



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES
UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS
JUNE 1, 1968

I want to speak today about what I expect to be the underlying issue of the last third -- your third -- of this century: the role of the individual American in an increasingly large, complex, outwardly efficient and impersonal society.

The immediate issue today is of course peace -- peace in the world - and at home.

I put beside these issues of peace in the world . . . and peace in this country . . . this issue of a new and necessary peace -- or more accurately, a coming to terms -- between the individual and his society.

For I believe that what has happened this year on America's campuses is only one reflection of what is going on in the minds of most thinking Americans -- those who believe most sincerely in democracy.

Others may speak of a "generation gap." I don't.

As far as I am concerned youth is not a period of life but an attitude of mind. All of us -- young and old and in between -- are as old as our despairs and as young as our hopes --

As old as our fears and as young as our faith --

As old as the doubts we harbor and as young as the ideals we sustain.

Yet those of you who are young bring a special authority and influence to our counsels. It is your adamant insistence on real answers . . . your disdain and defiance of history's instruction when it seems incorrect.

There will be peace -- and the certainty of it is clearer and closer today -- partly because of the unequivocating insistence by American youth that poverty and prejudice, which contribute to civil disorder, are wrong and can be eliminated.

It is already evident, too, that in the struggle of the individual to regain his appointed place in the society, youth will be, again, the protagonist of the higher value -- insisting that only the individual matters . . . that the unfair dominance of any institution over the individual is wrong . . . that nothing to the contrary is to be accepted as a reality just because history let it first become a habit.

It is indeed this deeper conflict which seems to me to underlie a great deal of the restlessness on the campuses . . . and in this country . . . today.

For this comes at a time when peace is closer . . . poverty and prejudice lesser . . . material progress greater . . . than ever before.

But the companion fact is that the individual today feels himself a smaller and smaller part of all that is going on.

Sitting in larger and larger classes in even bigger universities . . . he feels a loss of personal identity as a student.

His work -- when he leaves school -- seems limited to a smaller and smaller part of an increasingly specialized or automated operation.

His vote as a citizen is one of 70 million . . . accepted by a machine . . . counted by other machines . . . and accurately predicted in advance by a computer and carried into every home and place.

His creature comforts increase, but his human satisfactions seem to diminish in proportion.

The imperative demand to change this . . . to restore and then greatly enlarge man's previous meaning will be, I am certain, if it is not already, the central issue we face as a people. It is, moreover, emerging as a force for change in many other nations -- not least the totalitarian monoliths which are its antithesis.

But what a glorious prospect.

Not just the prospect of stopping something that has always been tragic.

Not just the prospect of establishing a standard of equality.

The purpose, rather, to give life itself a larger meaning.

If I read American youth right today you want very much to be part of just that purpose.

I don't believe your attack is on institutionalism -- for you know there has to be institutionalism. Your insistence is that institutions be means . . . and that people are the ends . . . and that we stop getting this mixed up.

I don't believe you deny values. You demand that they be human -- not institutional -- values.

I don't think you are opting out. I think you want most of all to take a larger part in what is going on and being done.

Part of what it means to meet youth's bill of rights is already clear.

It means, for me -- and I have asserted it for 18 years -- the granting of full membership in our society, including the right to vote at age eighteen.

It means a larger participation in the affairs of whatever institution you are members of -- including the university.

It means doing whatever is required to assure every young American the right to a college education -- the privilege which you in this class have had.

It means providing -- either through the universities and colleges or the government -- larger opportunity to serve . . . to serve the community . . . and those who need what we have and are willing to offer.

I think it means more of dialogue and discussion -- and less of confrontation and ultimatum -- between our generations.

It means distinguishing between those who teach and practice discord for discord's sake . . . and those who dissent with only the truth as they see it in mind.

It means more listening to each other -- particularly on the college campus.

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 for any and all ideas, even the foolish ones.

The American university should be in microcosm what we would wish for American society: A free and open community filled with searching, thinking individuals -- 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.

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 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 other individuals.

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 of the exclusion of all others.

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

So I say to you in this class of 1968:

Bring every ideal you have along with you.

Press hard . . . in morality's name . . . against any conflicting claim that relies only on experience.

Hold firmly your unalterable commitment to peace . . . to the open society . . . to the idea that only people are important.

For there is truth in the relationship of man to society . . . no less than in the relationship of man to science.

We see that Truth . . . and will find it.

#

Rev Bell

President Mullins
Mr D.P. Rainey - chr Bd Trustee

Land Grant Univ
Service to the Community
of Nation
Students from
Foreignlands
& every State.

REMARKS

✓ Sen Mc Cellan
+ Norma
✓ Sen Fullbright
- Betty

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

UNIVERSITY OF ARKANSAS

Honorary Degree
FAYETTEVILLE, ARKANSAS

✓ Cong
Hammerschmidt
✓ Cong Pryor
Coach
and Frank Broyles
BROYLES

Bob Hope - my advice to
you graduates about to
go out into the world -
Don't go!

Refugee classroom (and Coach Broyles you can coach my team anytime.)
JUNE 11, 1968

I want to speak today about what I expect to be the underlying
issue of the last third -- your third -- of this century: the role of
the individual American in an increasingly large, complex, outwardly
efficient and impersonal society.

The immediate issue today is of course peace - peace in the
world - and at home.

↓ along-side I put beside these issues of peace in the world ... and peace
in this country ... this issue of a new and necessary peace -- or
more accurately, a coming to terms -- between the individual and

his society. - A Society of Business, urbanized,
+ mechanized.

unfortunately,

The Negative acts of the the few are
drowning out the Positive acts
of the many. The specter of
Violence and lawlessness does
not accurately describe the
Majority of American Students
~~and~~. But there is enough truth
in it to fatter the banner
under which your generation
marches, and to undermine
the critical role of free universities
in our free Society. I'm
worried about it so I want
to talk to you about it -
~~you discuss the~~

The restlessness, the ferment, the protests on the college campuses are a reflection of this continuing struggle of the individual with his environment. The excess, the violence cannot be condoned. The conclusion - the desire for change and improvement.

For I believe that what has happened this year on America's campuses is ~~not a~~ ~~reflection~~ ~~of~~ ~~what~~ ~~is~~ ~~going~~ ~~on~~ ~~in~~ ~~the~~ ~~minds~~ of ~~many~~ thinking Americans -- those who believe most sincerely in democracy. ~~the desire for improvement.~~

~~Some~~ may speak of a "generation gap." I don't.

As far as I am concerned youth is not a period of life but an attitude of mind. All of us -- young and old and in between -- are as old as our despairs and as young as our hopes --

↳ As old as our fears and as young as our faith --

↳ As old as the doubts we harbor and as young as the ideals we sustain.

↳ Yet those of you who are young bring a special authority and influence to our counsels. It is your adamant insistence on real answers ... your disdain and defiance of history's instruction when it seems incorrect.

∟ There will be peace -- and the certainty of it is clearer and closer today -- partly because of the unequivocating insistence by American youth that poverty and prejudice, which contribute to civil disorder, ^{and world} are wrong and can be eliminated.

∟ It is already evident, too, that in the struggle of the individual to regain his appointed place in the society, youth will be, again, the protagonist of the higher value -- insisting that only the individual matters ... that the unfair dominance of any institution over the individual is wrong ... that nothing to the contrary is to be accepted as a reality just because history let it first become a habit.

It is indeed this deeper conflict which seems to me to underlie a great deal of the restlessness on the campuses ... ~~and~~ in this

country ... ~~today~~ *and in other areas of the world.*
The individual seeks his own identity -
He refuses to be submerged in
the deluge of beguery, orthodoxy,
or institutionalism

But Paradoxically

~~For~~ this comes at a time when peace is closer ... poverty and prejudice ~~lessor~~ ... material progress greater ... than ever before.

But the companion fact is that the individual today feels himself a smaller and smaller part of all that is going on,

↳ Sitting in larger and larger classes in even bigger universities ... he feels a loss of personal identity as a student.

↳ His work -- when he leaves school -- seems limited to a smaller and smaller part of an increasingly ^{larger and} specialized or automated operation.

↳ His vote as a citizen is one of 70 million ... accepted by a machine ... counted by other machines ... and accurately predicted in advance by a computer and carried into every home and place.

↳ His creature comforts increase, but his human satisfactions seem to diminish in proportion.,

↳ *Is it any wonder that he protests with signs saying: I'm a human being not a computer card - Do not bend, fold, or mutilate.*

↳ The imperative demand to change this ... to restore and then greatly enlarge man's previous meaning, ~~with~~, ~~in~~ *will increasingly be* certain, if it is not already, the central issue we face as a

people. ↳ It is, moreover, emerging as a force for change in many other nations -- not least the totalitarian monoliths which are its

antithesis. *Human beings everywhere are saying - I count - Here I am - I want to be heard!*

↳ But what a glorious prospect.

↳ Not just the prospect of stopping something that has always been tragic.

↳ Not just the prospect of establishing a standard of equality.

The purpose, rather, to give life itself a larger meaning.

and If I read American youth right today you want very much to be part of ~~that~~ that purpose.

- Dignity through Self Respect
- Freedom through Responsibility
- Liberty through Participation.

I don't believe your ~~concern~~ ^{concern about} is ~~an~~ ^{alone} institutionalism -- for
you know there has to be institutionalism. ^{Social order requires institutions.} Your insistence is
that institutions be means ... and that people are the ends ...
and that we stop getting this mixed up.

∟ I don't believe you deny values. You demand that they be
human -- not institutional -- values. —

∟ I don't think you are opting out. I think you want most of
all to take a larger part in what is going on and being done.

∟ Part of what it means to meet youth's bill of rights is
already clear. that Bill of Rights ~~is~~

∟ ~~It~~ means, for me -- and I have asserted it for 18 years --
the granting of full membership in our society, including the
right to vote at age eighteen.

It means not only accepting the
responsibility, but having
a role in the decision making
process that defines the duties
and responsibilities.

↳ It means a larger participation in the affairs of whatever institution you are members of -- including the university.

↳ It means doing whatever is required to assure every young American the right to a college education -- the privilege which you in this class have had.

↳ It means providing -- either through the universities and colleges, ^{the private institutions or} ~~or~~ the government, a larger opportunity to serve ... to serve the community ... ^{to serve} and those who need what we have and are willing to offer.

↳ I think it means more of dialogue and discussion -- and less of confrontation and ultimatum -- between our generations.

↳ It means distinguishing between those who teach and practice discord for discord's sake ... and those who dissent ^{on behalf} ~~of~~ the truth as they see it, ~~and~~ ^{and dissent} within democratic and peaceful processes.

↳ It means more listening to each other -- particularly on the college campus.

↳ 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.

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

↳ Muscle cannot substitute for mind.
↳ Violence is no alternative for reason.
The law of the jungle and the school of law cannot coexist. !

Fascists, Communists, racists ... cross-burners, book-burners, ^{Draft Card burners} flag-burners ... all of them share a basic intolerance for the views of other individuals. —

↳ 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.

For as Adlai Stevenson said so well - "Patriotism is not a short and frenzied ~~burst~~ outburst of emotion but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime" - 10 -

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

* * *

So I say to you in this class of 1968:

Bring every ideal you have along with you.

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↳ Hold firmly ^{to} your unalterable commitment to peace ... to the open society ... to the idea that only people are important.

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Fayetteville airport reception - June 1

Thank-you ~~XXXXXXXXXX~~ Mayor Trumbell and President Mullins, Senator McClellan, Senator Fulbright, Congressman Prior and Congressman Hammersmith, my old friend Clyde Ellis, that use to represent this district, and members of the reception committee.

First of all, I want to observe how pleased I am to see that this audience is dedicated to two Minnesotans. We sort of feel this year that our state may get some representation. Thank-you for the wonderful turnout^{her} at the airport. This is my first visit to the city of Fayetteville and ~~the~~ ^{to this} great University of Arkansas. I must say though that I have been ~~thoroughly~~ ^{thoroughly} propagandized as to its virtues. Having served with the two distinguished senators for several years in the Senate of the United States, sixteen for myself, I have heard of the wonders of this University through all of those years. I've been told that this is the cultural hub of the universe and I see no reason to ~~XXXXXX~~ to get into an argument with either Bill Fulbright or John McClellan. I've had difficulty winning arguments with either one of them. But I cherish their friendship, respect their leadership and have a high ~~regard~~ ^{regard} and respect for the people that have the good sense and the sense of duty ~~of~~ and responsibility to elect these men to high public office. I'm here on a very happy visit as far as I'm concerned. To address the University, the graduating class of 1968. One thing they'll not have to worry about is that I do not intend to give them too much advice. They'll have to learn the hard way, just as the rest of us have. I'm happy to greet the band that was here to welcome me. I went over to say hello to that very young, fine band director. I didn't have a chance to say hello to each one of the student players, but they seem to have all the qualities of the artist.

I'll leave you with just one thought. You'll never know what ^(a) joy it is to have the priveleges of American citizenship ^{un} ~~till~~ you've had the opportunity

to travel this great country of ours and ^{to} meet all of its people, or at least to meet people of every walk of life. In my Vice Presidency I have been in all fifty states of this great union of ours. I've been in over 600 of our cities, I've visited over 100 of our colleges and universities, I have had the privilege of dining with the rich, walking, ^{and} talking, yes, and even eating with the poor. I have been with the black and the white. I have been ~~with~~ in the great cities and the small villages. I come from rural background myself. And I think that I've had a chance to see what is the greatness of America. The greatness of America is not just in its territory or its geography. It's not just its minerals or its natural resources. The real greatness is its people. And the test, of course, of our country is not our gross national product, but the quality of people that we produce. And I'm one of the people left in public life that has a sense of optimism about this country. I happen to think that the history of our republic shows that we're fulfilling the obligations of our Constitution and that is to build a more perfect union. We never build it at once. We add on to it in each generation. And I have a feeling that we're adding onto it in this generation. I think that the future looks bright, even if it is dangerous. I think the future looks promising, even if it is difficult. I really believe that the future belongs to the people of great faith and of confidence. And I'm one of these people that has confidence and has faith, not born out of a college ^(kind of) pollyannish attitude about life, but born out of the experience of life. When a man can come from humble beginnings that your public servants have that are here today, and end up in high public office, there is reason to believe that there is a promise in this land for people to try. I said once to an audience that America is a kind of country in which almost anything can happen. You even can run the risk of being elected Vice President, risky as that is. And I'm happy that I've had that chance and had that risk. So I want to wish you well, Be of good cheer. There's a lot to be proud of in America and there's a great deal to be proud of in Arkansas. Just don't rest on yesterday's laurels. Make it a better state tomorrow. Thank-you very much.

U. Arkansas
June 1

READING COPY ONLY

Mr. President ... Senator McClellan and Senator Fulbright ... proud, relieved, ~~and~~ even surprised parents ... friends ... and, most particularly, Members of the Class of 1968.

You have, by your invitation, paid high compliment to the office I hold ... and ... more personally... to my ability to resist the temptation which so large a gathering as this presents to any restless politician.

I assure you that I have it clearly in mind that the only candidates present here today are these seeking academic degrees. Our subject is their future ... nobody else's.

It is in this spirit that I congratulate the members of this Class. You have worked hard. You may perhaps sometimes have disappointed those who sent you here ... and your teachers. But you have, in general, kept faith with them, with yourselves, with your President, and the Constitution. I can only say that in my judgment anybody who has done all of that ... for four years ... is entitled now to move on to higher things.

START RELEASE

The subject of these remarks of mine today is fairly predictable.

Commencement speeches are traditionally feedbacks on what those outside the universities think has been going on inside them. Usually we have to guess. This year we know -- or at least think we know. For the college campus has suddenly become headline news.

So the label on this year's putting of old wine in new bottles is already written. "Generation Gap" it will be called ... and the likelihood is that it will be less a sweet than a dry ... perhaps even a slightly bitter ... vintage.

I count it both a privilege and an advantage to be able to discuss this year's subject ... dictated by nation-wide circumstance... here at the University of Arkansas.

Three weeks ago, the students of this University adopted a new Student Bill of Rights. I have read this document -- by courtesy of the Arkansas Traveler -- with considerable interest ... and respect.

It is ... almost surprisingly ... just what it says it is: a Bill of Rights ... more than a bill of wrongs. It reflects, to be sure, certain discontents. But it nevertheless seems to recognize, at least implicitly, the fact that towers almost

unnoticed above today's dissidence and dissent and dissatisfaction: the fact that almost all of us would rather be alive right here and right now than at any other time or place in the world's history.

It is characteristic of this Student Bill of Rights that it deals so refreshingly with the subject ... so controversial elsewhere ... of what outside speakers are to be granted the privilege of the University's forums. Anyone, it says, "provided that the speaker is willing to listen to the opposing point of view." What uncommon good sense! -- regarding speakers ... and, I might add from ^{careful} ~~usual~~ experience, audiences as well.

The Traveler reports that this Student Bill of Rights was adopted by a 10-to-1 margin of those voting ... but also, perhaps more significantly ... even disturbingly ... that only three students out of every hundred bothered to vote.

The net of all this is that I am encouraged to speak here ... in this comparatively temperate climate of opinion ... about the subject which will probably constitute the underlying issue of the last third of this century.

That issue is the role of the individual in an increasingly large, complex, efficient ... and impersonal ... society.

The immediate issue today is of course Peace ... Peace in the World ... and Peace here at home.

It is relevant to this occasion that the names of Arkansas' two United States Senators are so closely identified with these two forms of Peace ... that Senator Fulbright came to the Senate from the Presidency of this University ... and that Senator McClellan is a blood relative of this Class of 1968.

/Note to HHH: McClellan's grand-daughter is one of the graduates./

I put beside these issues of peace in the world ... and civil order in this country ... this issue of a new and necessary peace between the individual and his society.

For I believe deeply that what has happened this year on America's campuses is only one reflection of what is going on in the minds of most thinking Americans ... those who believe most sincerely in democracy, and that it is only people that count.

Others may speak of a "generation gap." I don't.

As far as I ~~am~~ concerned youth is not a period of life but an attitude of mind -- and all of us -- young and old and in between -- are as old as our despairs and as young as our hopes ... as old as our fears and as young as our faith ... as old as the doubts we harbor and as young as the ideals we sustain.

~~And~~ Yet those of you who are young bring a special authority ... a particular influence ... to our counsels. It is in your adamant insistence on absolutes ... your disdain and defiance of history's instruction.

There will be Peace in the world sooner than there would otherwise have been ... perhaps sooner now than we dare hope ... partly because of youth's uncompromising insistence that war ... regardless of the reasons for it ... is wrong and must be stopped ... now.

There will be Peace in this country ... and the certainty of it is clearer and closer today ... partly because of the unequivocating insistence by American youth that poverty and prejudice -- which cause civil disorder --- are wrong ... and can be totally eliminated ... now.

You are not always right. But I suspect that Peace depends on neutralizing the errors of those with too little faith by the errors of those with too much.

It is already evident, too, that in the struggle of the individual to regain his appointed place in the society, youth will be ... again ... the protagonist of the absolute: insisting that only the individual matters -- that the dominance of any institution over the individual is wrong -- that nothing to the

contrary is to be accepted as a reality just because history let it first become a habit.

It is indeed this deeper conflict which seems to me to underlie a great deal of the ~~discontent and dissatisfaction and~~ ^{restlessness} ~~dissidence~~ on the campuses ... and in this country ... today.

For this comes at a time when peace is closer ... poverty and prejudice lesser ... material progress greater ... than ever before.

But the companion fact is that the individual today feels himself a smaller and smaller part of all that is going on.

Sitting in larger and larger classes in ^{ever} bigger universities ... he loses all sense of personal identity as a student.

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The imperative demand to change this -- to restore and then greatly enlarge Man's previous meaning -- will be, I am certain ... if it is not already ... the central issue we face as a people.

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I don't think you are opting out. I think you want most of all to take a larger part in what is going on and being done.

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It means, for me -- and I have long asserted it -- the granting of full membership in the society -- including the right to vote at age eighteen.

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It means doing whatever is required to assure every young American the right to a college education -- the prévilège which you in this Class have had.

It means providing -- either through the universities and colleges or the Government -- larger opportunity to serve ... to serve the community ... and those who need what we have and are willing to offer.

I think it means more of dialogue -- and less of confrontation and ultimatum -- between youth and what youth thinks of today as "the establishment."

It means distinguishing between those who teach and practice discord for discord's sake ... and those who dissent with only the truth as they see it in mind.

It means more listening to each other.

It means for me, too, a deliberate effort to restore America's essential good will. It is hard any more to hear America singing. This isn't like us.

So I say to you in this Class of 1968:

Bring every ideal you have along with you.

Press hard ... in morality's name ... against any conflicting claim that relies only on experience.

Hold firmly your unalterable commitment to peace ... to the open society ... to the idea that only people are important.

For there is Truth in the relationship of Man to society ... no less than in the relationship of Man to science.

We seek that Truth... *and will find it*

Univ of Arkansas - June 1

Thank-you. President Mullins, thank-you for your generous and warm introduction and your flattering words, all of which are very endearing to a man who serves as Vice President. Mr. Rainy, ^{SP} Rainey members of the Board of Trustees, my distinguished associates in and the Congress of the United States, Senator McClellan, Senator Fulbright, Congressman Hammersmith ^{SP} and Congressman Prior, ^{SP} members of the faculty and the student body and Coach Frank Broil.

Some people have asked me why it was that I accepted this opportunity to address this commencement and I have said that I wanted to have one chance to get in to an arena where they won, where victory was the constant refrain and I also wanted a chance to meet Coach Broils who can coach my team at any time. And from what I know I can use him right now.

I'm so pleased that I was presented by the President of this University as a former teacher and professor, because it is a fact, like your own Senator William Fulbright, I'm a refugee from a classroom. The only difference is his future is more secure than mine. And I always like to meet with a college audience just in case I may need work and renew my credentials and particularly at a land grant college, a land grant university. It is true, as President Mullins has indicated, that I have a special feeling of kinship, a feeling of friendship towards our great land grant colleges and universities which represent the backbone, the bulwark of higher education in this great republic of ours. And the land grant

college and university symbolizes what a university ought to be, an institution of higher learning to be sure, but also an institution of service, service to the community, service to the nation, service to individuals, and as I sense from this great commencement today, of service and of training and of teaching to people from other lands as well as our own. I was so pleased to hear of the number of students from, as we call it, foreign lands, but from neighboring countries I prefer to say, who come to this university for the rich experience of education and the enrichment of their cultural and professional life. And how good it is to know, too, that this university has that sense of universality, that all the fifty states of this federal union are represented here in this student body. It, therefore, is most appropriate that we speak not in parochial terms, but that we speak in terms that affect our nation, and relate to our world.

Now to the graduates may I say this that I'm not going to be like Bob Hope, you can't be like Bob Hope, there's only one like him, but Bob Hope was reported to have addressed Georgetown University in Washington about three years ago with these opening words, "My advice to you graduates about to go out into the world is, don't go." Now that's alright ~~for~~ ^{from} Bob Hope because he meant it as a joke, but I hope that you'll not take it seriously nor will you follow the words of that old British cynic, Aldous Huxley, who said he had peered into the future and it won't work. Quite frankly, I peered into it, with what vision I have and while I recognize it's troublesome

and turbulent and difficult, I think that it can work and I think that it will work if we set ourselves to the task. Today, I want to speak to you about what I expect to be the underlying issue of the last third, that's your third, of this century. The role of the individual American in an increasingly large, complex, outwardly efficient and impersonal society. That, my friends, does characterize, somewhat at least, the kind of ^{an} environment, social environment, in which we find ourselves.

The immediate issue today is of course peace, the search, the relentless search for a just~~ice~~ and genuine peace -- peace in the world and ~~the~~ peace at home.

But I put alongside of these issues of peace in the world and peace in this country of ours this issue of a new and necessary peace, or more accurately, a coming to terms between the individual and his society, a society characterized by one word above all, bigness. A society that is more and more urbanized, a society that is more and more mechanized, the restlessness, the ferment, the protest, on the college campuses are in part a reflection of this continuing struggle of the individual with his environment. The excesses, the violence, the lawlessness cannot be condoned or tolerated. The concern, however, the desire for change and improvement, manifested by many of the student protests is to be welcomed. Unfortunately, the negative acts of the few are driving out the positive acts of the many. The specter of violence and lawlessness does not accurately describe the majority of American students, ^{as} this campus well knows. But, I must say to my fellow

students, because we're all in the learning process, there is enough truth in this violence and lawlessness to tatter the banner under which your generation marches, and to undermine the critical role of free universities in our free society. Quite frankly, I'm worried about it. I thought this was a good place to talk about it, to talk about the role of the individual in this ever growing, ever more impersonal, ever more complex society which is ours and which will be ours for the foreseeable future. Now, I know that many people of my age, in a sense apologize to a younger generation and talk about the generation gap. Well, I'm not going to. I don't accept that explanation. As far as I'm concerned, youth is not a period of life or an attitude of mind. It's not a period of life but an attitude of mind. I've seen students in my classroom at age 20 that were ready for medicare and social security benefits. And I have found men and women, three score and ten, that ~~have that~~ had the vitality, intellectual and spiritual, of ^a ~~the~~ very young and vibrant individual. All of us, young and old and in between, are as old as our despairs and as young as our hopes. All of us, as old as our fears and as young as our faith, as old as the doubts we harbor and as young as the ideals ~~that~~ we sustain. I think this is a much better definition of youth than the calendar. Yet those of you who are young bring a special authority and influence to our ~~consuls~~ consuls today. It is your adamant insistence on real answers, peeling off the hypocrisy and the make believe. It's your disdain and defiance of history's instruction when it seems incorrect that plays a special

role today. There will be peace and the certainty of it is clearer and closer today, partly because of the unequivocal insistence ^{by} of American youth that violence, poverty, and prejudice ^{which} that contribute to civil and world disorder are wrong and can be eliminated. It is already evident, too, that in the struggle of ^{the} individual to regain his appointed place in the society, youth will be again the protagonist of the higher value insisting, yes insisting very rigidly, that only the individual matters, that the unfair dominance of any man-made institution over the individual is wrong. That nothing to the ^{as a reality} contrary is to be accepted just because history let it first become a habit. It is indeed, then, this deeper conflict which seems to me to underly a great deal of restlessness ^{throughout} in our nation and manifest on our campuses. Yes, a restlessness in this country and ⁱⁿ other areas of the world. What we see ^{here} at home is not unique to us. The individual seeks ^{here} and elsewhere, today and in the years ahead, more than ever before, his own identity. He refuses to be submerged in the deluge of bigness, ~~or~~ orthodoxy or institutionalism. But paradoxically this comes at a time when the prospects for peace are closer, poverty and prejudice, ~~are~~ less, material progress, greater than ever before. But the companion fact to that statement is that the individual today feels himself a smaller and smaller part of all that is going on, sitting in larger and larger classes ⁱⁿ ~~and~~ ever bigger universities, he feels a loss of personal identity as a student and he asks why and he seeks answers from the university

administration, from the professor, the great professor that he seldom sees, ^{and} sometimes he even asks the teaching assistant who become his only companion. His work, when he leaves school, seems limited to a smaller and smaller part of an increasingly bigger and specialized or automated operation. His vote as a citizen is one of 70 million, first of all, accepted by a machine, counted by other machines and accurately predicted in advance by a computer and carried into every home and place on a nationwide television network. He sometimes wonders if its all worth it. Is it any wonder then ~~x~~ that he protests, even with signs saying "I'm a human being, not a computer card, do not bend fold or mutilate ~~me~~." He wants to be recognized as flash and blood, human spirit, soul, and an individual.

His creature comforts increase, it is quite obvious, but his human satisfactions seem to diminish in proportion. The irony and the paradox of an affluent society, ^{the} richer in goods, ^{the} ~~and~~ poorer sometimes in spirit, the richer in material ~~x~~ progress, the more lonely in terms of friendliness and neighborliness.

The imperative demand to change this, to restore and then gradually enlarge man's previous meaning will increasingly be the central ^{issue} we face as a people. It is at the very heart and core of the survival of the meaning of our democracy. It is moreover, ^{for} emerging as a force ~~of~~ exchange in many other nations, not the ~~very~~ least the totalitarian monoliths, which are its very antithesis. The monoliths of the communist police state has been shattered and

the individual even there reaches out for his own identity crying
 out for a new emancipation. Human beings, ^{we} seldom talk ^{about} them, we talk
 about averages and statistics and charts, we talk about mediums, ^{or}
well, human beings every where are saying, and sometimes they say
 it very rough~~k~~ly, sometimes they say it very angrily, sometimes
 they even shove and push you to get your attention, they're saying
 I count, and I am here and I want to be heard. I have a place in
 this system and I want it identified. But what a glorious prospect
 if this is our only trouble, how fortunate. Not just the prospect
 of stopping something that has always been tragic, not just the
 prospect of establishing a standard of equality, no~~x~~ not that.
 The purpose, rather, to give life itself a larger meaning, the
 purpose, dignity through self identification and self respect.
 Freedom through personal responsibility, liberty through individual
 participation and if I read American youth correctly today, that
 youth wants very much to be a part of that high purpose. I don't
 believe, may I say to these students gathered here, that your
 concern is about institutionalism alone, for you know ~~xxxx~~ there has
 to be institutionalism, social order requires institutions. Your
 insistence as I read it is that institutions be means and that
 peop~~x~~le are the ends and that we stop getting this mixed up. And
 I don't believe that you deny values, even established values, you
 demand that they be human, not institutional values. And I don't
 think that you are opting out either, I think you want most of all
 to take a larger part in what is going on and being done. This is
 why programs like the Peace Corps, and Vista, and the Teachers Corps,

tutorial courses are today literally flooded by applications from young Americans concerned, wanting to be, as they say, where the action is. Part of what it means to me is to meet youths bill of rights, and part of what it means to meet youths bill of rights is already clear. That bill of rights means for me, as I have asserted for almost 20 years, ~~the~~ granting of full membership in our society. Nothing new in my thinking, including the right to vote at an earlier age, at the age of 18, ~~it~~ means not only accepting responsibility, but having a role in the decision making process that defines those duties and responsibilities. It means a larger participation in ~~whatever~~ ^{the affairs of} institution you are members of, including the university. I appeal to every university leader to accept this new partnership as an asset, and not a liability, as forward looking and not distracting. It means doing whatever is required to assure every young American the right to a college education, ~~to~~ a full education from the earliest days of learning to his maximum capacity to absorb learning, the privilege which many of you in this class have had. And that bill of rights means, either through the universities, the colleges, the private institutions or the government, a larger opportunity to serve, to serve the community, and to serve those who need what we have and are willing to offer it. And I think it means more of dialogue and discussion and less of confrontation and ultimatum. It means distinguishing between those who teach and practice discord for discords sake and those dissent on behalf of the truth as they see it and dissent within democratic and peaceful processes.

It means more listening to each other, particularly on college campuses where listening ought to become a habit. Our universities should be citadels of our freedom, the guardians and nourishers of free inquiry and expression. They are by their very nature the very custodians of our cultural heritage and the progenitors of a new day. They should be the testing ground for any and all ideas, even the foolish ones. The American university should be in microcosm what we would wish for the American society, a free and open community filled with searching and thinking individuals, each seeking his own answers in his own way, yet each extending full respect for the ideals and life styles ~~for~~ of others.

This is the meaning of a pluralistic free society. Surely a graduate of a university should have grasped that meaning early in life. Might I say that if there is any one place where argument and debate should be able to be carried ^{out} with good manners and tolerance, it is in a center of educational excellence. But I fear that on many American campuses ^{today} that ideal is being threatened and I fear that some of us stand idly by and let it be threatened. If abuse, violence, obscenity, harrassment, ^{or} storm trooper tactics have no place in our peaceful American society, then let me say from this platform they are dangerous in the extreme when they obscure and disrupt the purposes of a great university. The ~~rhymic~~ ^{claque} rhythmic chant of a noisy ~~ofxx~~ ~~clap~~ is not dialogue or debate. Muscle cannot substitute for mind, violence is no alternative for argument or reason. The law of the jungle and the

school of law cannot exist;

draft-card

Fascists, Communists, racists, cross-burners, book-burners, buners, flag-burners, all of them, everyone of them, share a basic intolerance for the views of other individuals. Their next step and the most dangerous step is ~~the~~ intolerance for the rights of others.

History is strewn ^{tangled} by the wreckage left by militan 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. Freedom, precious, freedom, as John Kennedy put it, is not cheap. Freedom and humand development and peace are the products of a lifetime, many lifetimes, and the products of small ~~and~~ ^{often} and obscure acts undertaken by almost unknown individuals able to look beyond themselves. Adlai Stevenson once defined for us the true meaning of patriotism, He said it so beautifully as only he could:

"Patriotism", said Adlai Stevenson, "is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion, but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime." And the house of freedom, our house, does not come by the wishing for ^{it} or the instant demands, it comes by the tranquil, steady, self-sacrificing, sometimes painful dedication of ~~the~~ a lifetime of many generations. But what is important is that it does come, we do build, stone by stone, generation by generation an ever expanding, ~~an~~ ever widening democracy that offers open doors to more and more of our people, offers ~~new~~ ^{new} hope to the hopeless, offers ^{had} new promise to those who ~~have~~ lost faith.

And so I say to you in this class of 1968, these are great days to be alive, challenging, dangerous, difficult, but filled with the greatest opportunity that any generation or any nation has

ever known. I ask you to bring every ideal that you ever had and ~~you~~
 ever will have along with you, never to sacrifice them. Press hard,
 press hard and relentlessly in morality's name against any conflicting claim that
 relies only, and I repeat, only on experience. Hold firmly to
 your unalterable commitment to a just, genuine, enduring peace,
hold firmly to your unalterable ^{commitment} to the open society, open to
 everyone that bears the name man, woman, citizen, hold firmly
 to the ideal and the ^e idea that only people are important, for there
 is truth in the relationship of man to society no less than the relationship
 of man to science. We seek that ~~is~~ truth and to gether with
 faith, with patience, with that lifetime of dedication, we will
 find that truth. I wish this graduating class well. I hope that
 you will walk uprightly, unafraid in the full recognition that
 you are better prepared for the ordeal of tomorrow than any one has been for
 the trials of the past. Be an American with prudent, reasoned
 optimism, remember that there is strength and there is power in
 a wholesome optimism about your country, our world, and our
 future. And lead from that strength. Lead from it in the
 faith that whatever needs to be done to enrich the life of man,
 to make the meaning of man ~~be~~ meaningful in his time can be done
 by those of us in our time and ⁱⁿ times ahead. Thank-you.



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