

HIGHLIGHTS OF

ADDRESS

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

THE PILLSBURY COMPANY CENTENNIAL LECTURES

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA: THE RIGHT TO TAKE PART

THE UNIVERSITY OF ARIZONA

TUCSON,
TUCSON, ARIZONA

MARCH 10, 1970

We need a renewed awareness that true freedom comes not from withdrawing from society, but from taking part. Democracy is not self-executing. We have to make it work. It is the people's business and the people must take care of their enterprises. We need to remember with Justice Holmes that "every calling is great when greatly pursued", and, like it or not, individuals must act through institutions much of the time. And there are few institutions more pervasive than government and politics. The role they play is the key to the individual's ability to take part in democracy. Only through access to our representative institutions - to the political process - can each one of us be guaranteed our right to help chart the future course of our country. Only in this way will we have a real say in decisions that most intimately affect the course of our lives.

Government must be just - -

Government must be effective - -

Government must inspire a relationship of common trust and purpose among the people - all the people.

This means reform, in order to insure access, equal participation and effectiveness. Starting with political parties, we need to improve the method of delegate selection, and to modernize the rules and procedures of national party conventions. The nomination of a President and the adoption of

a platform are too important to be the result of a process that is unrepresentative, undemocratic, or unfair.

The vitality of the political process also demands the removal of every unnecessary barrier to exercising the franchise, including:

- a Constitutional amendment granting eighteen-year-olds the right to vote in federal and state elections;
- a national election holiday;
- a national election commission to insure fairness in all elections;
- a program of national registration for all eligible voters;
- the elimination of all vestiges of voting discrimination based on race through the extension of the Voting Rights Act of 1965 now pending before the Congress; and
- the election of President and Vice President by direct popular vote.

The processes of democratic politics must not be restricted to those who have the wealth, the time, the education, and the opportunity for political participation. Everyone - the worker, the housewife, the student - must have an equal chance to take part.

We must change - yes, clean up - the method of financing political parties. Whether through tax credits, deductions, or general revenues from the U. S. Treasury, we must eliminate special privilege, corruption, and suspicion from the multi-million dollar business of running for public office. Television stations should make free time available to all qualified candidates on airwaves owned by the public.

The process of revitalizing politics must not stop here. Ineffective government is also a source of frustration, and produces increasing resistance to the intrusion of bureaucracy in our private lives.

We must face some harsh truths about the Congress and our State Legislatures. Can we deny that Congress is unresponsive to the public interest - that it discourages individuals from taking part - when it takes seventeen years to pass medical care for the aged? Can we deny this when programs to provide economic opportunity are always funded after the defense budget is settled? Must we continue to choose Congressional committee chairmen solely on the basis of seniority? Or do we have the wisdom to find a better way?

The Executive Branch of the government, as well, must be made to respond more quickly to current problems and concerns of our people and must have a more systematic approach to longer-range planning. In the President's office, for example, we need a Council of Social Advisors analogous to the Council of Economic Advisors. Just as the latter seeks to inform and advise the President and the Congress on all economic matters, so the Council of Social Advisors would act in areas of social and environmental concern - - including housing, health, education, civil rights, crime, welfare, and poverty. And this capacity for judgment and decision is needed at every level of government; federal, state and local.

(HHH went on to say:)

However we resolve this conflict, we must of course preserve the existence of the universities themselves. It is simply fantasy to believe

that destroying or crippling a university - - whether by student violence or intellectual timidity on the part of professors - - will change society itself.

Destroying the university will merely end all hopes for improving society at large. And it will end traditions of thought and action that are necessary if change is not to be aimless and arid. As the President of Yale University, Kingman Brewster, has said:

"Even the most noble purpose cannot justify destroying the university as a safe haven for the ruthless examination of realities."

I agree with President Brewster. A university cannot survive in violence, turmoil and an atmosphere of intolerance. It cannot be allowed to become a physical battleground. Above all else, we must preserve the "ruthless examination of realities" - - however painful that may be - - if we are to have any hope of mastering the larger dangers to society and man's place in it.

The rule of law is today under attack from both the right and the left; in the courtroom and on the streets. We cannot permit either extreme to destroy the orderly processes of law and the administration of justice, or there will be no justice for anyone. We must take our stand for the due process of law - - the surest bulwark for individual liberties ever developed. Those who violate that due process - - or disrupt the orderly proceedings of the courts, whether from the judge's bench or the courtroom floor - - weaken and destroy the very institution which best protects the individual and his rights.

But, we must insure that our law-making and law-enforcing procedures serve the interests of all individuals. Only when we insure that rights are equally conferred will we be fully justified in demanding that responsibilities be equally met. This is what true participation in a democracy is really about.

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↳ IT IS FASHIONABLE TODAY TO TALK OF OURSELVES IN
TERMS OF OUR PROBLEMS; TO CONCENTRATE ON THE WAYS IN
WHICH WE HAVE FALLEN SHORT OF OUR IDEALS. ↳ THIS APPROACH
HAS HELPED TO SPUR US ON TO MANY OF OUR GREATEST
ACCOMPLISHMENTS - - IT HAS DRAMATIZED THIS NATION'S
AGENDA OF UNFINISHED BUSINESS - - IT HAS LED US TO ACCEPT
YESTERDAY'S GREAT VICTORIES AS COMMONPLACE AND TO TURN
OUR EYES TOWARD THE BATTLES YET TO BE WON.

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~~IN A DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM~~ / CRITICISM IS HEALTHY;
 INDEED, IT IS ESSENTIAL TO THE PROCESS OF SELF-
GOVERNMENT. / A MEASURE OF DISCONTENT IS THE FUEL
 FOR CHANGE AND GROWTH. / BUT THERE IS ANOTHER SIDE TO
 THE EQUATION, AS WELL, / WE MUST BE EQUALLY CANDID - -
EQUALLY FORTHRIGHT - - IN RECOGNIZING THE PROGRESS
 THAT IS ACHIEVED, / IF OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM IS TO
 REMAIN HEALTHY, THE PEOPLE THEMSELVES MUST RETAIN
 THEIR FAITH IN THE SYSTEM'S ABILITY TO ACHIEVE THE
 FUNDAMENTAL GOALS WE SET FOR OURSELVES.

Faith

~~#~~

(X)

/ IN A BRIEF QUARTER CENTURY WE HAVE TRAVELLED
FARTHER IN FULFILLING OUR NATION'S IDEALS AND PROMISE
 THAN IN ANY OTHER PERIOD OF OUR HISTORY.

What have we done

- / WE HAVE FOUND WAYS TO PROTECT MOST OF OUR
 PEOPLE FROM THE THREAT AND TOLL OF UNEMPLOYMENT;

- / WE HAVE MADE IMPRESSIVE HEADWAY IN COMBATTING
 POVERTY.

- / WE HAVE DONE MUCH TO SECURE EQUALITY AND CIVIL
RIGHTS FOR ALL OUR PEOPLE, AND TO REDUCE THE PREJUDICE
 AND DISCRIMINATION;

- / WE HAVE HELPED TO PROVIDE A LARGE MEASURE OF
SECURITY FOR OUR NATION AND FOR MILLIONS OF PEOPLE IN
OTHER COUNTRIES;

L - AND WE HAVE BEGUN TO COPE WITH THE MASSIVE
 AND REVOLUTIONARY PROBLEMS POSED BY RAPID GROWTH
~~AND CHANGE~~, IN AN AGE THAT HAS SEEN MORE TECHNOLOGICAL
PROGRESS THAN IN ALL THE REST OF HISTORY.

L THESE ARE REMARKABLE ACHIEVEMENTS! - - MADE EVEN
 MORE REMARKABLE BY THE MAGNITUDE OF THE PROBLEMS WE
 HAVE FACED DURING THE LAST TWENTY-FIVE YEARS - *It is indeed*
 REMARKABLE EVEN THAT WE SURVIVED. *System adaptable!*

1960s
 WHEN THE DECADE OF THE 1960'S BEGAN, WE ENTERED A
 NEW AGE OF DISCOVERY: *(Dissect, Record, Discover)*

L - WE ~~SAW~~ *discovered* POVERTY IN THE MIDST OF UNBELIEVABLE
 AFFLUENCE;

L - WE ~~SAW~~ *discovered* WIDESPREAD HUNGER IN THIS LAND OF PLENTY;

L - WE SAW UNEMPLOYMENT AT A TIME WHEN OUR ECONOMY
 WAS SURGING FORWARD AT A TERRIFIC RATE;

L - WE SAW AN URBAN SOCIETY DEVELOP THAT CROWDED
 AND OPPRESSED MAN INSTEAD OF LIBERATING HIM WITH THE
 BEST THAT CIVILIZATION HAS TO OFFER; AND,

L - WE SAW THE UGLY FACE OF RACISM AT A TIME WHEN
~~MOST OF US~~ *we* WERE TALKING BROTHERHOOD.

Yes But -

BUT, THAT IS NOT ALL WE DISCOVERED IN THE 1960'S. WE ALSO SAW A CATHOLIC ELECTED PRESIDENT, WHEN THE EXPERTS SAID IT COULDN'T BE DONE. AT THE BEGINNING OF THE DECADE, BLACK AMERICANS COULDN'T SIT WITH WHITE AMERICANS AT THE SAME LUNCH COUNTER - - BY THE END OF THE 1960'S THEY WERE SITTING IN THE PRESIDENT'S CABINET, ON THE SUPREME COURT, IN THE MAYOR'S CHAIR, AND IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE, THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES, AND STATE LEGISLATURES.

WE SAW THE FIRST MAN REACH THE MOON... THE FIRST HEART TRANSPLANTS... COMMUNICATIONS SATELLITES SPANNING THE GLOBE... AND A DECADE IN WHICH WE BEGAN TO TURN THE DANGERS OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE INTO THE HOPEFUL PATHS OF ARMS CONTROL AND PEACE, Land at HOME, WE MADE ENCOURAGING PROGRESS IN MEETING OUR SOCIAL PROBLEMS! FOR EXAMPLE, THE PROPORTION OF CITIZENS BELOW THE POVERTY LINE WAS CUT ALMOST IN HALF FROM 1960 TO 1968; IN NUMERICAL TERMS WE REDUCED THE PERSONS IN POVERTY FROM FORTY TO TWENTY-FIVE MILLION - FROM ONE FIFTH TO ONE EIGHTH OF OUR POPULATION.

Domestic

1/5 to 1/8

↳ BETWEEN 1960 AND 1969 THE INCOMES OF NON-WHITE FAMILIES IN AMERICA ROSE FROM FIFTY-TWO PERCENT TO MORE THAN SIXTY-FIVE PERCENT OF THE INCOMES OF WHITE FAMILIES. ↳ THE PERCENTAGE OF NON-WHITES IN SUBSTANDARD HOUSING IN OUR CENTRAL CITIES WAS DOWN ~~FROM 15~~ PERCENT ~~FROM TWENTY FIVE PERCENT~~ ^{to 15%} ~~ONLY TEN YEARS BEFORE.~~

↳ THE AVERAGE MIDDLE-CLASS AMERICAN TALKS A LOT ABOUT HIGH TAXES AND INFLATION, ↳ BUT IT IS A FACT THAT DISPOSABLE PER CAPITA INCOME IN CONSTANT DOLLARS IS UP THIRTY-ONE PERCENT FROM 1960 TO 1968.

OUR PROGRESS NEED NOT BE MEASURED SOLELY IN MATERIAL TERMS. WE HAVE BEEN MAKING EVEN MORE STRIKING PROGRESS IN SUCH PURSUITS AS EDUCATION. IN 1950 FIFTY-THREE PERCENT OF ALL YOUNG AMERICANS COMPLETED HIGH SCHOOL. IN 1960 THE RATE HAD RISEN TO SIXTY-ONE PERCENT. BY 1969 THE RATE HAD RISEN TO SEVENTY-FIVE PERCENT.

OUR RATE OF YOUNG PEOPLE ENTERING COLLEGE IS AT LEAST DOUBLE THAT OF ANY OTHER NATION IN THE WORLD. AND, OUR COLLEGE POPULATION MORE THAN DOUBLED IN THE PAST DECADE.

AND PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANT, WE DISCOVERED NOT ONLY THAT THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD COULD PROVIDE US WITH THE MEANS TO IDENTIFY OUR PROBLEMS, BUT ALSO WITH THE TOOLS TO SOLVE THEM.

ALL OF THIS IS PART OF OUR RECORD BUT NONE OF THIS SHOULD MASK IN ANY WAY OUR VISION OF WHAT REMAINS TO BE DONE. ALL OF US SURELY RECOGNIZE THE WISDOM OF DE TOCQUEVILLE:

"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."

* * * *

OUR SUCCESSES POINT THE WAY TO OUR NEXT CHALLENGE -
- IN SOME WAYS OUR GREATEST CHALLENGE. IN THE LONG HISTORY OF THE NEW DEAL, WE WERE CONCERNED LARGELY

WITH COLLECTIVE PROBLEMS THAT REQUIRED CENTRALIZED ANSWERS. IN ORDER TO HELP ANY ONE MAN, WE HAD TO HELP MILLIONS. WE CREATED AND DEVELOPED INSTITUTIONS IN A VIGOROUS CENTRAL GOVERNMENT. AND NO MATTER HOW MUCH WE MAY CRITICIZE THEM NOW, THEY DID THE JOB THEY WERE CALLED UPON TO DO.

L OUR CHALLENGE TODAY IS TO BUILD ON THAT ACHIEVEMENT - - THAT RECORD OF COLLECTIVE ACTION FOR THE COMMON GOOD - - TO BEGIN AN AGE IN WHICH WE REDISCOVER THE IMPORTANCE OF THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS SEARCH FOR MEANING AND SELF-FULFILLMENT IN A WORLD OF BEWILDERING SIZE, COMPLEXITY, AND FLUX.

L THIS WILL BE THE GREATEST TEST EVER DEvised FOR DEMOCRACY ITSELF; THE GREATEST TEST OF TWO HUNDRED YEARS OF AMERICA'S DEVELOPMENT. L OUR UNALIENABLE RIGHTS - - THOSE OF LIFE, LIBERTY, AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS - - ARE INDIVIDUAL RIGHTS. L THEY MUST BE SECURED FOR EACH MAN AS AN INDIVIDUAL. ~~THE TRUE TEST OF A SOCIETY IS THE KIND OF MAN THAT IT TURNS OUT.~~

L MODERN SOCIETY DOES NOT POSE THE HARD ECONOMIC THREAT TO MOST AMERICANS THAT HAS CHARACTERIZED ALMOST

ALL OF MAN'S DEVELOPMENT, FOR MOST OF US, LIFE IS NOT, AS HOBBS PUT IT, "SOLITARY, POOR, NASTY, BRUTISH AND SHORT." YET A SPIRITUAL ISOLATION IS POSSIBLE IN TODAY'S WORLD THAT WAS HARDLY POSSIBLE IN A LESS ORGANIZED, LESS TECHNOLOGICAL AGE. SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY MAY HAVE MADE THE WORLD INTO A GLOBAL VILLAGE, BUT A NEIGHBORHOOD TO BE A COMMUNITY MUST BECOME A BROTHERHOOD. MAN TODAY IS FARTHER REMOVED FROM THE FRUITS OF HIS LABORS THAN EVER BEFORE - - AND HIS UNHAPPINESS IN THE FACE OF ECONOMIC SUCCESS HAS SHOWN THAT MATERIAL COMFORTS ALONE DO NOT GUARANTEE A SATISFYING AND REWARDING LIFE. CROWDED BY MULTITUDES, YET HE FEELS LONELY, FLOODED BY GOODS AND THINGS, HE THIRSTS FOR HAPPINESS.

THE THREAT OF NUCLEAR WAR, THE DRAFT; RISING RATES OF CRIME AND VIOLENCE; FEAR OF IMPOVERISHMENT THROUGH ILLNESS; AND THE RAPID CHANGES IN ALL ASPECTS OF OUR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIVES - - THESE ARE SHOCKS THAT FEW MEN IN ANY AGE HAVE HAD TO BEAR SO CONTINUOUSLY AND RELENTLESSLY.

IS IT ANY WONDER THAT SO MANY OF OUR PEOPLE RETREAT INTO CONFORMITY - - AND REJECT THE NEW

FREEDOM THAT OUR MATERIAL ACHIEVEMENTS SEEM TO OFFER? IS IT ANY WONDER THAT MANY OF THOSE WHO OPPOSE WHAT THEY CALL THE "SYSTEM" ALSO TEND TO CONFORM TO INFLEXIBLE SOCIAL PATTERNS AND "SYSTEMS" OF THEIR OWN? THERE IS UNCERTAINTY IN FREEDOM - - AN UNCERTAINTY FEW OF US ARE EQUIPPED TO HANDLE-- FREEDOM DEMANDS THE DARING OF AN EXPLORER AND THE DEDICATION OF A PATRIOT.

IT IS EASY TODAY TO BE OVERWHELMED BY THE SIZE AND COMPLEXITY OF SOCIETY - - TO BELIEVE THAT NO AMOUNT OF EFFORT, NO AMOUNT OF ASPIRATION, REALLY MATTERS, OR CAN BRING SUCCESS. AS A RESULT, SOME OF OUR BEST PEOPLE HAVE "DROPPED OUT" OF THE SEARCH FOR WAYS TO MAKE A BETTER LIFE POSSIBLE FOR ALL OF US. SOME OF OUR BEST PEOPLE ESCAPE TO LESS TRYING SOCIETIES ABROAD. AND MANY AMERICANS, YOUNG AND OLD ALIKE, UNSURE OF THEMSELVES HAVE LOST FAITH IN AND RESPECT FOR GOVERNMENT AND OTHER INSTITUTIONS.

THIS IS THE FUNDAMENTAL PARADOX OF OUR AGE: WE ARE CLOSER THAN EVER BEFORE TO REALIZING THE BEST OF OUR NATION'S IDEALS; AND YET WE HAVE NEVER

EXPERIENCED SO MUCH PESSIMISM ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY THAT THEY WILL BE REALIZED.

PERHAPS THIS IS JUST THE POINT: THAT ALIENATION ITSELF IS NOT A DENIAL OF OUR IDEALS, BUT AN AFFIRMATION OF THEM - - AND AN IMPATIENCE, OR EVEN DESPAIR, OF EVER ACHIEVING THEM.

WE ARE SEEING THE EROSION OF THE TRADITION OF NON-VIOLENT PROTEST; ~~THAT CONSERVED FOR EACH MAN TAKING PART HIS INDIVIDUAL INTEGRITY,~~ THIS CIVILIZED APPROACH TO PROTEST IS BEING REPLACED BY VIOLENT CONFRONTATION, IN WHICH EACH SIDE ACTS OUT ITS PREDETERMINED ROLE, MINDLESSLY AND COLLECTIVELY NEGATING INDIVIDUAL INTEGRITY AND THE SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH.

WHAT CAN WE DO TO RESTORE MAN'S FAITH IN HIMSELF? HOW CAN INDIVIDUALS COME TO BELIEVE THAT THEY CAN, INDEED, AFFECT EVENTS IN THEIR WORLD - - THAT THEY ARE NOT POWERLESS IN THE FACE OF IMPERSONAL INSTITUTIONS AND A FACELESS APPARATUS CALLED THE "SYSTEM"? SURELY THERE IS A LESSON IN WHAT JOHN STUART MILL HAD TO

SAY — "LET A MAN HAVE NOTHING TO DO FOR HIS COUNTRY, AND HE WILL HAVE NO LOVE FOR IT."

↳ SOME PEOPLE SAY THAT OUR GOALS ARE TOO HIGH - - THAT DEMOCRACY ITSELF SHOULD BE SCRAPPED AND REPLACED BY A MORE EFFICIENT PROCESS. ↳ NOTHING COULD BE MORE FOOLISH. ↳ NOTHING COULD BETTER GUARANTEE THE DEATH OF FREEDOM FOR EVERYONE, EVEN IF WE ACHIEVE A FEW SHORT-RUN GOALS.

↳ THERE IS AN ALTERNATIVE - - ONE THAT CAN GIVE INDIVIDUALS GREATER MEANING IN THEIR LIVES AND, AT THE SAME TIME, PRESERVE THE ESSENCE OF DEMOCRACY.

↳ THIS ALTERNATIVE IS FOUND IN A SINGLE WORD: PARTICIPATION — A CHALLENGE TO OUR DEMOCRATIC SYSTEM NO LESS THAN THE ONE POSED BY THE GREAT DEPRESSION.

↳ SOME WILL SAY THAT THIS IS TOO SIMPLE AND OBVIOUS! PERHAPS! BUT THE UNDENIABLE FACT IS THAT IN TODAY'S WORLD THE CHANCE TO TAKE PART IN SOCIETY AND GOVERNMENT IS LIMITED. INDEED. ↳ THE FORMS OF PARTICIPATION HAVE EXPANDED MANYFOLD, AS BARRIERS PREVENTING ACCESS

TO SOCIAL AND POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS HAVE BEEN LOWERED. ↳ MORE PEOPLE VOTE; ↳ MORE PEOPLE GO TO COLLEGE; ↳ MORE PEOPLE ARE ABLE TO TRAVEL AND COMMUNICATE WITH OTHERS. ↳ YET THE SUBSTANCE OF PARTICIPATION - - A SENSE OF BEING ABLE TO HAVE A SAY IN WHAT HAPPENS - - SEEMS TO HAVE REMAINED THE PROVINCE OF A VERY FEW. ↳ THE QUESTION REMAINS, HOW CAN THE POWERLESS SHARE IN POWER? ↳ HOW CAN THE GOVERNED GIVE THEIR CONSENT OR EXERCISE THEIR RIGHT OF DISSENT?

~~WE NEED FIRST TO GAIN A MORE ACCURATE VIEW OF THE INDIVIDUAL'S ROLE IN OUR MASS SOCIETY. FEW OF US CAN BE SATISFIED IF WE ARE CONTINUALLY JUDGING OURSELVES - - AND BEING JUDGED - - BY STANDARDS ENCOMPASSING TWO HUNDRED MILLION PEOPLE, AND IT MAY BE DIFFICULT TO FIND MEANING IN WHAT WE DO, IF ONLY CERTAIN PROBLEMS OR ACTIVITIES ARE SAID TO BE WORTHWHILE OR GLAMOROUS - - OR IF WE TAKE TOO SERIOUSLY WHAT OTHERS THINK OF OUR CONCERNS. TOO OFTEN WE DISCOVER THAT "WHERE THE ACTION IS"... WE AREN'T... AND PERHAPS RIGHTLY SO.~~

JUST YESTERDAY, IT SEEMS, THE NATION'S ATTENTION WAS FOCUSED ON RACIAL INJUSTICE; THEN IT IS VIETNAM AND THE URBAN CRISIS; YET NOW WE DISCOVER THAT POPULAR ATTENTION IS FOCUSED ON THE CRISIS OF OUR ENVIRONMENT. INDEED, AS THE FOCUS OF MASS ATTENTION HAS SHIFTED, MANY ACTIVITIES OF GREAT IMPORTANCE - - SUCH AS THE SEARCH FOR RACIAL JUSTICE - - NO LONGER ATTRACT THE POPULAR INTEREST AND COMMITMENT NEEDED TO CONTINUE AND FINISH THE JOB.

∟ TODAY IT HAS BECOME POPULAR TO TALK OF "DOING YOUR OWN THING." ∟ AT WORST, THIS IS AN EFFORT TO ABDICATE FROM SOCIAL RESPONSIBILITY, TO "DROP OUT," OR TO OBSCURE THE HARD WORK OF SOCIAL CHANGE BENEATH SIMPLE SLOGANS,

∟ BUT AT BEST, "DOING YOUR OWN THING" IS A HEALTHY DEVELOPMENT, URGING EACH PERSON TO DEVELOP HIS OWN SENSE OF PERSONAL WORTH - - HIS OWN COMMITMENT AND INVOLVEMENT. ∟ IT IS IRONIC THAT THIS IDEA SHOULD BE CHERISHED AS THOUGH IT WERE NEW, ∟ FOR IT SURELY IS NOT!
∟ ON THE CONTRARY, IT IS THE HIGHEST EXPRESSION OF ALL OUR EFFORTS, IN TWO CENTURIES OF AMERICAN POLITICAL AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT. ∟ THIS IS WHAT WE HAVE ALWAYS

Adams

BEEN ABOUT AS A NATION. JOHN ADAMS REFERRED TO THIS PERSONAL INVOLVEMENT - - "DOING YOUR OWN THING" - AS "THE SPIRIT OF PUBLIC HAPPINESS - A SPIRIT WHICH IS REFLECTED IN THE LIFE OF THE PEOPLE, IN PARTICIPATION IN PUBLIC DISCUSSION AND PUBLIC ACTION." HE DESCRIBED THIS SPIRIT OF PUBLIC HAPPINESS AS "A JOY IN AMERICAN CITIZENSHIP, IN SELF GOVERNMENT, IN SELF CONTROL, IN SELF DISCIPLINE, IN DEDICATION."

WE NEED TO CHANNEL THE DEVELOPMENT OF INDIVIDUAL INTEGRITY INTO ACTIVITIES AT THE LEVEL OF FAMILIES... NEIGHBORHOODS... COMMUNITIES. WHAT WE DO AT HOME MAY NOT MAKE HEADLINES, BUT IT SHOULD MAKE FOR GREATER PERSONAL HAPPINESS, AS WELL AS GREATER FULFILLMENT AND TRANQUILITY FOR US ALL.

We need to remember that every calling is great - when greatly pursued.

WE NEED A RENEWED AWARENESS THAT TRUE FREEDOM COMES NOT FROM WITHDRAWING FROM SOCIETY, BUT FROM TAKING PART - DEMOCRACY IS NOT SELF-EXECUTING, WE HAVE TO MAKE IT WORK. IT IS THE PEOPLE'S BUSINESS AND THE PEOPLE MUST TAKE CARE OF THEIR ENTERPRISE.

~~WE NEED TO REMEMBER WITH JUSTICE HOLMES THAT
"EVERY CALLING IS GREAT WHEN GREATLY PURSUED."~~

AND LIKE IT OR NOT, INDIVIDUALS MUST ACT THROUGH
INSTITUTIONS MUCH OF THE TIME, AND THERE ARE FEW
INSTITUTIONS MORE PERVASIVE THAN GOVERNMENT AND
POLITICS. THE ROLE THEY PLAY IS THE KEY TO THE
INDIVIDUAL'S ABILITY TO TAKE PART IN DEMOCRACY.

ONLY THROUGH ACCESS TO OUR REPRESENTATIVE INSTITUTIONS--
TO THE POLITICAL PROCESS -- CAN EACH ONE OF US BE
GUARANTEED OUR RIGHT TO HELP CHART THE FUTURE
COURSE OF OUR COUNTRY. ONLY IN THIS WAY WILL WE HAVE
A REAL SAY IN DECISIONS THAT MOST INTIMATELY AFFECT
THE COURSE OF OUR LIVES. THERE IS NO PARTY, NO
EXECUTIVE, NO CABINET OR LEGISLATURE, WISE ENOUGH
TO GOVERN WITHOUT CONSTANT EXPOSURE TO INFORMED
CRITICISM. FREEDOM IS HAMMERED OUT ON THE ANVIL OF
DISCUSSION, DEBATE, AND DISSENT, WHICH ULTIMATELY
YIELDS TO A DECISION THAT CAN BE SUPPORTED BY THE
PUBLIC.

*That is the meaning of popular
government.*

THEN WHAT IS IT THAT GIVES MEANING TO THE
SOCIAL CONTRACT OF EQUALS?

- - GOVERNMENT MUST BE JUST...

- - GOVERNMENT MUST BE EFFECTIVE...

- - GOVERNMENT MUST INSPIRE A RELATIONSHIP OF

COMMON TRUST AND PURPOSE AMONG THE PEOPLE - -

ALL THE PEOPLE. ~~AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS A~~

AMERICANS HAVE ALWAYS ASKED HOW CAN GOVERNMENT AT
 ALL LEVELS SERVE ALL THE PEOPLE WITH GREATER JUSTICE
 AND EFFECTIVENESS. TODAY THIS QUESTION IS ASKED WITH
GREATER URGENCY. IN THIS, THE WEALTHIEST AND MOST
 POWERFUL NATION OF THE WORLD, SURELY AMERICANS WILL
 SAY THAT THEY MUST HAVE GOVERNMENTS - - FEDERAL,
STATE AND LOCAL - - WHICH CAN SECURE EQUALITY OF
OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL CITIZENS, MOVE DECISIVELY AGAINST
 THE HUMAN PROBLEMS BESETTING SOCIETY, AND YET
PRESERVE OUR NATIONAL INHERITANCE OF LIBERTY AND
 INDIVIDUAL INITIATIVE. THIS WILL REQUIRE NATIONAL
 LEADERSHIP READY TO GIVE MORAL FORCE AND PRACTICAL
SUPPORT TO THE LAW OF THE LAND - - A STANDARD THAT
SAYS ALL PEOPLE - BLACK AND WHITE - RICH AND POOR -

URBAN AND RURAL - ARE TO LEARN, WORK AND LIVE
TOGETHER. THIS WILL REQUIRE LEADERSHIP READY
 TO WALK IN "DARK URBAN GHETTOS AND FORGOTTEN
RURAL SPRAWLS; READY TO SEARCH THEM OUT AND
 BUILD IN THEIR PLACE COMMUNITIES OF DIGNITY AND
 OPPORTUNITY. WE NEED LEADERSHIP THAT DOES NOT
POLARIZE OPPOSITES, BUT RECONCILES DIFFERENCES
LEADERSHIP THAT HELPS HEAL THE WOUNDS OF GENERA-
TIONS OF NEGLECT AND INEQUALITY. THE TIMES CRY
 OUT FOR LEADERSHIP THAT SUMMONS THE BEST IN US
 AND REBUKES THE WORST.

BUT, ABOVE ALL, THE DEMOCRATIC PROCESS, IF IT
 IS TO SURVIVE, REQUIRES A RELATIONSHIP OF TRUST AND
COMMON PURPOSE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE AND THEIR
 GOVERNMENT. *and*

Reform THIS MEANS REFORM, IN ORDER TO INSURE ACCESS *and*
EQUAL PARTICIPATION AND EFFECTIVENESS, *in the Political Process*, STARTING
 WITH THE POLITICAL PARTIES, WE NEED TO IMPROVE THE
METHOD OF DELEGATE SELECTION, AND TO MODERNIZE

THE RULES AND PROCEDURES OF NATIONAL PARTY CONVENTIONS. THE NOMINATION OF A PRESIDENT; AND THE ADOPTION OF A PLATFORM ARE TOO IMPORTANT TO BE THE RESULT OF A PROCESS THAT IS UNREPRESENTATIVE, UNDEMOCRATIC, OR UNFAIR.

↳ THE VITALITY OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS ALSO DEMANDS THE REMOVAL OF EVERY UNNECESSARY BARRIER TO EXERCISING THE FRANCHISE, INCLUDING:

-↳ A CONSTITUTIONAL AMENDMENT GRANTING EIGHTEEN YEAR-OLDS THE RIGHT TO VOTE IN FEDERAL AND STATE ELECTIONS;

-↳ A NATIONAL ELECTION HOLIDAY;

-↳ A NATIONAL ELECTION COMMISSION TO ENSURE FAIRNESS IN ALL ELECTIONS;

↳ A PROGRAM OF NATIONAL REGISTRATION FOR ALL ELIGIBLE VOTERS;

↳ THE ELIMINATION OF ALL VESTIGES OF VOTING DISCRIMINATION BASED ON RACE THROUGH THE EXTENSION OF THE VOTING RIGHTS ACT OF 1965 NOW PENDING BEFORE THE CONGRESS; AND

↳ THE ELECTION OF PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT BY DIRECT POPULAR VOTE.

and

THE PROCESSES OF DEMOCRATIC POLITICS MUST NOT BE RESTRICTED TO THOSE WHO HAVE THE WEALTH, THE TIME, THE EDUCATION, AND THE OPPORTUNITY FOR POLITICAL PARTICIPATION. EVERYONE - - THE WORKER, THE HOUSEWIFE, THE STUDENT - - MUST HAVE AN EQUAL CHANCE TO TAKE PART.

*Finance
Pop
Center* { WE MUST CHANGE - - YES, CLEAN UP - - THE METHOD OF FINANCING POLITICAL PARTIES { WHETHER THROUGH TAX CREDITS, DEDUCTIONS, OR GENERAL REVENUES FROM THE U. S. TREASURY, WE MUST ELIMINATE SPECIAL PRIVILEGE, CORRUPTION, AND SUSPICION FROM THE MULTI-MILLION DOLLAR BUSINESS OF RUNNING FOR PUBLIC OFFICE. TELEVISION STATIONS SHOULD MAKE FREE TIME AVAILABLE TO ALL QUALIFIED CANDIDATES ON AIRWAVES OWNED BY THE PUBLIC.

{ THE PROCESS OF REVITALIZING POLITICS MUST NOT STOP HERE. INEFFECTIVE GOVERNMENT IS ALSO A SOURCE OF FRUSTRATION, AND PRODUCES INCREASING RESISTANCE TO THE INTRUSION OF BUREAUCRACY IN OUR PRIVATE LIVES.

WE MUST FACE SOME HARSH TRUTHS ABOUT THE CONGRESS AND OUR STATE LEGISLATURES. CAN WE DENY THAT CONGRESS IS UNRESPONSIVE TO THE PUBLIC INTEREST - - THAT IT DISCOURAGES INDIVIDUALS FROM TAKING PART - - WHEN IT TAKES SEVENTEEN YEARS TO PASS MEDICAL CARE FOR THE AGED? CAN WE DENY THIS WHEN PROGRAMS TO PROVIDE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY ARE ALWAYS FUNDED AFTER THE DEFENSE BUDGET IS SETTLED? MUST WE CONTINUE TO CHOOSE CONGRESSIONAL COMMITTEE CHAIRMEN SOLELY ON THE BASIS OF SENIORITY? OR DO WE HAVE THE WISDOM TO FIND A BETTER WAY?

~~THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH OF THE GOVERNMENT, AS WELL, MUST BE MADE TO RESPOND MORE QUICKLY TO CURRENT PROBLEMS AND CONCERNS OF OUR PEOPLE, AND MUST HAVE A MORE SYSTEMATIC APPROACH TO LONGER-RANGE PLANNING. IN THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE, FOR EXAMPLE, WE NEED A COUNCIL OF SOCIAL ADVISORS ANALOGOUS TO THE COUNCIL OF ECONOMIC ADVISORS. JUST AS THE LATTER SEEKS TO INFORM AND ADVISE THE PRESIDENT AND THE CONGRESS ON ALL ECONOMIC MATTERS, SO THE COUNCIL OF SOCIAL ADVISORS WOULD ACT IN AREAS OF SOCIAL AND ENVIRONMENTAL~~

CONCERN - - INCLUDING HOUSING, HEALTH, EDUCATION, CIVIL RIGHTS, CRIME, WELFARE, AND POVERTY. AND THIS CAPACITY FOR JUDGMENT AND DECISION IS NEEDED AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT - - FEDERAL, STATE AND LOCAL.

THE EXECUTIVE BRANCH ALSO HAS AN ACTIVE ROLE TO PLAY IN DEVELOPING NEW TECHNIQUES OF INVOLVEMENT IN COMMUNITY LIFE. THIS CAN BE AN ACTIVE PARTNERSHIP WITH PRIVATE GROUPS AND INDIVIDUALS. THIS IS THE HEART OF THE NEW FEDERALISM.

WE RECOGNIZED THIS NEED WHEN WE PASSED THE ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY AND MODEL CITIES ACTS. UNFORTUNATELY, PUBLIC ATTENTION HAS BEEN FOCUSED ON THE EXTREMES - - ON ISOLATED VIOLENCE AT ONE END, AND INCIDENTS OF PUBLIC APATHY AT THE OTHER.

BUT IN THE MAIN, THESE EFFORTS BROUGHT LARGE NUMBERS OF PEOPLE INTO THE MAINSTREAM OF ACTIVITY - - GIVING THEM SOMETHING TO DO FOR THEMSELVES... THEIR NEIGHBORHOODS... THEIR COMMUNITIES - - MANY OF THEM FOR THE FIRST TIME IN THEIR LIVES.

WE MUST BE CANDID: THERE HAVE BEEN FAILURES IN COMMUNITY ACTION AS WELL AS SUCCESSES - - AS IN ANY EXPERIMENT. WE MUST NOW LEARN FROM THESE EARLY EFFORTS, REJECTING WHAT DID NOT WORK, BUILDING ON THAT WHICH DID. AND WE MUST NOT BE AFRAID TO EXPERIMENT WITH NEW FORMS OF REPRESENTATION ON THE LOCAL LEVEL.

THE MOST IMMEDIATE DANGER IS THAT COMMUNITY ACTION PROGRAMS AND SIMILAR EFFORTS WILL BE ABANDONED TOTALLY FOR WANT OF INSIGHT OR UNDERSTANDING ON THE PART OF THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. FOR THE SAKE OF THE THOUSANDS OF PEOPLE WHO HAVE GAINED A NEW VOICE IN THEIR LOCAL COMMUNITIES, THIS MUST NOT BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN.

IN SUM, WE MUST LOOK CRITICALLY AT THE NEEDS OF THE 1970'S AND HONESTLY EVALUATE THE ABILITY OF OUR EXISTING GOVERNMENTAL STRUCTURES TO MEET THOSE NEEDS. I AM CONVINCED THAT MANY CHANGES ARE NOW OVERDUE. WE MUST FIND THE WISDOM AND COURAGE TO MAKE THEM.

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AT THE SAME TIME, IT IS IMPORTANT NOT TO OVER-ESTIMATE THE ROLE OF GOVERNMENT IN DEMOCRACY. IN RECENT YEARS - - PERHAPS BECAUSE OUR GOVERNMENT GENERALLY HAS WORKED WELL - - WE HAVE ACCEPTED TOO EASILY THE IDEA THAT IT SHOULD BE THE CENTRAL FOCUS OF OUR LIVES, AS OLDER INSTITUTIONS HAVE LOST THEIR STRENGTH OR COLLAPSED.

GOVERNMENT CAN BE NO SUBSTITUTE FOR THE REVIVAL OF A SENSE OF COMMUNITY. AND IT CANNOT TAKE THE PLACE OF OTHER EFFORTS TO ENCOURAGE INDIVIDUALS TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN SOCIETY - - IN WHAT IS ACTUALLY HAPPENING IN THEIR OWN LIVES.

THE INDIVIDUAL MUST BE GIVEN A GREATER CHANCE TO TAKE PART IN THE ECONOMY, AS WELL. NO MAN CAN RETAIN HIS SENSE OF PRIDE AND INTEGRITY IF HE IS TREATED AS THE OBJECT OF THE ECONOMY, TO BE MANIPULATED AT WILL, INSTEAD OF ITS SUBJECT, WITH HIS OWN WANTS AND NEEDS TO BE SATISFIED.

TODAY THE INDIVIDUAL HAS A RIGHT TO EXPECT MORE FROM INDUSTRY, NOT ONLY IN DIRECT BENEFITS TO SMALL

INVESTORS, BUT ALSO IN AN INCREASED SOCIAL DIVIDEND. INDUSTRY HAS RESPONSIBILITIES TO EACH OF US - - TO CONTROL POLLUTION; TO PROMOTE EDUCATION; TO HELP WITH THE REBUILDING OF OUR CITIES AND BLIGHTED RURAL AREAS - - RESPONSIBILITIES IT HAS HARDLY BEGUN TO MEET. THIS, TOO, IS PARTICIPATION.

THE INDIVIDUAL IS ALSO OVERWHELMED BY THE VAST STORE OF INFORMATION THAT WE HAVE BUILT UP ON EVERY CONCEIVABLE SUBJECT. WE HAVE TIMIDLY ACCEPTED THE BELIEF THAT WE HAVE BECOME A NATION OF EXPERTS, WHERE KNOWLEDGE OF THE FACTS IS THE KEY TO TAKING PART IN SOCIETY'S MAJOR DECISIONS. WE NEED TO LOSE OUR AWE OF THE FACT-GATHERERS - - THE EXPERTS. WHAT WE REALLY NEED ARE ANALYSERS - - MEN WITH THE COURAGE TO THINK AND CONTINUALLY APPLY THE HUMAN DIMENSION TO ALL OF OUR EFFORTS.

TO DO THIS, WE HAVE TO INCREASE THE CHANCES FOR EACH AMERICAN TO TRAIN HIMSELF TO THE LIMIT OF HIS CAPABILITIES - - AND IN PARTICULAR TO HELP HIM GAIN THE TOOLS HE NEEDS TO UNDERSTAND HIMSELF AND THE

PURPOSE OF HIS LIFE. THE GREAT LAW OF CULTURE SAID CARLYLE, "LET EACH BECOME ALL THAT HE WAS CREATED CAPABLE OF BECOMING."

WE NEED TO PRESERVE AND DEVELOP THOSE INSTITUTIONS OF AMERICAN LIFE THAT HAVE LONG MADE THIS THEIR GOAL - - FROM THE GRADE SCHOOL TO THE UNIVERSITY. WE MUST HELP THEM LIBERATE MAN THROUGH THE ABILITY TO THINK.

TODAY, HOWEVER, AT LEAST ONE OF THESE INSTITUTIONS, THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY, IS UNDER ATTACK.

AFTER MORE THAN TWO YEARS OF STRIFE, WE HAVE A CHANCE TO SEE WHAT HAS BEEN HAPPENING ON THE CAMPUS.

AT MANY COLLEGES, THE RESPONSE OF STUDENTS, TEACHERS, AND ADMINISTRATORS HAS BEEN ADMIRABLE: THEY HAVE QUESTIONED THE PLACE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN SOCIETY; REFORMED GOVERNING PROCEDURES; AND RE-CREATED THE SENSE OF A UNIVERSITY COMMUNITY.

BUT ELSEWHERE, TEACHERS HAVE RETREATED PELL-MELL BEFORE THE FIRST SERIOUS QUESTIONING OF THEIR BELIEFS IN A GENERATION. SOME HAVE ADOPTED POSITIONS OF BLIND RIGIDITY; OTHERS HAVE JOINED IN THE PARROTTING

OF MEANINGLESS SLOGANS, OR HAVE TOLERATED STUDENTS WHO DISRUPT CLASSES OUT OF FEAR FOR THEIR OWN PREJUDICES. IN THE COMMUNITY AT LARGE, THIS POLARIZATION WOULD BE UNDESIRABLE; IN THE UNIVERSITY, IT IS INTOLERABLE.

LET US FACE WHAT IS HAPPENING: OUR UNIVERSITIES ARE IN CRISIS. WE DO OURSELVES NO SERVICE EITHER BY TRYING TO IGNORE THIS CRISIS, BY DISMISSING IT AS THE WORK OF TROUBLE-MAKERS, OR BY FAILING TO NOTE HOW FAR THE ROLE OF THE AMERICAN UNIVERSITY HAS STRAYED IN THE PAST YEARS.

FIRST WE MUST ASK: WHAT SHOULD THE UNIVERSITIES DO? HOW IS THEIR WORK RELATED TO THE FUTURE OF AMERICA? WE HAVE ALWAYS EXPECTED THEM TO BRING INTELLIGENCE TO BEAR IN DEFINING, FOSTERING, AND CARRYING ON THE VALUES OF CIVILIZATION, AND TO USE THOSE VALUES TO ENSURE THAT THE RATIONAL PROCESS SERVES HUMAN ENDS.

IN RECENT YEARS, WE HAVE ALSO ASKED OUR UNIVERSITIES TO TAKE AN ACTIVE PART IN APPLYING VALUES. WE HAVE DEMANDED THAT THE IVORY TOWER COME TO THE MARKET PLACE, WITHOUT LOSING THE CHARACTERISTICS OF EITHER.

INEVITABLY, THESE TWO FUNCTIONS HAVE NOW COME INTO CONFLICT.

A NEW GENERATION OF STUDENTS IS REJECTING THE FUNCTIONAL ROLE OF THE UNIVERSITY IN PROVIDING SKILLED PEOPLE FOR PRE-DETERMINED SLOTS IN SOCIETY, INSTEAD OF TRYING TO RESHAPE IT.

THEY REJECT VALUES IN SOCIETY THAT PLACE MORE EMPHASIS ON THE UNIVERSITY DEGREES A MAN HOLDS THAN WHAT HE IS. THEY RESENT AN EDUCATION THAT IS DIRECTED MORE TOWARD THE CREDENTIALS OF A B.A. OR A Ph.D. THAN AN UNDERSTANDING AND APPRECIATION OF LIFE.

THESE STUDENTS CHALLENGE THE ABILITY OF AN EDUCATIONAL INSTITUTION TO RECONSIDER VALUES - - THE WHY OF CIVILIZATION AND SOCIETY - - WHEN RESEARCH IS SPONSORED BY GOVERNMENT AND CORPORATION, AND WHEN MANY OF THE BEST TEACHERS FIND OUTSIDE WORK AND PRESTIGE IN THE VERY INSTITUTIONS WHOSE ROLE AND PURPOSE IS BEING MOST SEVERELY SCRUTINIZED.

IN RECENT YEARS, FOR EXAMPLE, THE UNIVERSITIES HAVE PROVIDED VALUABLE HELP TO THE FEDERAL GOVERNMENT. BUT IN TOO MANY CASES, PROFESSORS HAVE SUCCUMBED TO

POTOMAC FEVER; INSTEAD OF BRINGING TO WASHINGTON THE BEST THAT OUR UNIVERSITIES HAVE TO OFFER, THEY HAVE CARRIED BACK TO THE CLASSROOM THE TIRED ATTITUDES AND BARREN ISSUES OF THE BUREAUCRACY. IS IT ANY WONDER THAT STUDENTS OFTEN REBEL AGAINST TEACHERS WHO SPEND MORE TIME ON JUNKETS FOR THE GOVERNMENT OR INDUSTRY THAN THEY DO IN QUESTIONING THE DIRECTIONS AND PURPOSES OF OUR SOCIETY?

THIS CONFLICT IS MADE EVEN MORE DIFFICULT TO RESOLVE BY THE DEMAND OF THE STUDENTS THEMSELVES THAT UNIVERSITIES BE ACTIVELY INVOLVED IN DAY-TO-DAY EVENTS THROUGH EDUCATIONAL STANDARDS THAT ARE MORE "RELEVANT" TO SOCIETY'S NEEDS. BUT WE MUST STRIKE A CAREFUL BALANCE BETWEEN A UNIVERSITY'S DIRECT INVOLVEMENT IN RESHAPING SOCIETY AND ITS FUNCTION IN ANALYSING SOCIETY'S PROBLEMS AND CARRYING ON THE RIGOROUS SEARCH FOR TRUTH.

INVOLVEMENT WILL NECESSARILY INFLUENCE THE FORMS AND CONTENT OF CRITICISM, BLUNTING ITS CUTTING EDGE WITH THE INEVITABLE COMPROMISES OF INVOLVEMENT. BUT IF WE FAIL TO MAINTAIN THESE STANDARDS - - THIS

INTELLECTUAL APPROACH - - THEN WE WILL RISK HAVING NO PROCESS - - NO HABITS AND TRADITIONS OF INQUIRY - - TO APPLY TO PROBLEMS YET UNSEEN. EDUCATION WILL THEN BECOME NO MORE THAN A FORM OF ON-THE-JOB TRAINING.

HOWEVER WE RESOLVE THIS CONFLICT, WE MUST OF COURSE PRESERVE THE EXISTENCE OF THE UNIVERSITIES THEMSELVES. IT IS SIMPLY FANTASY TO BELIEVE THAT DESTROYING OR CRIPPLING A UNIVERSITY - - WHETHER BY STUDENT VIOLENCE OR INTELLECTUAL TIMIDITY ON THE PART OF PROFESSORS - - WILL CHANGE SOCIETY, ITSELF.

DESTROYING THE UNIVERSITY WILL MERELY END ALL HOPES FOR IMPROVING SOCIETY AT LARGE. AND IT WILL END TRADITIONS OF THOUGHT AND ACTION THAT ARE NECESSARY IF CHANGE IS NOT TO BE AIMLESS AND ARRID. AS THE PRESIDENT OF YALE UNIVERSITY, KINGMAN BREWSTER, HAS SAID:

"EVEN THE MOST NOBLE PURPOSE CANNOT JUSTIFY DESTROYING THE UNIVERSITY AS A SAFE HAVEN FOR THE RUTHLESS EXAMINATION OF REALITIES."

I AGREE WITH PRESIDENT BREWSTER. A UNIVERSITY CANNOT SURVIVE IN VIOLENCE, TURMOIL, AND AN ATMOSPHERE OF INTOLERANCE. IT CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO BECOME A PHYSICAL BATTLEGROUND. ABOVE ALL ELSE -- WE MUST PRESERVE IT AS AN ARENA FOR THE PURSUIT OF TRUTH. WE MUST PRESERVE THE "RUTHLESS EXAMINATION OF REALITIES" - - HOWEVER PAINFUL THAT MAY BE - - IF WE ARE TO HAVE ANY HOPE OF MASTERING THE LARGER DANGERS TO SOCIETY, AND TO MAN'S PLACE IN IT.

* * * *

FINALLY, THE THREAT POSED TO THE UNIVERSITY ILLUSTRATES AN IMPORTANT ELEMENT OF TAKING PART IN DEMOCRACY - - THAT IT ALSO INVOLVES RESPONSIBILITIES, INCLUDING THE RESPONSIBILITY TO PURSUE CHANGE IN AN ORDERLY FASHION.

INDEED, THIS IS THE ESSENCE OF A FREE SOCIETY - - TO BALANCE THE RIGHTS CONFERRED ON EACH MAN WITH WHAT HE IS ASKED TO DO IN RETURN. IN A COMMUNITY, THIS IS THE ONLY WAY IN WHICH WE CAN MAKE TRUE FREEDOM POSSIBLE - - FOR EVERYONE.

WE DEMAND THAT ALL CITIZENS OBEY THE LAW - -
AND WE PRIDE OURSELVES THAT WE ARE A NATION OF
LAWS, AND NOT OF ARBITRARY POWER. BUT THIS
RESPONSIBILITY CAN HAVE MORAL FORCE ONLY IF THE
LAWS ARE MADE BY A PROCESS THAT IS OPEN TO ALL OUR
PEOPLE, AND ARE ENFORCED IMPARTIALLY, WITH FAIRNESS
AND JUSTICE.

THE RULE OF LAW IS TODAY UNDER ATTACK - - FROM
BOTH THE RIGHT AND THE LEFT; IN THE COURTROOM AND ON
THE STREETS. WE CANNOT PERMIT EITHER EXTREME TO
DESTROY THE ORDERLY PROCESSES OF LAW AND THE
ADMINISTRATION OF JUSTICE - - OR THERE WILL BE NO
JUSTICE FOR ANYONE. WE MUST TAKE OUR STAND FOR THE
DUE PROCESS OF LAW...THE SUREST BULWARK FOR INDIVIDUAL
LIBERTIES EVER DEVELOPED. THOSE WHO VIOLATE THAT DUE
PROCESS - - OR DISRUPT THE ORDERLY PROCEEDINGS OF THE
COURTS, WHETHER FROM THE JUDGE'S BENCH OR THE COURT-
ROOM FLOOR - - WEAKEN AND DESTROY THE VERY INSTITUTION
WHICH BEST PROTECTS THE INDIVIDUAL AND HIS RIGHTS.

BUT WE MUST ENSURE THAT OUR LAW-MAKING AND

LAW-ENFORCING PROCEDURES SERVE THE INTERESTS OF ALL INDIVIDUALS. ONLY WHEN WE ENSURE THAT RIGHTS ARE EQUALLY CONFERRED WILL WE BE FULLY JUSTIFIED IN DEMANDING THAT RESPONSIBILITIES BE EQUALLY MET. THIS IS WHAT TRUE PARTICIPATION IN A DEMOCRACY IS REALLY ABOUT.

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AND, IF WE ACCEPT THE VIEW THAT ONLY IDEAS THAT ARE NEW ARE ANY GOOD, THEN THE IDEAS I HAVE ADVANCED TONIGHT WILL NOT GAIN MUCH ATTENTION. NOR WILL THEY QUALIFY AS "RADICAL" BY THE STANDARD THAT ALL THAT HAS BEEN DONE BEFORE MUST BE OPPOSED.

BUT IF WE ACCEPT THAT TRUE WORTH - - IN IDEAS AS IN MEN - - CAN ONLY BE JUDGED BY HARD, UNCOMPROMISING ANALYSIS AND A COMPLETE RETHINKING OF OUR BASIC VALUES - - THEN I BELIEVE WE WILL FIND MUCH TO LEARN FROM THE LONG HISTORY OF MAN'S ATTEMPT TO KNOW AND MASTER HIMSELF.

AMERICAN HISTORY HAS BEEN A LONG PROCESS OF TRYING TO ACHIEVE DEMOCRACY - - NOT AS A GOD-GIVEN QUALITY

THAT COULD BE OURS TO TAKE FOR GRANTED, BUT AS A METHOD OF DEALING WITH MEN AS INDIVIDUALS, RATHER THAN AS UNITS OF ENERGY AND ACTION TO BE MANIPULATED FOR THE ENDS OF THE STATE OR SOCIETY. THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD HAS FLOURISHED ON THE EARTH ONLY AT RARE MOMENTS. MOST OF HISTORY IS A LONG RECORD OF REPRESSION AND TYRANNY, BROKEN ONLY BY THE EFFORTS AND VISION OF A FEW INDIVIDUALS WHO BELIEVED THAT MAN WAS DESTINED FOR BETTER THINGS - - THAT A HUMAN SOUL HAS A WORTH FAR SURPASSING THE USES TO WHICH MAN'S LABORS ARE PUT.

WE ARE FORTUNATE TO BE PART OF THE ONLY SUSTAINED EFFORT TO ACHIEVE DEMOCRACY THAT THERE HAS EVER BEEN. AND LIKE EVERY GENERATION BEFORE US, OUR PART OF THE EXPERIMENT MUST SUCCEED, OR DEMOCRACY WILL DISAPPEAR, PERHAPS FOREVER. INDEED, A NEW TYRANNY WOULD LIKELY EXPUNGE EVEN THE MEMORY OF OUR EFFORTS FROM HISTORY'S RECORD.

IF WE FAIL, THERE IS NO NEW ARSENAL OF DEMOCRACY TO RESCUE US AS WE RESCUED EUROPE IN THE 1940'S.

THE NEW DARK AGE WILL BE THE DARKEST OF ALL.

BUT IF WE SUCCEED, IF WE KEEP OUR EYES ON THE ONLY TRUE END OF THE DEMOCRATIC METHOD - - THE INDIVIDUAL MAN, HIMSELF - - THEN WE WILL HAVE ACHIEVED THE MOST NOBLE PURPOSE THAT LIFE CAN SERVE HERE ON EARTH.

DEMOCRACY IS A RADICAL IDEA - - NO MATTER HOW OLD ITS ORIGINS.

AND OUR SEARCH FOR ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL JUSTICE - - THE BEDROCK OF FREEDOM - - IS STILL THE MOST RADICAL IDEA OF ALL.

THIS IS WHAT IT MEANS TO TAKE PART IN DEMOCRACY. IT IS UP TO US - - TO YOU AND TO ME - - TO MAKE THAT POSSIBLE.

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ADDRESS

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

The Pillsbury Company Centennial Lectures

DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA: The Right to Take Part

The University of Arizona
Tucson, Arizona
March 10, 1970

Thank you very much. I wish to thank Mr. Thomas Restaino for not only this detailed introduction, but may I say even for some of its inaccuracy because it made me look better than the record will reveal. And Tom, I am very grateful to you and your student associates for what I consider to be one of the most rewarding, exciting and enriching days of my private and public life. I know of no campus or school that I have visited that has been as exciting to me, as challenging and as rewarding. I particularly want to thank the student body. I see in this audience, Mr. Mark Ginsburg and I wish to thank him as president of the student body. I thank each and everyone. I particularly want to express on behalf of the two education institutions with which I am associated, the University of Minnesota and Macalester College, our thanks to your president and the administration of this university, Dr. Harvill and faculty and all those associated with him for giving us this wonderful reception today. And now may I say that after having thanked two presidents, I can see why I wanted to be president: they get applause.

Mr. Keith, this is the final lecture in our Pillsbury series as you indicated tonight. The Pillsbury Company 's 100th anniversary comes at the same time as the anniversary of our University of Minnesota and they have been very closely associated from the days of the first governor of our state, Governor Pillsbury, down to this very hour. This fourth lecture is an effort to draw some synthesis of thought around the role of the individual in this complex society of ours.

I know that I am talking to a student body that represents one of the great student bodies of this country -- 70 foreign countries represented on this campus as well as our own fellow Americans. Seventy: It becomes an international institution. If ever there was an indication that modern science and technology has made the world a global village, it is the fact that at a university in the state of Arizona we can literally have a world meeting, at least of young men and women.

It is mighty fashionable these days to talk about our problems. Everybody talks about them -- something like the weather, I suppose. We are not always doing too much about them, but we talk about them and concentrate on the ways in which we fall short of our ideals. But this approach, as I see it, has helped to spur us on to many of our greatest accomplishments. It has dramatized this nations agenda of unfinished business. The fact is that this country is an unfinished revolution. It has lead us to accept yesterday's great victories as rather commonplace and to turn our eyes toward battles yet to be won. Americans are a restless people. Possible this is one of the reasons for our rather substantial progress. Criticism, constructive criticism, is healthy. Indeed, it is essential to the process of self government. A measure of discontent is the fuel for change and growth. But there is another side to the equation as well, and we must be equally as candid and equally as forthright in seeing that other side and recognizing that some progress has been achieved. If our democratic system is to remain healthy, or to gain in health, the people themselves must have faith in the system's ability to achieve the fundamental goals that we set out for ourselves. So let's take a little look at where we are and where we're been, or at the record.

In a brief quarter of a century, we've traveled farther towards fulfilling the nation's ideals and promise than in any other period of our history. We've found ways to protect most of our people from the ravages, toll and threat of unemployment. We've made impressive headway in combating poverty. We've done much to secure equality and civil rights for all of our people. We've helped to provide a large measure of security for our own nation and for millions of people in other countries. And we've begun, and I repeat, just begun to cope with the massive revolutionary problems posed by an age that has seen more technological and scientific progress than all of history put together. Now these are remarkable achievements that are made even more remarkable by the magnitude of the problems that we have faced these past 25 years. It's even remarkable that we have survived -- that our system has been able to adjust and adapt -- that a living constitution, not archaic document, has been sufficiently adjustable to relate to the needs of the time.

When the decade of the 1960's began, we entered an entirely new epoch. The 60's were a decade of disorder and dissent. But it was also a decade of discovery and let me emphasize the discoveries that came to our eyes. We discovered poverty in the midst of unbelievable affluence, shocking our sense of values and decency. We saw hunger in this land of over plenty. We saw under employment and unemployment at a time that our economy was bursting at the seams. We saw urban society developed that crowded, even oppressed the citizen instead of liberating him with the best that civilization has to offer. And we saw the ugly face of racism at a time when most of us were talking about brotherhood. Those are some of the discoveries of this decade and they remain as challenges for the 1970's, and indeed the balance of this century.

But this isn't all we discovered. We also saw for the first time in the history of our nation that a man of Catholic faith could be elected president of the United States when the experts said it was impossible. And at the beginning of the decade, black Americans couldn't sit with white Americans at the same lunch counter. But by the end of the 1960's they were sitting in the president's Cabinet or on the Supreme Court, or in the mayor's chair, or in the Senate of the United States or the House of Representatives, in the state legislatures. We saw the first man set foot on the moon, the first heart transplants. We witnessed communications satellites spanning the globe and we saw a decade in which we began to turn the danger of the nuclear arms race into the hopeful paths of arms control and possibly peace. At home we made encouraging progress in meeting some of the great unmet social problems. For example, the proportion of citizens below the poverty line was cut almost in half from 1960 to 1968, from 1/5 to less than 1/8 of our population -- no small tasks. Between 1960 and 1969, the incomes of non-white families in constant dollars rose from 52% to more than 65% of the incomes of white families -- yet a great gap, but progress. The percentage of non-whites in sub-standard housing in our central cities was down from 25% to 15% in the same period. Now, we talk a good deal about taxes and inflation -- and if we didn't we wouldn't be human, but it is a fact that disposable per capita income in constant dollars, not inflated dollars is up over 31% from

1960 to 1968. But progress must not be measured only in economics terms or material terms. We've been making other kinds of progress in such pursuits as education. In 1950, 53% of all young Americans has completed high school, by 1960, 61%, by 1969, 75%. Our rate of young people entering college is at least double of that any other nation in the world and our college population more than doubled from 1960 to 1969. If there had been no other problem that ever faced the universities or institutions of higher education than that population explosion, it would have been enough to tax their every resource. And perhaps more important than all of this statistical evidence that I offer, we discovered not only that the democratic method could provide us with the means to identify our problems, but that it could also provide us with the tools to solve them if we had the will to use them.

That's part of the record, but let me submit that none of this evidence should mask in any way our vision of what remains to be done -- what ought to be. All of us will surely recognize the wisdom of that great sociologist and observer of the American scene of the 19th century, Alex de Tocqueville, who possibly more than any contemporary person sensed what America was about. I bring to your attention these words of his: "The sufferings that are endured patiently as being inevitable become intolerable the moment that it appears there might be an escape. Reform then only serves to reveal more clearly what still remains, remains oppressive and now all the more unbearable. The suffering, it is true, has been reduced, but ones sensitivity has become more acute."

Ladies and gentlemen, that is in American terminology "rising expectations" and it is a sign of growth and of health, not of sickness or decay. Our successes, and they are limited, point the way to our next challenge -- in some ways the greatest of all. In the long history of the New Deal, we were concerned largely with collective problems that required collective centralized answers. In other words, in order to help any man we had to help millions. We created and developed institutions in a

vigorous central government, and no matter how much we criticize them now, they did, in part, do the job that we called upon them to do.

Our challenge today is to build on that achievement, to peel off that which is no longer relevant or helpful, to build on that record of collective action for the common good, and to begin an age in which we rediscover the importance of the individual and his search for meaningful and self fulfillment in a world that overwhelms him by size and complexity and flux.

This will be the greatest test ever devised for Democracy itself and the greatest test in the 200 years of America's development. Remember that happiness are not collective rights; they are individual rights and they must be secured for each individual. The society of the 60's and 70's did not seem to pose the same hard economic threat to most Americans that characterized almost all of man's development. For most of us, life is not as Hobbs put it, "solitary, poor, nasty, brutish and short." He was a pessimist if there ever was one. Yet there is a spiritual isolation possible in today's world that was hardly possible at all in a less organized technological age. We tend to forget that the true test of civilization is not the census or the size of the cities, nor the crops, or industry, but the kind of man that the country turns out. Science and technology may have made this world into a global village, but a neighborhood is not a community until it accepts the principal of brotherhood. Man today is farther removed from the fruits of his labor than ever before. He sees himself as a rather small and insignificant cog in a big mechanism over which he seems to have control. His unhappiness in the face of economic success has demonstrated unmistakably that the material comforts do not guarantee a satisfying or rewarding life. He's crowded by multitudes but he feels lonely. He's surrounded and flooded by goods and things, but he thirsts for happiness and contentment.

The threat of nuclear war, the draft, rising rates of crime and violence, fear or impoverishment through illness, rapid changes in all aspects of our public and private lives, these are shocks that few men of any age has ever had to endure so continuously and relentlessly as the men and women of our times.

Is it any wonder that many of our people retreat into conformity and they reject the new freedom that our material achievements seem to offer? Is it any wonder that many of those who oppose what they call the system also tend to conform to inflexible social patterns and systems of their own?

There is an uncertainty in freedom -- it's not the easy way. There is an uncertainty that few of us are equipped to handle. Freedom's cause demand the daring of the explorer and the dedication of a patriot. It's easy to be overwhelmed by the size and complexity of modern society. It's easy to believe that no amount of individual effort, no amount of aspiration, really matters, or can help bring success. As a result, some of our best people have literally dropped out of the search for ways to make a better life, and some of our best people have even tried to escape to less trying societies abroad. Many Americans, young and old, have lost faith in and respect for government and other institutions. Here we see the fundamental paradox of our age. We are closer than ever before, or at least we are within reach of realizing the best of our nation's ideals; and yet we have never experience so much downright pessimism about the possibility that they will be realized.

Perhaps this is just the point, that alienation itself is not a denial of our ideals but rather an affirmation of them -- an impatience or even a despair of ever achieving them.

But I would like to suggest, particularly to our young friends, that we should avoid becoming what the poet Meredith once called "too soon despairers". We've seen many changes in life styles and I'm sure more are to come. We're seeing the erosion, for example, of the tradition of non-violent protest. This is a civilized approach to

protest, and it is being replaced by violent confrontation in which each side acts out a predetermined role, mindlessly and collectively negating individual integrity and the sense of personal worth. So we have to ask again and again, what can we do to restore man's faith in himself, because without faith in himself he is a helpless creature. How can individuals come to believe that they can indeed affect events in their world -- that they are not powerless in the face of an impersonal set of institutions and a faceless apparatus called the system? Surely there is a lesson here from what John Stewart Mill had to tell us better than a century and a half ago, or at almost that time. He said, "Let a man have nothing to do for his country and he will have no love for it". To paraphrase, let a man have nothing to say about his country, and he will have no respect for it or obedience to it.

Some people say that our goals are too high. I constantly hear that some of us in public life have offered too much. Some people even go so far as to say that Democracy ought to be curbed -- should be scrapped and replaced by a more efficient and tough process. But, let me say nothing could be more foolish, nothing could better guarantee the death of freedom for everyone, if we sell ourselves short on democratic principles for a few short run goals and achievements.

I think there is an alternative -- one that can give individuals greater meaning in their lives and at the same time preserve the essence of Democracy. This alternative is found in a very simple word: participation -- a challenge to our democratic system no less than the one that was posed by the great Depression.

Some of you are going to say this is too simple and obvious. Nothing profound about that, Mr. Humphrey. Well perhaps that's right, but the undeniable fact is that in today's world the chance to take part in society and in government is limited indeed. Oh, I know of the forms of participation have expanded many fold as barriers preventing access to social and political institutions have been lowered; more people vote, more people go to college, more people are able to travel to communicate with one another than ever before. Yet the substance of participation -- a sense of being able

to have a say in what happens -- seems to have remained the province of a very powerful few. The question then remains, how can those who feel powerless share in power? How can the governed give their consent to be governed or even exercise their right of dissent?

Today it is rather popular to talk about doing your own thing. Maybe that's it. At worst, this is an effort to abdicate from social responsibility, to drop out or to obscure the hard work of social change beneath simple slogans. But at best, doing your own thing is a healthy development urging each person to develop his own sense of personal work, his own commitment and involvement.

I think it's rather ironic that this idea should be cherished as if it were new, for it surely is not. On the contrary, the highest expression of all of our efforts in two centuries of American political and social development is doing our own thing. This is what we've always been about as a nation. John Adams, our second president, referred to this personal involvement -- a spirit which is reflected in the life of the people in participation and public discussion and public action. He described that spirit of public happiness as a joy in American citizenship, in self government, in self control, in self discipline, in self dedication.

Maybe that is what we mean by doing our own thing. But in doing it, we need to channel the development of individual identity or integrity into activities not only at the great levels that other people chose for us, but rather at the level of families and neighborhoods and communities. What we do at home may not make the headlines, but it should make for far greater personal happiness, as well as greater fulfillment.

We need to remember with Oliver Wendell Holmes that every calling is great when greatly pursued. We need renewed awareness that true freedom comes not from withdrawing from society, but from taking part. We need to clearly understand that

democracy is not self executing, but what we have to make it work. It is the people's business and the people must take care of their enterprise, or they shall have no business. And like it or not, as much as we would like to be totally individualistic, individuals must act through institutions much of the time, and there are very few institutions more persuasive, more important, than government and politics. The role they play is the key to the individual's ability to take part in Democracy. Only through access to our representative institutions -- to the political process can any of us be guaranteed our right to help chart the future course of our country, or have anything to say about the decisions affecting our lives. There is no party, there is no executive cabinet or legislature, wise enough to govern without constant exposure to informed criticism.

Freedom is not something handed down: it is something hammered out on the anvil of discussion, debate and dissent, which ultimately yields to a decision that can be supported by the public. This is the full meaning of popular government. As Winston Churchill once put it, "Democracy is the worst possible form of government, except all others that have ever been tried," and possibly in that statement we find that it is the most difficult but it is also the most satisfying.

Then what is it that can give meaning to the social contract of equals, which is what we mean by government by the consent of the governed? What definitions, what standards, must we apply? Government must be just, government must be effective and most important, government must inspire a relationship of common trust and purpose among the people and all of the people. Americans have always asked, and I hope they'll always continue to ask, how can government at all levels serve all of the people with greater justice and effectiveness? Today this question is being asked by millions with greater urgency than ever. Americans are saying that they must have governments -- federal, state and local -- which can secure equality of opportunity for all citizens and move decisively against the human problems besetting society, and yet preserve our national inheritance of liberty and individual initiative. A big order. It requires great

leadership -- national leadership that is ready to give moral force and practical support to the law of the land, which says all people, black and white, people of every description, race, creed and color, rich or poor, urban or rural are to have the right and the privilege and the opportunity to learn to work and to live together in one society, in one nation as one community. This will require leadership ready to walk in the dark urban ghettos and the forgotten rural sprawls -- leadership ready to search out these cesspools of social infection and build in their place communities of dignity and opportunity. We are going to need leadership that does not polarize opposites but reconciles differences -- leadership that helps heal the wounds of generations of neglect and inequality. The times cry out for leadership that summons the best in us and rebukes the worst.

But above all, the democratic process, if it is to survive, requires a relationship of trust and common purpose between the people themselves and the people and their government, and this demands reform -- obvious reform in the political processes. Starting with the political parties, we need to improve not only the method of delegate selection and to modernize the rules and procedures of a national party convention, but we need to revitalize the political party structure from the citizen to its very top. The nomination of a president and the adoption of a platform are too important to be the result of a process that is either underrepresentative, undemocratic or unfair. The vitality of the political process also demands the removal of every barrier to exercising the franchise, including the adoption of some necessary reforms: -- a constitutional amendment granting 18 year olds the right to vote in federal and state elections; - a national election commission to insure fairness in all elections; - a program of national registration for all eligible voters; - the elimination of all vestiges of voting discrimination based on race through the extension of the voting rights act of 1965 now pending before the Congress of the United States; - and finally, the election of a president and a vice president, not by obsolete archaic structure of an electoral college, but by direct popular vote.

The democratic process must not be restricted to those who have the wealth or even those who have the leisure time or the superior education and the extra opportunity for political participation. Everyone, from the humblest worker, to the busiest housewife, to the most concerned or unconcerned student, must have an equal chance to take part.

That tells us that we must change. If we ever want to have decent politics in this country, we must clean up the methods of financing political parties. Whether through tax credits, or deductions, or general revenues from the treasury, we must eliminate special privilege and the possibility of corruption and suspicion from what has become a multi-million dollar business of running for high public office. If we fail to do this, politics in America will become the special province of a handful of the wealthy, or a few who can be manipulated by powerful interests. Television and the media -- all that are chartered or licensed by the public through the federal government -- should make available blocks of television time for political parties, the major and the lesser, for all qualified candidates. These airways are owned by the public, and I think one of the qualifications for a license and license renewal should be that time is made available in election years for people to hear the message not only of the party and the candidate with the most money, but more importantly the parties and the candidates that have something to say to the American people.

But the process of revitalizing our politics doesn't stop there. We have to face some rather harsh truths about Congress and our legislatures. Can anybody deny that a congress is unresponsive to the public interest -- that it discourages individuals from taking part -- when it takes 16 years to pass a civil rights act, 17 years to pass medicare, and 10 years to pass federal aid to education? Can we deny this when programs to provide economic opportunity for the least fortunate of our people are always funded after the defense budget is settled? Must we continue to choose congressional committee chairmen solely on the basis of seniority, or do we have the wisdom to find a better way?

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You know, one of the advantages that I find -- and they are very few I might add -- but one of the advantages I find to being out of public office is that your eyes are opened to what goes on in public office. I have what they call a reverse sabbatical leave forced by the Constitution and the electorate and I want to make the most of it.

The executive branch must be made to respond much more quickly to current problems and concerns of our people, and it must have a more systematic approach to longer range planning. In the president's office, for example, we need a Council of Social Advisors similar to the council of economics advisors. Just as the latter seeks to inform and advise the President and Congress on economic matters, so the Council of Social Advisors would act in areas of social and environmental concern, including housing, pollution, population, health, education, civil rights, crime, welfare and poverty. This capacity for judgement and decision is needed at every level of government -- not just in Washington, but state and local as well.

Government also has an active role to play in developing new techniques of involvement in community life, and this can be achieved by an active partnership with private groups and individuals. This is the heart of what we call the new federalism, where we seek to mobilize not only the resources of government, but where we encourage the partnership concept with all the resources of the community. I think we recognized this need when we passed the Economic Opportunity and Model Cities Acts.

Unfortunately, public attention has been focused on the extremes -- on isolated violence on one end and incidents of public apathy on the other. But I can testify here as one who now has looked at these actions of Congress from a teacher's point of view -- having my students go into the community and study what goes on -- I can testify that these efforts have brought large numbers of people into the mainstream of American activity. It has given them a role in decision making for the first time in their lives and a way to better themselves, their neighborhoods and their communities. They are learning, as everybody learns, through trial and error, through the pragmatic approach.

We need to be candid about it, there have been failures in community action, as well as some successes, as there is in any experiment. But we have not abolished research in cancer because we have not found the answer, and I suggest that we do not abolish programs and experimentation in ridding ourselves of the malignancy of poverty because we have not yet found the answer. We must learn from these early efforts, rejecting what doesn't work and accepting that which does. We must not be afraid to experiment with new forms of representation on local levels. We must look critically, but with confidence at the needs of the 70's and honestly evaluate the ability of our existing governmental structures to meet those needs. When we find that changes are needed, and many changes are overdue, we must find the wisdom and the courage to make those changes.

I think we over-estimate, at times, the role of government in our society. Let me say to you that government can be no substitute for the revival of a sense of community. Without a sense of community, there is no nation. It cannot take the place of other efforts to encourage individuals to take an active part in society.

What I have been trying to say is that the individual must be given a greater chance to take part in the society. No man can retain a sense of pride and integrity if he is treated as if he is the object of the economy, to be manipulated at will, instead of its subject, with his own wants and needs to be satisfied.

Today individuals have the right to expect more from industry, not only in direct benefits to the investors, but also in what I call increased social dividends to the community. Industry has responsibilities to each of us, not only its customers. Responsibilities to control pollution, yes, but also to promote education and to be its tribune throughout this land; to help with the rebuilding of our cities; to open its personnel practices to admit people who have long been shunted aside; to lead the fight for rehabilitation of the blighted areas of America. These are responsibilities which only a few have begun to meet, but responsibilities which every great corporation and company in the days ahead will be called upon to fulfill. I am convinced that

this generation of college men and women will expect not only that we shall have an economy which can produce goods and services, but that the resources of that economy shall be directed towards the improvement of what we call the quality of life -- for eliminating inequities, for uplifting the standard of our performance as a people. No part of American society has a greater opportunity, a larger responsibility and more resources with which to do the job than the American corporation, and I call upon them to take the lead.

I suppose that we are seeking above all is for each American to have the chance to train himself, to develop himself to the limit of his capabilities, and possibly here is where government can be the most helpful in aiding him to gain the tools that he needs to understand himself and the purpose of his life. I recall with you the words of that great English thinker Carlyle, who said that "the great law of culture is to let each become all that he was created capable of becoming," and that everything in society must be fashioned to that form of emancipation. We need, therefore, to preserve and develop those institutions that have long made this their goal. From the grade school, indeed from pre-school to the university, we must help man liberate himself through his ability to think and to reason. Possibly education is the key -- at least many have thought so. Jefferson said you can't be both free and ignorant and he insisted that we make a choice and it's still before us. H. G. Wells, as more contemporary man, put it that civilization is a race between education and catastrophe, and that race is still on-- it's a marathon. But to date, at least, one of these great institutions of education is under critical examination and even attack, and it is the American university.

After more than two years of strife and conflict we've had a change to see what has been happening on the campus. At many colleges the response of students, teachers and administrators has been admirable. They have questioned, and, rightly so, the place of the university in society. They have reformed governing procedures and they have re-created a sense of a university community; I would remind us that's what it is suppose to be; it is to be a community. But, in some places, teachers have retreated pell mell before the first serious questioning of their beliefs in a generation. Some

have even adopted positions of blind rigidity; others have joined in parroting meaningless slogans, or have tolerated students who disrupt the class out of fear of their own prejudices. In the community at large, this polarization would be undesirable; in the university, it is intolerable.

So, let us honestly face what is happening, and I do this as an observer. I'm not a tenured professor, but I am a concerned citizen, and I have a great affection for, respect for, and an everlasting gratitude to, the universities, who have given me the privilege of higher education. Remember, each of us who are students and we all are in a sense, we are the most subsidized individuals in the world. Don't let me ever hear one of you talk about a poor person getting some welfare because no one, believe me, no one gets more help from the general public than a person who is privileged to have higher education. But our universities are in crisis and we don't do ourselves very much service by trying to ignore this crisis, or by dismissing it as a work of a few trouble makers, or by failing to note how far the role of the university has strayed in the past years. First, we must ask what should the university do, what is its task? How is its work related to the future of a nation -- of a world? We have always expected our universities to bring intelligence to bear in defining, fostering and carrying on the values of civilization and to use those values to insure that the rational process serves human ends.

In recent years, we have also asked our universities to take on a new function -- an active part in applying values. We have demanded that the ivory tower come into the market place without losing the characteristics of either. Inevitably, these two functions have now come into conflict.

A new generation of students is rejecting the functional role of the university in merely providing skilled people for pre-determined slots in society, instead of trying to reshape it. They reject values in a society that places more emphasis on degrees that a man holds than what he is. These students challenge the ability of an educational

institution to reconsider values -- the standards of civilization and society -- when research is sponsored by government and/or corporations and when many of the best teachers find outside work and prestige in the very institutions whose role and purpose is being most severely scrutinized. Students often complain about teachers who spend more time on junkets for government than they do in questioning the directions and purposes of our society, and I think with great justification.

This conflict, and it's here, and we can't put it under the rug, is made even more difficult to resolve by the demand of the students themselves that the universities be actively involved in day-to-day events, be relevant, be meaningful, through educational standards that are more relevant to society's needs.

So, where are we? We must strike a careful balance -- and this is a difficult assignment -- between a university's direct involvement in a day-to-day reshaping of society, and its function in analyzing society's problems at an arms length objective position, in carrying on the rigorous search for truth. We are just now coming to grips with this dilemma.

The question must be answered and the conflict resolved. It will take some time, and it will not come easily, or painlessly, or without some turmoil and turbulence. Involvement will necessarily influence the forms and contents of criticism, blunting its cutting edge with the inevitable compromises of involvement. But, if we fail to meet these standards -- this intellectual approach -- we will risk having no process -- no habits and traditions of inquiry -- to apply to problems yet unseen. Education will then become no more than a form of on-the-job training, and that is not good enough. So, no matter how we resolve this conflict, I make one practical suggestion: we must preserve the existence of the universities themselves.

It is simply fantasy to believe that destroying or crippling a university, whether by student violence or intellectual timidity on the part of its professors, will change society itself. Destroying the university will merely end all hopes for improving society

at large. And it will end the traditions of thought and action that are necessary if change is not to be aimless and arid. I am reminded of what President Kingman Brewster of Yale University had to say: "Even the most noble purpose cannot justify destroying the university as a safe haven for the ruthless examination of realities, a safe haven for the most unorthodox of ideas -- the right to teach, the right to be heard, the right to listen. Ground rules of tolerance and reason are basic and fundamental to the life of a university and let no university authority or student in any way desecrate them."

Finally, the threat posed to the university, I think illustrates an important element of taking part in Democracy -- that it also involves responsibilities, including the responsibility to pursue change in an orderly fashion. A university cannot survive in violence and an atmosphere of intolerance. It cannot be allowed to become a physical battleground. We must preserve it as the one arena in this troubled society of ours where there can be the fearless pursuit of truth. We must preserve the ruthless examination of realities, however painful that may be, if we are to have any hope of mastering the larger dangers which appear on the horizon facing society. This process of orderly change is the very essence of a free society. Many people condemn our system and they fail to understand that the very heart of the system is change. Also a part of that free society is to balance the rights conferred on each man with what he is asked to do in return. In a community this is the only way in which we can make true freedom possible for everyone.

Now, we demand that all of our citizens respect the law, and that's particularly true of an older generation that has its preachment to a younger one. We pride ourselves, particularly when we are public officials, that we are a nation of laws and not of arbitrary power, but I submit that this responsibility can have moral force only if laws are made by a process that is opened to all of our people and enforced impartially upon all our people.

The rule of law today is under attack -- from both the right and the left and a lot of people have gotten lost on both fringes, in the courtroom and on the streets. I don't think we can permit either extreme to destroy the orderly process of law and the administration of justice of there will be no justice for anyone. We have to take stands, we must take our stand for the due process of law -- slow, clumsy as it is. Due process of law is the surest bulwark for individual liberties ever developed, and the only sure protection for a minority. Passion often rules majorities, congresses, legislatures, govrenors, presidents and other executives. Those who voilate this long designed and carefully honed and refined due process, or disrupt the orderly proceedings of courts, whether from the judge's bench or the courtroom floor, weaken and destroy the very institution which best protects the individual and his rights.

There can be no compromise on this, but we must insure that our law making and our law enforcing procedures serve the interest of all individuals. Only when we insure that rights are equally conferred, will we be fully justified in demanding that responsibilities be equally met. This is what is tru participation and this is what a Democracy is really all about.

Let me leave you tonight with just this bit of lesson in history, because I do not believe that any society can understand the present without some knowledge of the past. Some philosopher I read somewhere said that if you fail to study history, you must live it anew. I wouldn't want to have us life through all the pains of yesterday, so let us study it and get some perspective. American history has been a long process of trying to achieve what we call Democracy. Democracy is not so much an idiology as it is a stratgey. And Democracy is not a God given quality that is ours to be taken for granted. It is a method of dealing with men and women as individuals, rather than as units of energy and action to be manipulated for the ends of state or society.

The democratic method has flourished on this earth only at rare moments. It is a perishable commodity. Most of history is a long record of war, repression and tyrrany broken only by the efforts and the vision of a few individuals who believed that man

was destined for better things -- that a human soul has a worth far surpassing the uses to which man's labors are put. The justification for democracy is man's spirit and his quality of soul, not his flesh and blood.

We are fortunate as people in this country to be a part of the only sustained effort to achieve democracy that there ever has been, and like every generation before us, our part of the experiment simply must succeed, or democracy will disappear, perhaps forever. Indeed, a new tyranny would likely erase even the memory of our efforts from history's record.

If we fail there is no new arsenal of Democracy to rescue us as we rescued Europe in the 1940's. The new dark age will be the darkest of all.

But if we succeed -- and that's the challenge of our time -- we give hope to all mankind. What an exciting time to be alive -- a time of unbelievable opportunities and challenges. I know, I hear of the problems, and I hear of the difficulties: I suggest that we change our rhetoric and our sense of values and vision. Every problem is a challenge, every difficulty can be changed into an opportunity. If we succeed -- if we keep our eyes on the only true end of the democratic method -- the individual man himself -- then we will have achieved the most noble purpose that life can serve here on this earth.

You see, Democracy is a radical idea -- no matter how old its origins. Our search for economic and social justice, which is the bedrock of freedom, is still the most radical idea of all, and we are involved in it, in fact we are its chief exponents.

This is what it means to take part in democracy. It's the people's business, and people must learn to take care of their business, or, they are going to be "given" the business. It's up to us, to no one else. The work of freedom is each generation's task, and Kennedy was right when he said, "peace and freedom are not cheap."

We of this generation shall live out the rest of our lives in challenge and peril, but what more challenging way and daring way is there to live? Who wants to live in quiet? Who wants to live in apathy and indifference? The greatest crime of all is indifference to the lot of your fellow man.

So I come to this campus to ask a new generation of Americans not to lose faith in themselves -- in their capacity to mold this society in their image if they so will it. Remember that freedom is your responsibility, not only for yourself, but for generations unborn. Guard it well, nourish it, build it and make it everyone's precious gift.
Thank you.



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