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THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
HAMLIN UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT
ST. PAUL, MINNESOTA
JUNE 7, 1970

President Bailey
Dean Walker

Box 1408
Don't do!
future - want work

A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS AND RESPONSIBILITIES FOR THE
21ST CENTURY

x L In your generation, only 30 years from now, our familiar 20th century will end and a new century will begin.

L There are those who predict that we'll never make it alive through this century, much less the next..... that nuclear Armageddon is bound to come.

L But there are others, and I am among them, who believe that the year 2000 can bring not only a new century, but the beginning of a new era of human hope and social progress.

L It will in a large part depend on what we Americans do with our time.

↳ There seems to be general agreement that we in America can be living in streamlined, chromeplated, air-conditioned, automated, solid-state, all-electronic comfort in the year 2000.

Discussion of present and future progress almost always seems to be in terms of scientific and technological wonder or horror..... comfort or cataclysm.

It is largely in terms of the quantitative:
How much? How many? How far? How fast?

For instance, in quantitative terms, we know today that we have a Gross National Product of almost a trillion dollars the ability to produce a plane which will fly at 2 thousand miles per hour..... a national inventory of 60 million TV sets..... more than a half-million scientific papers published each year.

↳ All these facts indicate economic prosperity and growth a greater scientific and technological capacity..... a wider ownership of material goods.

↳ Yet, if we look more closely we see other things too: That, for instance, in the shading of high-income areas on census maps, the shading seldom falls on neighborhoods where Negroes live; that, in a time of prosperity in the rich nations, per capita income is going down in the poor nations of the world.

↳ And we increasingly feel -- I know I do -- that it is imperative to apply critical, qualitative measures to what we see -- that it is necessary to see how change is affecting people and their lives.

↳ We have over 2 thousand institutions of higher education in our country. The question is: What proportion of their students are receiving both a solid technical grounding and the ability to think for themselves?

↳ We have, in our cities, billions of dollars of new investment in office buildings and luxury apartments. The question is: Are the families who live in the shadow of these buildings -- that is, the majority of the people who live in our central cities -- better-housed or worse-housed today than they were yesterday?

↪ When Thomas Huxley visited America a century ago, he wrote: "I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed by your bigness, or your material resources, as such. ↪ Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. ↪ The great issue, about which hangs the terror of overhanging fate, is what are you going to do with all these things?"

Today more and more Americans are asking Huxley's question of themselves: With our power, our resources, and our innovative capacity magnified a thousand times, what are we going to do with all these things?

↪ If the achievements of America are to be no more than the hardware of science, the machinery of technology, and the extension of material abundance, we will have made only a minor contribution to mankind.

↪ More important than the machines, and the wealth they produce, are the people who inhabit this earth and the rights they possess.

But we Americans have never looked upon human history with fatalism or a sense of despair. We have never written off the future to the winds of chance and the whims of nature.

It is good to know history. It is even better to make it.

But before the act must come the vision.

What are the rights -- and what are the corresponding responsibilities -- which man may envision in the century ahead, and which he may work toward today? It is clear: The rights of each man must by necessity be limited by the rights of others and by the just demands of the general welfare. Yet, within those limits, the possibilities of making men truly free are today our greatest challenge.

In the past, man's rights have protected him against coercion by his government.

↳ But in a world where destruction is only a half-hour away, as the intercontinental missile flies, we all know that man's rights are affected by forces far beyond those possessed by his own immediate government or environment.

↳ We know that every major event -- or trend -- taking place on this earth sends ripples outward to all other places.

↳ This is one world, and will become even more so.
 ↳ We wish man's rights to be nourished and not to wither, ~~so~~ ^{then} we must move beyond the goal of merely helping him resist the incursions of his immediate government.

↳ We must move behind the business of the protection of rights to a more positive doctrine -- toward their assertion.

↳ In short, we must help man become not just protected, but liberated. !

↳ Does this seem to be new and revolutionary doctrine?

It is revolutionary!

↳ But it is hardly new! It is, in fact, the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson -- doctrine that proclaims "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as the inalienable rights of all men.

--- Life that is more than mere existence.

--- Liberty that is not only proclaimed, but practiced.

--- Happiness that is found in the full and rich life of men who are both secure and free. ↵

We know through our own experience that the rights of man are never real unless they are constantly re-asserted. ↳ We have seen what happens to them when they are left to fend for themselves.

Adlai Stevenson reminded us that -

"Democracy is not self-perpetuating.
We have to make it work, and to
make it work, we have to
understand it. Sober thought and
fearless criticism are impossible
without critical thinkers and
thinking critics. For Democracy
need for wisdom will remain
as perennial as its need
for liberty, not only external
vigilance, but unending
self-examination must be
the perennial price of liberty.
The work of self-government
never ceases."

L We know that the rights of man are a never-
 ending unfinished business, just as America is a nation
never-finished, a destination never quite reached.

~~The quest for the rights of man can never end
 at our own doorway. Nor can it be pursued in any narrow,
 protective sense.~~ ~~*We know that*~~

← Therefore, I hope you will not consider me
 presumptuous if I say that, we as Americans must dedicate
 ourselves to a new Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for the
 21st Century -- rights and responsibilities which fit new
times and circumstances.

The right to peace -- so that man may live and
 hope, free from the threat of those who would march to power.
 In our day this means peace in Southeast Asia. This means
 an end to a costly and tragic war. It means stopping the
 killing -- doing everything within our power to get a cease
 fire, to go the extra mile for a negotiated peace. *It means the
 willingness to lose "some face" if we
 can gain a workable peace. It
 means to let history judge whether
 we erred or not.* The Search for
 Peace is the highest calling of civilized
 man.

and to pursue the search for
Knowledge in an environment
of Reason. ~~and~~ The University
must be the guardian of
the intellectual and rational
~~approach to man's method.~~

The right to justice -- so that man may stand before his peers and his society on truly just and equal basis with his neighbor. Not only justice in the courts but justice in our human relations -- a justice based upon a deep commitment to equal treatment under the law and equal opportunity within the social structure.

The right to free expression -- so that man may speak and be heard, despite the decisions and beliefs of any temporary compact majority, and the right to speak and be heard despite the passions, the dogma, or the rhetoric of any militant minority.

The right to the search for knowledge -- so that no man may remain another's slave through the denial of skill or education.

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

~~The Right~~

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The right to a meaningful role in society --
so that man may follow his own cadence and live with self-
respect and dignity among his fellow citizens.

The right to access to the political process --
so that the decisions of government and public institutions
can be influenced by individual participation.

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

~~The right to a wholesome environment -- clean
air, clean water, safe streets and decent neighborhoods.~~ This
means opening the channels of political participation by re-
moving those restrictions and restraints which deny the
individual his right to participate. It means lowering the
voting age so that those who are asked to act responsibly can

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"Be judged by the quality of their
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the Right to a
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~~the Right to health -~~
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share the responsibility. It means doing away with obsolete and restrictive voter registration practices..... up-dating and opening up the political party convention process. It means all of this and more. ⁹

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

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

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

The right to rest and recreation -- so that the necessity of labor not be permitted to cripple human development.

↳ These are the rights we seek -- and must continue to seek -- to make alive and real for ourselves and others.

↳ But these rights will not be achieved at home, or in the world, without the exercise of consonant responsibility by men who would possess them.

↳ Then what are the responsibilities of modern man?

↳ The responsibility to participate -- lest critical initiatives and decisions be left to those who would bend them to their own use.

↳ The responsibility to speak out -- lest silence in the face of injustice be interpreted as its acceptance.

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

↳ The responsibility to support the rule of law -- lest the law of the jungle become the pattern of human behavior. Violence begets violence -- the rule of reason and the art of persuasion must be guiding principles of a free society.

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

*- Helping the needy -
Protecting the weak
Restraining those who
would abuse the use of
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~~The Responsibility to commit ourselves to~~

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~~And these responsibilities, I might add, are nowhere more clearly spelled out than in two remarkable documents of our time: The Charter of the United Nations and the recent Encyclical of his Holiness, Pope Paul VI.~~

~~yes~~ It is clear: The rights of each man must by necessity be limited by the rights of others and by the just demands of the general welfare. Yet, within those limits, the possibilities of making men truly free are today but barely touched.

Keep

The first step is to have a vision of the rights we seek. The second step is to resourcefully find the means to their attainment. The third step is to have the courage to use those means until the vision is achieved.

I have faith that America has within itself the vision the resourcefulness..... and the courage.

↳ I have faith that we shall not be diverted, at home or in the world, by the temporary crises and distractions

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which tempt men to infringe on the rights of others..... or to abandon their responsibilities.

And I have faith that the year 2000 will dawn on a world not of emptiness and devastation..... not of oppression and conformity..... not of self-indulgence and materialism.....but a world in which each man can stand free and equal in his search for the happier, better life that can be his.

That is the promise of the 21st Century. And that is the promise of America.

Carl Sandburg has given us the song of our American destiny, if we but ~~will~~ will it to be -

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"Democracy is not self-executing. We have to make it work, and to make it work, we have to understand it. Sober thought and fearless criticism are impossible without critical thinkers and thinking critics.....For democracy's need for wisdom will remain as perennial as its need for liberty. Not only external vigilance, but unending self-examination must be the perennial price of liberty, because the work of self-government never ceases."

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"I see America, not in the setting sun of a black night of despair ahead of us. I see America in the crimson light of a rising sun fresh from the burning, creative hand of God. I see great days ahead, great days possible to men and women of will and vision..."



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