The concerned professor who will spend even as little as an evening a week in an inner city neighborhood committee meeting can help people on the fringe of American society articulate their needs . . . and shape their own programs . . . when it comes to housing, job training and urban development.

As Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, I can tell you we need the help of students and faculty alike to keep our schools open 12 months a year as beacons of hope for disadvantaged children.

We need your help to provide recreational and job opportunities for needy American youngsters in the summer of 1968.

And might I say to you what I've said to my own family. Every boy and girl, every man and woman, privileged to have a university education, owes half of his life at least to the rest of the community that made it possible.

No one ever paid his way through a university. Who can pay for the art treasures, the literature, the science, the accumulated knowledge of centuries? Those of us in this society who are privileged to have a university education are forever indebted to the multitude. Maybe if you live to be seventy-five, like this university, you will have paid the interest on the gift that was given to you—if you participate.

Freedom and Responsibility

Last Sunday the *Washington Post* reported that the Association of American Colleges, the National Student Association and other

groups responsible for the quality of American universities had endorsed a "Joint Statement on Rights and Freedoms of Students."

Among those rights and freedoms were these:

— Students should be free to hear whatever speakers and form whatever organizations they wish.

— Students should participate in drafting rules of campus conduct. (And, I might add, they should participate in seeing that they are obeyed.)

— Colleges should clearly distinguish their own rules from city, state, and national laws and "Institutional authority should never be used merely to duplicate the function of general laws."

Yes, a Bill of Rights—a sound one, and familiar enough. It deserves support and acceptance.

But will it mean greater responsibility, greater freedom, greater service to society?

Or will it be a license to cheat when it comes to the tough business of democratic living?

Your answer will be a fateful one, for as Goethe said, "The destiny of any nation, at any given time, depends on the opinions of the young men (and young women, let me add) under five-and-twenty."

The beacon of your freedoms . . . or the contamination of your license . . . will extend far beyond your campuses—into American society and the world at large.

I think it is time, therefore, that we—all of us, students and non students alike—dedicate ourselves to a far wider Bill of Rights—a Bill of Rights, and consonant Responsibilities, for the 21st Century.

The right to peace—so that man may live and hope free from the threat of those who would march to power through brute force.

The right to justice—so that every man everywhere may stand before his peers with full and equal opportunity to achieve his highest humanity.

The right to free expression—so that man may speak and be heard without intimidation, unfettered and unthreatened by either majority or minority.

The right to education—so that no man may be another's slave through the denial of skills or knowledge.

The right to public accountability—so that man may remain the master of the state, rather than the state the master of man.

The right to full opportunity—so that man may lift himself to the limit of his ability, no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion, or his birth.

The right to public compassion—so that man may live with the knowledge that his health, his well-being, his old-age are the concern of his society.

The right to movement and free association—so that man may freely move and choose his friends without coercion.

The right to privacy—so that man may be free from the heavy hand of the snoopers, the watchers and the listeners.

The right to rest and recreation—so that the necessity of labor may not cripple human development and cultural attainment.

The right to a safe and wholesome environment—a decent home and neighborhood, clean air, and protection of the law.

Those are the rights we seek at home and in the world.

But they will not be achieved without the exercise of responsibilities:

The responsibility to participate, lest abstention leave the initiative to those who would exploit us.

The responsibility of public service—lest service be to self rather than to fellow man.

The responsibility to support the rule of law—lest the law of the jungle engulf us at home and abroad.

The responsibility to protect ideals in the face of force—lest vision be lost and expediency become a habit.

The responsibility to respect and defend the rights of others—lest freedom become license.

These are rights and responsibilities worthy of free people.

These are rights emanating from mankind's deepest human needs. These are responsibilities in keeping with man's highest capacities.

But neither these rights nor those responsibilities will be fully realized in America until we prove worthy of them.

I call on you as citizens of your university and of your country to make the image of your generation one of such clarity that there can be no misunderstanding of it.

— An image not of despair, but of hope;

— Not of selfishness, but of selflessness;

— Not of escapism but of open challenge to the hard realities of our time.

Never has a land had so much—powerful, rich, equipped with great capacity, tremendous ability, great universities with almost 7,000,000 of our young men and women now attending them. But as Thomas Huxley wrote when he visited America a century ago: “I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness or your material resources as such. Size is not grandeur and territory does not make a nation. The great issue about which hangs the terror of overhanging fate is what are you going to do with these things.”

“Who shall speak for the people?” Carl Sandburg asked.

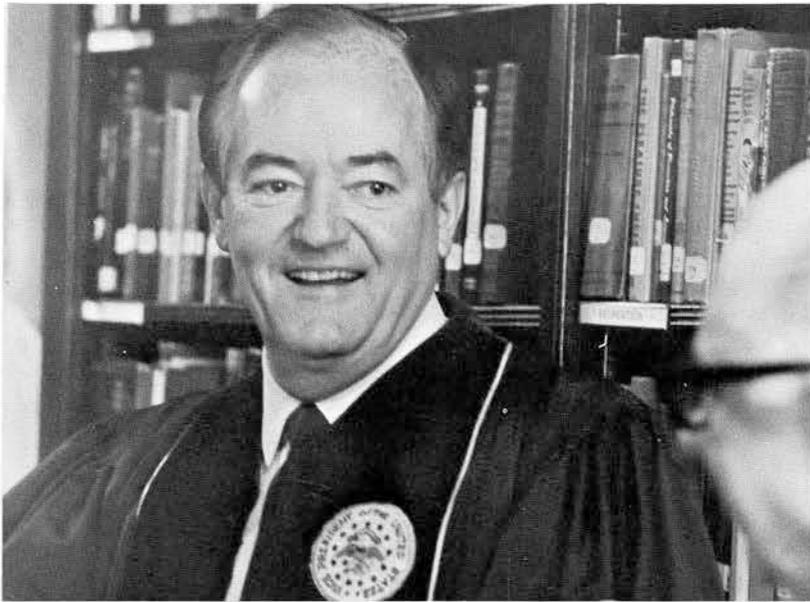
“Who has the answers?”

“Where is the sure interpreter?”

“Who knows what to say?”

More important, my young friends: Who can do what must be done . . . if this America of ours is to stand one day as the place where the rights of man were fully and finally achieved because the responsibilities of man were fully and freely exercised?

You are the ones; we are the ones. Together.





- ✓ Dr. Herbert Anderson
- ✓ The Reverend John Wesley Lord
- ✓ Senator Jordan

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

75th ANNIVERSARY CONVOCATION — *my son, 1965*

THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY

WASHINGTON, D.C.

FEBRUARY 24, 1968

*Bob Hope - Kearse
 "my advice to you
 young graduates
 about to go out into
 the world - Don't do it!"*

↳ These are times of ferment and change... of doubt and exhilaration... of danger and opportunity in America.

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↳ But they are still, frustratingly, beyond our reach.

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↳ Perhaps most difficult of all, there is no magic target date...no time when we can say: "This is the time when our work will be over. This is when war will end... when the tensions within our own society will abate."

↳ Once again we are being tested.

We are, as President Kennedy put it, "destined -- all of us here today -- to live out most if not all of our lives in uncertainty and challenge and peril."

↳ What is important is that each of us -- and each of our democratic institutions -- possess the strength, the vitality and the resilience to see us through these uncertain times.

↳ Among our citizens, and among our institutions, none must be stronger, more vital or resilient than those associated with the American university.

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In fact, I have often made that case -- and it stands the
test of Cross examination.

I doubt that more than a pound or two of goldfish have been swallowed in the last five years. \angle One student

to a telephone booth seems to be the accepted standard. *and -*

\angle Panty raids, for whatever reason, seem to have lost their appeal. *my how things have changed !!*

\angle There is the Peace Corps -- now 13 thousand strong, with over 16 thousand alumni, and applications coming in *now* faster than ever.

\angle There is VISTA and the Teacher Corps.

\angle Public service announcements clutter dormitory bulletin boards once filled with party plans.

\angle There were the peaceful sit-ins and the freedom marches of the early 1960's -- largely the work of young people.

\angle There are well over 300 thousand college students voluntarily helping the disadvantaged.

↳ There are over 500 thousand young Americans bravely and patiently serving our country today in Vietnam in a difficult ^{+complex} foreign conflict.

↳ There are another 3 million standing guard for our security - here and around the world.

↳ All of that is true. But, in all candor, it is not what represents your generation in much of the public mind today.

↳ The heckler, the rioter, the draft card burner, and the flower child are unfortunately obscuring the Peace Corps, the volunteer ~~and~~ the veteran, and the hard working student.

↳ The peaceful freedom marcher on the dusty Southern road is being replaced on our livingroom televisions by the shouter of obscenity and hate.

↳ The negative acts of the few are driving out the positive acts of the many. What a tragedy -
How unfortunate - yet there it is!

↳ This new image does not accurately describe the majority of American students today -- any more than the old one did.

↳ But there is enough truth in it to tatter the banner under which your generation marches and to undermine the critical role of free universities in our free society.

↳ I am worried about it, and I think it is something you ought to worry about, too!

↳ Our universities should be citadels of our freedom -- the guardians and nourishers of free inquiry and expression. ~~For~~ they are the custodians of our cultural heritage and the progenitors of a new day!

↳ They should be the testing ground of any and all ideas, even the foolish ones! As Woodrow Wilson once said, "The wisest thing to do with a fool is to encourage him to hire a hall and discourse to his fellow citizens. Nothing chills nonsense like exposure to the air."

↳ The American university -- not just this one, but every one -- should be ^{Nike-Crow-Coast} ~~an~~ microcosm what we would wish for American society. A free and open community filled with searching, ^{inquiring,} thinking people -- each seeking his own answers in his own way, yet extending full respect for the ideas and life styles of others. This is the meaning of a pluralistic free society.

↳ I fear that, on many American campuses today, that ideal is being threatened.

↳ I fear that freedom of inquiry and expression is being censored! ^{yes-censored!}

↳ We should not forget that there are many kinds of censorship.

↳ There is book-burning. Some of you may not remember that there was some of ~~that~~ ^{in our} this country only 15 years ago.

My party and I were able to return to our cars
only under armed protection. (The Secret Servicemen

with me were the victims of abuse and had filth

thrown on them. *Do this freedom - do this cultural enrichment!*

(The result was this: The benefits of our constructive
dialogue were all but lost. ^{and,} What Americans saw ~~instead~~

on their television screens -- and in their newspapers --

was the spectacle of their Vice President (not me

personally, but the holder of the office) under threat

of bodily harm from ~~young Americans.~~ *University students - the favored few in America.*

(The same kind of thing ~~was~~ happened to Secretary

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(Arthur Goldberg, a former Supreme Court Justice

and now our Ambassador to the United Nations, has been

bullied and harrassed on several campuses. *Yet, what*

is his crime - his threat to young Americans. His life is a testimonial to Peace and Justice.

now, I am not making a special case for members of the Administration. I am talking, too, about the George Wallaces at Dartmouth. I am talking about all the citizens of our nation who have the basic right to be heard not necessarily to be taken seriously, but to be heard!

Here the Voice Sheet

↳ "No freedom of speech for reactionaries"... "No freedom of speech for socialists"... "No freedom of speech for warmongers"... No freedom of speech for peaceniks"... and soon ^{it} becomes "No freedom of speech for anyone."

↳ The university that requires 100 armed policemen to escort a member of the President's cabinet, or anyone else, to and from the podium, has to ask itself some serious questions.

↳ If abuse, violence, obscenity, harrassment, and storm-trooper tactics have no place in our peaceful American society, they are dangerous in the extreme when they obscure and disrupt the purposes of a great university.

↳ The rhythmic chant of a noisy clique is not
dialogue and debate.

↳ Muscle cannot substitute for mind!

↳ The law of the jungle and the school of law cannot
coexist *on the same campus.*

↳ Fascists, Communists, racists... cross-burners,
book-burners, flag-burners... all of them share a basic
intolerance for the views of others.

and ↳ The next step is intolerance for the rights of others.

↳ History is strewn with tangled wreckage left by
militant minorities -- each of which thought it had
cornered the market in social justice and virtue, and had
discovered the True Belief to the exclusion of all others.

↳ What can you do? — *well* —

Reverse the trend... bring free speech to a new high,
rather than a new low... guarantee safe conduct on your
campuses for every idea and for everyone. *Make our*

universities safe havens, ~~for~~ welcome

hosts, receptors and responsible environments for ideas, ^{for opinions} and those who advocate them.

↳ Tutor America in freedom and liberty, not bigotry and violence.

Set the example for mature responsible conduct. Repudiate those who confuse freedom with license.

↳ ~~But~~ The times demand even more of America's universities.

↳ Free speech alone does not mean a free society.

↳ Debate alone does not mean development.

↳ Protest alone does not mean peace.

↳ Study alone is not building.

↳ With all their resources of knowledge and vitality,

America's universities must become "community action centers"

for an assault on the practical inequities that still limit freedom in our society.

↳ Freedom... human development and peace are the products of a lifetime -- many lifetimes -- of small and often obscure acts undertaken by people able to look beyond themselves.

↳ Our most urgent domestic challenge today — to provide full and equal opportunity to every American -- is not susceptible to dramatic or instant solution.

↳ This is the time for "Getting Down To It!" We're past the time of the Grand and Dramatic Gesture -- as noble as it may be.

↳ Sit-ins are not going to produce job skills.

↳ Banners and placards proclaiming justice are not going to unsnarl the tangled legacy of discrimination and second-class citizenship that is crushing millions of Americans today. Protests are not synonymous with Peace and Progress.

↳ The solutions lie in long, hard, undramatic work -- work which seldom puts your picture in the paper.

↳ Project HEETH is a good way to get started.

↳ True, it is only a conference • ~~although I hope~~
~~it will be the first of many~~

But it can be

It is the beginning of a commitment by Washington's
institutions of higher learning to help defeat the infection
of blighted opportunity that besets ~~the~~ *our Federal City.*

↳ I need not recite the considerable federal efforts of
the past few years to come to grips with the crisis of

urban America - *efforts in health, in Education, in jobs
and in Combating Poverty.*

But - The big lesson of our times is that the federal government
alone -- no matter how ^{great} ~~large~~ its efforts -- can't rebuild

society. ↳ The rebuilding has to be done by society itself,
through an intimate "partnership for progress" consisting
of government at every level, business, labor, private and
community organizations, and especially our universities.

↳ And here I will engage in the plainest of talk.

I think that the educational institution must move back into the community. It must abandon some of its aspirations for isolation. It must ~~be not a tower of ivory~~ ^{not be an Ivory Tower,} but a tower of strength in the daily life of our people.

We must go back to the early European ideas of the university as part of the city, and away from the English idea -- so prevalent here in the 1800's -- that the institution of higher learning must be isolated from life by acres and acres of well-tended lawn. ^{not meadows of meditation} ^{but areas of action.}

I believe that each university which gains its support from either public, private or community sources has an obligation to involve itself and its students, in its own time and place, for the practical betterment of society.

Is this a new idea? Not at all.

"The great end of life is not knowledge, but action"
T. Huxley

↳ The Land Grant colleges -- one of America's noblest contributions to education -- have improved the quality of life all over America. ↳ Public service is now a tradition in our great state universities as well.

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↳ We need universities, students and faculty with their sleeves rolled up for practical engagement in the communities just outside their gates.

↳ What does that mean? ^{well} It may mean --

-- Twelve hours a week in the classroom and perhaps five in the "lab" of the ghetto youth center for student and faculty alike; It may mean --

↳ -- Accepting those students not qualified under normal standards because the community needs them back as trained citizens;

It may mean -

-- That the injunction to faculty members ~~should not be~~
"publish or perish" ^{is changed to} "participate and perform" -- and to
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mundane but vital work of revising city charters, reforming
state legislatures, building new and equitable tax structures,
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Public welfare, law enforcement -- help which is available in
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As Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, I can tell you, we need the help of students and faculty alike to keep our schools open 12 months a year as beacons of hope for disadvantaged children. We must maximize the use of our resources for those who need + require the extra effort - the helping hand to Self reliance.

The Educational,

Yes, We need your help to provide recreational and job opportunities for needy American youngsters in the summer of 1968.

~~→~~ * *

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↳ Yes, a Bill of Rights -- a sound one, and familiar enough. It deserves support and acceptance.

↳ But will it mean greater responsibility, greater freedom, greater service to society?

↳ Or will it be a license to cheat when it comes to the tough business of democratic living?

↳ Your answer will be a fateful one, for as ^{Goethe} Goethe said, "The destiny of any nation, at any given time, depends on the opinions of the young men under five-and-twenty."

↳ The beacon of your freedoms...or the contamination of your license...will extend far beyond your campuses -- into American society and the world at large.

↳ I think it is time, therefore, that we -- all of us, students and non students alike -- dedicate ourselves to a far wider Bill of Rights -- a Bill of Rights, and consonant Responsibilities, for the 21st Century.

I might add young women too.

↳ The right to peace -- so that man may live and hope free from the threat of those who would march to power through brute force.

↳ The right to justice -- so that every man everywhere may stand before his peers with full and equal opportunity to achieve his highest humanity.

↳ The right to free expression -- so that man may speak and be heard without intimidation, unfettered and unthreatened by either majority or minority.

↳ The right to education -- so that no man may be another's slave through the denial of skills or knowledge.

↳ The right to public accountability -- so that man may remain the master of the state, rather than the state the master of man. !

↳ The right to full opportunity -- so that man may lift himself to the limit of his ability, no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion, or his birth.

↳ The right to public compassion -- so that man may live with the knowledge that his health, his well-being, his old-age are the concern of his society.

↳ The right to movement and free association -- so that man may freely move and choose his friends without coercion.

↳ The right to privacy -- so that man may be free from the heavy hand of the snoopers, the watchers and the listeners.

↳ The right to rest and recreation -- so that the necessity of labor may not cripple human development and cultural attainment.

↳ The right to a safe and wholesome environment -- a decent home and neighborhood, clean air, and full protection of the law.

↳ These are the rights we seek at home and in the world.

↳ But they will not be achieved without the exercise of responsibilities: - ~~equal~~ Right

↳ The responsibility to participate, lest abstention leave the initiative to those who would exploit us.

↳ The responsibility of public service -- lest service be to self rather than to fellow man.

↳ The responsibility to support the rule of law -- lest the law of the jungle engulf us at home and abroad.

↳ The responsibility to protect ideals in the face of force -- lest vision be lost and expediency become a habit.

↳ The responsibility to respect and defend the rights of others -- lest freedom become license.

↳ These are rights and responsibilities worthy of free men.

↳ These are rights emanating from mankind's deepest human needs. ↳ These are responsibilities in keeping with man's highest capacities.

↳ But neither these rights nor these responsibilities will be fully realized in America until we prove worthy of them.

I call on you as citizens of your university and of your country to make the image of your generation one of such clarity that there can be no misunderstanding of it.

-- An image not of despair, but of hope;

-- Not of selfishness, but of selflessness;

-- Not of escapism but of open challenge to the
hard realities of our time. (~~Handwritten scribble~~)

"Who shall speak for the people?" Carl Sandburg asked.

"Who has the answers?"

"Where is the sure interpreter?"

"Who knows what to say?"

More important, my young friends: Who can do what
must be done? if this America of ours is to stand
one day as the place where the rights of man were fully
and finally achieved because the responsibilities of man
were fully and freely exercised.

You are the ones.

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(Transcribed directly from the tape at the time of the speech)

Return to Doug Bennett

ADDRESS BY THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES, AT THE
75TH ANNIVERSARY CONVOCATION OF CHARTER DAY
AT THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY - FEBRUARY 24, 1968
Washington, D. C.

Thank you, Mr. Parlin.

President Anderson, and President of the Student Association,
President Goldman (wherever I go I am always addressing presidents
--even when he's out of town, I am greeted by a letter), Bishop John
Wesley Lord, Members of the Board of Trustees, Distinguished Educators
from our colleges and universities of the Federal City and this immediate
area, (I know that all of you must feel as I do at this moment how privileged
we are today to participate in these proceedings and to hear The American
University Singers. I just want to take a moment before I get away from
here at least to congratulate them publicly and congratulate their director
in this Music Department. It was beautiful!), Members of the Faculty
and Students and Friends of this University:

I think, first of all, I should tell you why I am here. I was asked
by two United States Senators; and the Vice President never, never turns
down a United States Senator. Secondly, my son--my oldest son--is a
graduate of this great university, and I was here for his Commencement
Exercises in 1965. I am here, too, because of my great admiration for
Dr. Hurst Anderson.

Now I listened to him explain how he got his name. I wish you would
all take note of the fact that my name is Hubert H. Humphrey. That "H"
could be "Hurst"--but it is not, and I haven't the slightest idea why my

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mother and father named me--my middle name--Horatio. It was bad enough to start with Hubert! But I thought that if there was any way that any of you might have been of a mind that I was going to deceive you by indicating that my middle name was Hurst--I thought we ought to set the record clear today.

I was pleased to note the bipartisan approach of Dr. Anderson in his remarks. I did note, however, that the charter came under the administration of President Harrison. I noticed he also made particular reference to Rutherford B. Hayes, and I might mention that they are not Democrats. But thanks for at least noting Woodrow Wilson and a casual and friendly reference, even with a sort of tearful note, to the New Deal. It did make me feel a little more comfortable for this particular moment.

Now I have looked forward to this privilege of being with the students and with the faculty and friends of this University. These are the most difficult of times, the most difficult of times to speak, to live, to act. They're times of ferment and change; they're times of doubt and exhilaration, of danger and opportunity. Bob Hope, in speaking to a Georgetown Commencement sometime ago, said: "My advice to you, young graduates about to go out into the world, don't do it." Well, may I say that there is an old British cynic who also said that he had looked into the future and he came to the conclusion it wouldn't work. Now I am not going to buy that negative philosophy because truthfully many of the things that we Americans have

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always sought are now really for the first time within our sight; but they are still frustratingly, despite being within our sight, beyond our reach. Progress itself has meant rising frustration for many Americans; we call it rising expectations for others. And that great French sociologist and political economist, de Tocqueville, who seemed to know so much about America that is pertinent to our day, had this to say: "The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears there might be an escape."

Reform, then, not only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable. The suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but one's sensitivity has become more acute. What an insight into the modern America and the modern world!

Perhaps most difficult of all, there is no magic target date, no time when we can say: "This is the time when our work will be over; this is when the war will end, when the tensions within our society will abate." And yet we are so anxious. I was much touched with the remarks of your President of your Student Association--the zeal, the conviction, the determination. And I think what we're saying to each other is that once again we are being tested. We are, as President Kennedy put it when he said that peace and freedom do not come cheaply, we are destined, all of us here today, to live out most, if not all, of our lives in uncertainty, and challenge, and peril. The words really of a prophet as well as a statesman! What is

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important is that each of us, and each of our democratic institutions, possess the strength, the vitality, the resilience, and, as individuals, the faith to see us through these uncertain times. This very same message was delivered on this campus by the late President Kennedy when he spoke here at your Commencement.

Now among our citizens and among our institutions, none must be stronger, more vital, or more resilient than those associated with the American university. And I want, if you will permit me, to do some plain talking about what I believe to be the responsibilities of American universities--their students and their faculties and their administration--to provide both a forum for ferment and a platform for progress. You see, my life is a rather uncertain one. I like to talk about universities; I may be back teaching. Who knows!

Now, it's easy to make the case that this generation of college students is the most responsible that we've ever known. It's progress-oriented; it's concerned, actively involved in public affairs. In fact, I have made this case often, and it stands the test of cross-examination. I doubt that more than a pound or two of goldfish have been swallowed in the last five years; and one student to a telephone booth seems to be the accepted standard. And, lo and behold, even panty raids, for some reason, seem to have lost

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their appeal. My goodness, how things have changed! Now there is the Peace Corps today, now 13,000 strong with over 16,000 alumni--and applications coming in right now faster than ever before. There is VISTA, Project Upward Bound; there is the Teachers Corps, and public service announcements clutter dormitory bulletin boards that once were filled with but party plans.

There were peaceful sit-ins and freedom marches in the early 1960's --and largely the work of young people, many of them from our universities. There are well over 300,000 college students this year who are engaged in helping voluntarily the disadvantaged--many of them in tutorial work. There are over 500,000 young Americans bravely and patiently serving our country today in Vietnam in a difficult and complex and ugly foreign conflict. There are another 3,000,000 young Americans standing guard for our security at home and abroad. Now, every bit of this is true, and it speaks well for the sacrifices and the achievements of this younger generation. But, in all candor, it is not what appears to represent your generation in the public mind or in many of the minds of our people right now. And this is what bothers me, worries me, and gives me heartache. The heckler, the rioter, the draft-card burner, the flower child are unfortunately obscuring the Peace Corps, the volunteer in community action, the veteran, and that hard-working student. The peaceful freedom-marcher

on that dusty Southern road is being replaced on our living-room televisions by the shouter of obscenity and hate. The negative acts of the few, and I repeat, of the few, are driving out the positive acts of the many. What a tragedy! How unfortunate! Yet there it is, and we had just as well face up to it.

The new image that I speak of does not accurately describe the majority of American students today any more than the old one did, but there is enough truth in what I've said, enough truth in that image to tatter the banner under which this generation marches and to undermine the critical role of free universities in a free society. So I'm worried about it as a former teacher, as a parent, as a citizen; and I think it's something that all of us ought to worry about.

Our universities should be citadels of freedom, the guardians and the nourishers of free inquiry and expression in the search for truth. They are the custodians of our cultural heritage, and they should be the progenitors of a new day. They should be the testing ground of any and all ideas, even the foolish ones. As Woodrow Wilson, who has been referred to today, once said: "The wisest thing to do with a fool is to encourage him to hire a hall and to discourse to his fellow citizens. Nothing chills nonsense like exposure to fresh air." The American university, and not just this one but every one, should be in microcosm

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what we would wish for the American society. It should be a free and open community filled with searching, inquiring, and thinking people, each seeking his own answers in his own way yet extending full respect for the ideas and the life styles of others.

Now this, to me, is the meaning of our pluralistic society; but I fear that on many American campuses today that ideal is being blemished and in some places threatened. I fear that freedom of inquiry and expression is being censored. Yes, I repeat, censored; and we should not forget that there are many kinds of censorship. There is the old-fashioned book burning. Some of you may not remember that there was some of this in our country only about fifteen years ago. There is outright proscription -- just deny people the right to speak and to write. There is another censorship, censorship by intimidation, and this is the kind that I see growing today. When some Americans find it difficult to, or even cannot, visit a university campus in safety, much less make their views heard, censorship is at work. You say it can't happen here in America? Well, I say it has happened, and it is happening.

Let me be specific. I visited a great campus, Stanford University, a year ago for a question-and-answer session with a group of several thousand students. It was a vigorous give-and-take session. Excellent!

A few, yes a few, walked out without listening, imposing self-censorship; in fact, they didn't even know what I was going to say (and I wasn't so sure myself!). The rest of us, however, had a constructive, if vigorous and if filled with controversy, exchange of views. But, as we left the hall, some of us who had been inside were literally set upon, rushed by several hundred who had not even tried to get in or to participate in the discussion. We faced a chanting, ranting, hating mob, and on a college campus--not in the streets, but on a college campus!

Now, my party and I were able to return to our cars only under armed protection. (I always have plenty of it; it's no problem for me.) The Secret Service men who were with me were the victims of abuse and had filth thrown upon them. I ask this question: "Is this freedom? Is this what we mean by cultural enrichment?" What was the result? The benefits of our constructive dialogue with several thousand students, all good students, were all but lost. The media was not interested in what happened inside but what happened outside. And what Americans saw on their television screens and in their newspapers was the spectacle of an officer of this government--in this instance it happened to be the Vice President, not me, but the holder of this office--under threat

of bodily harm from what, they said, were university students, who are, as I have been, the favored few in America.

Now the same kind of thing happened to Secretary McNamara, a Ph.D. in his own right, a scholar, a brilliant man--and it happened at Harvard. Arthur Goldberg, if ever a progressive man he is one, a former Supreme Court Justice, and now our Ambassador at the United Nations, has been bullied, shoved, harassed on several campuses. Yet what is his crime? He works for peace. His threat--what is his threat to young Americans? His life is a testimonial to peace and social justice, starting with the least of these, the oppressed worker, if you please, to the great cause of the United Nations.

Now I'm not making any special plea for members of the administration. Harry Truman said, "If you can't take the heat, get out of the kitchen." Now I happen to think that's true. We in public life are a little bit different. But I'm talking too not only about administration people, but I'm talking about George Wallace, who went to Dartmouth. I don't agree with what he says but I recall something about Voltaire (and I can only paraphrase it), who said he did not need to agree with what you said but he would defend unto death your right to say it. So I'm talking about all the citizens of our nation, who, if they want to, should have the basic right to be heard--not necessarily to be taken seriously, but to be heard.

Now listen! Hear the voices (and I've heard them a thousand times), hear them shout: "No freedom of speech for reactionaries; no freedom of speech for those Socialists; no freedom of speech for warmongers; no freedom of speech for peaceniks." And soon it becomes, "No freedom of speech for anyone!"

Now if a university requires a hundred armed policeman to escort a member of the President's cabinet, or anyone else, to and from a podium, it has to ask itself some serious questions. Now I didn't have to have that here today, and I'm deeply grateful to this University for the example that it sets. But what I am saying, and what I have said to some of the young students of this area, is: "Let us set an example. If abuse, violence, obscenity, harassment, and storm-trooper tactics have no place in our peaceful American society--and we say they don't--they are dangerous in the extreme when they obscure and disrupt the purposes of a great university."

Sit-ins are not nearly as impressive as think-ins, and walk-outs never equaled a good talking-it-out. The rhythmic chant of a noisy clap is not dialogue in debate. Muscle cannot substitute for the mind. The law of the jungle and the school of law cannot coexist on a campus. Fascists, Communists, racists, cross-burners, book burners, flag burners --all of them share a basic intolerance for the views of others, and the

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next step is intolerance for the rights of others. And history is strewn with the tangled wreckage left by militant minorities, each of which thought it had cornered the market in social justice and virtue and had discovered the true belief to the exclusion of all others.

Now what can we do about it? Well, simply reverse the trend--bring free speech to a new high rather than to a new low. Guarantee, fellow students, to anyone safe conduct on your campus for every idea, for everyone. Make your universities safe havens, welcome hosts, receptive and responsible environments for ideas and opinions, even if you don't like them and those who advocate them. Tutor America in true freedom and liberty, not bigotry and violence. Set the example for mature, responsible conduct; and repudiate those who confuse freedom with license, liberty with abuse. You see, I believe that the times demand even more today than ever of America's universities. Free speech alone does not make for a free society; debate alone does not necessarily mean development; protest alone does not always mean peace; study alone is not necessarily building. With all their resources and knowledge and vitality, American universities must become community action centers for an assault upon the practical inequities that still limit freedom in our society.

The purpose of life is not knowledge, said Huxley, but action grounded in knowledge. Freedom and human development and peace are not the products

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of a moment but of a lifetime, and many lifetimes; and they're also the product of small and often obscure acts undertaken by people able to look a little beyond themselves. Our most urgent domestic challenge of today is to provide full and equal opportunity to every American; and this is not susceptible to dramatic and instant solution, but it is susceptible to solution. This is the time for getting down to it. We're past the grand and dramatic gesture, as noble as it may be. Sit-ins are not going to produce job skills; banners and placards proclaiming justice are not going to unsnarl the tangled legacy of discrimination and second-class citizenship that is crushing out the spirit of millions of Americans today. Protests are not synonymous with peace and progress. The solutions lie in long, hard, undramatic work, which seldom ever gets your picture in the paper and won't get you a fifteen-second news clip on the seven o'clock news. Project HEETH is one way of getting started; you have it on this campus. True, it's only a conference, I know, but it can be the beginning of a commitment by Washington's institutions of higher learning to help defeat the infection of blighted opportunity that besets our federal city.

I notice in the morning press that they're worried about the spread of cholera. Ladies and Gentlemen, worry about the spread of inequity, inequality, of slumism right here at home. I need not recite the considerable efforts the past few years to come to grips with the crisis of urban America. Much has

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been done; far more needs to be done. But the big lesson of our time is that the federal government alone, no matter how great its efforts, cannot rebuild American society--and it shouldn't. We're free people. The rebuilding has to be done by the people themselves, by society itself through an intimate partnership of progress consisting of government at every level, business, labor, private and community organizations, churches, and especially our universities.

And here I want to engage again in the plainest of talk. I think that the educational institution must move back into the community as this one has. It must abandon some of its aspirations for isolation. It must not be a victim of withdrawal. It must not be even an ivory tower, but a tower of strength in the daily life of our people. Universities are not designed to be meadows of meditation alone. They are areas of action. I believe that every university which gains its support from either public or private sources has an obligation to involve itself and its students in its own time and place in the practical day-to-day betterment of society. Now is this new? I don't think so. The land grant colleges have given us adequate testimony of what can be done. Now more than ever we need a reaffirmation of that tradition of public service of great universities in every community. We need university students and faculty with their sleeves rolled up, putting as much energy into doing the job of community life as exposing its limitations and weaknesses.

We generally know what's wrong. The question is: are we willing to do what's right. And what does this mean? Well, I think if you're going to have practical engagement of universities and the communities outside their gates it means this--twelve hours a week maybe in the classroom and perhaps five in the lab of the ghetto youth center for student and faculty alike. You don't need to build a new laboratory to study life sciences. Go see the people! It may mean the injunction to my members "Publish or perish!" to be changed to "Participate and perform!" and to do so constructively in and out of the university community. And, my member friends of the faculty, it means teach, teach, teach --not just preach, but teach. Yes, American communities need the help desperately with the mundane but the vital work of revising city charters, reforming state legislatures, building new and equitable tax structures, creating regional and metropolitan institutions of government, solving problems of management and mass transit, public welfare and law enforcement, help which is available frequently only in the university faculty. The concerned professor is not the one who just walks and talks, but he's the one who will spend even as little as one evening a week in an inner-city neighborhood, working with a committee, meeting with that committee to help the people on the fringe of American society articulate their needs, shape their programs, help them in housing and urban development and job training.

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I happen to be Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, and I can tell this audience: we need your help. We need the help of students and faculty alike. We need to keep our schools, in which the public has a \$60,000,000 investment in elementary and secondary schools in this country, we need to keep them open twelve months a year as beacons of hope for disadvantaged children. You see, I think we must maximize the use of our resources for those who need and require the extra effort. This is the helping hand that brings self-reliance. Yes, we need your help in education, recreation, job opportunities for needy, young Americans.

And might I say to you what I've said to my own family. Every boy and girl, every man and woman that is privileged to have a university education owes half of his life at least to the rest of the community that made it possible. No one ever paid his way through a university. Who can pay for the art treasures, the literature, the science, the accumulated knowledge of centuries? Those few of us in this society that are privileged to have a university education, we are forever indebted to the multitude, and maybe if you live to be seventy-five, like this university, you will have paid the interest on the gift that was given to you--if you participate.

Now, finally, last Sunday I read in The Washington Post the statement of the Association of American Colleges, the National Student Association,

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and other groups responsible for the quality of American universities. They endorsed a joint statement on rights and freedoms of students. And believe me, I'm very concerned about the rights of our students. I think some of the student protests on curriculum and university patterns of action and teaching have been very, very helpful. It's too bad that the students had to think it up. Those of us who are the teachers and professors, we should have been the first. Well, these groups listed these rights and freedoms among others. Students should be free to have whatever speakers in forum and form whatever organizations they wish. I guess that's what I was trying to say. Students should participate in drafting rules of campus conduct. And might I add, that they should assist in seeing that they are abided by. It's easy to draft rules. I've written a number of laws (as a Senator, sixteen years of writing laws). My goodness! To write one is one thing, and to get people to live by them is another--including the drafter, I might add. Colleges should also clearly distinguish their own rules from city, state, and national laws. And institutional authority should never be used merely to duplicate the function of general laws.

Now, that's what was said in the press. Yes, it's a Bill of Rights, and it's a sound one. It deserves support and acceptance, but I ask this question: will it mean greater responsibility, greater freedom, greater service to the society; or will it be a license to cheat when it comes to the tough business of democratic living? The answer is in your hands. Your

answer will be a fateful one, for, as Goethe said, "The destiny of any nation at any given time depends on the opinions of the young men under five and twenty." And I would add to Goethe, "the young men and women under the age of five and twenty." And that's over fifty percent of the population of this land.

The beacon of your freedoms or the contamination of your license will extend far beyond your campuses into American society and the world at large. I think it is time, therefore, that we, all of us, students and non-students, dedicate ourselves to not only that Bill of Rights but a far greater one--a Bill of Rights in consummate responsibilities in the twenty-first century because there are no rights without responsibilities --the right to peace so that man may live and hope free from the threat of those who would march to power through brute force.

* * * * *

Now if the cameras will just turn this way. Thank you. Thank you very much. Thank you very much. I want to say, Dr. Anderson, this isn't in my script either. I have a fatal weakness when I see an audience like this. I have a speech here that I've worked on, and then I see you. Gee, I think of other things I want to say, too. And sometimes I can well understand why some folks want to walk out. I feel that way myself in the middle of my talk.

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Well now, for the few of you that left and the many that stayed, I said there are rights and responsibilities; and one buttresses the other. The right I'm sure that is uppermost in this day and age is the right of life itself, the right of peace. The late and beloved Pope John XXIII reminded us that mankind was a human family and that war itself was fratricidal. I think we have to know that. And we must bend every effort to its abolition. That right to peace so that men may live and hope free from the threat of those who would march to power through brute force; the right to justice so that every man everywhere may stand before his peers with full and equal opportunity to achieve the highest humanity; the right to free expression so that man may speak and be heard without intimidation, unfettered and unthreatened by either the majority or the minority; the right to education so that no man may be another's slave through the denial of skills or the development of his talents; the right to public accountability so that man may remain the master of the state rather than the state the master of man; the right to full opportunity so that man may lift himself to the limit of his ability--every man his chance no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion, or the condition of his birth; the right to public compassion so that man may live with the knowledge that his health, well-being, and yes, his old age are the concern of his society; the right to movement and free association so that man may freely move and choose his friends without

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coercion; and the right to privacy so that man may be free from the heavy hand of the snoopers, the watchers, the listeners; and the right to rest and recreation so that the necessity of labor may not cripple human development and cultural attainment; the right to a safe and wholesome environment, a decent home, and a neighborhood, clean air, and full protection of the law. Now these are the rights of this, the last third of the twentieth century, and the promise of the next century.

They are the rights that we should seek and do seek at home and in the world. But they will never be achieved without the exercise of commensurate responsibilities. The responsibilities--the responsibility to participate in the affairs of a community, of a nation, of a world lest abstention leave the initiative to those who would exploit us; the responsibility of public service lest service be to self rather than to fellow man; the responsibility to support the rule of law lest the law of the jungle engulf us at home and abroad; the responsibility to protect ideals in the face of force lest vision be lost and expediency become a habit; the responsibility to respect and defend the rights of others lest freedom become license. These are rights and responsibilities, Ladies and Gentlemen, worthy of free people. These are rights emanating from mankind's deepest human needs; these are responsibilities in keeping with mankind's highest capacities. But neither these rights nor these responsibilities will ever be

fully realized in America until we prove worthy of them; and I call on you as citizens of the land, the university to make the image of your generation one of such clarity that there can be no misunderstanding of it--an image not of despair but of hope, not of selfishness but of selflessness, not of escapism but of open challenge to the hard realities of our time.

Thomas Huxley, when he visited America a century ago, wrote these words: "I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness or your material resources as such. Size is not grandeur and territory does not make a nation. The great issue about which hangs the terror of overhanging fate is what are you going to do with these things." Never has a land had so much--powerful, rich, equipped with great capacity, tremendous ability, great universities with almost 7,000,000 of our young men and women now attending them. But the question is, what shall we do with these things? Who shall speak for the people, said Carl Sandburg. Who has the answers? Where is the sure interpreter? Who knows what to say?

These are the questions. More important, my young friends, who can do what must be done if this America of ours is to stand one day as a place where the rights of man were fully and finally achieved because the responsibilities of men were fully and freely exercised. My answer: You are the ones; we are the ones! Together!

Thank you.



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