

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

BRIDGEPORT UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

JUNE 6, 1971

I want to call you back today to the "3 R's."

This may seem unusual as you are about to graduate from this distinguished university. But I have in mind a new 3 R's -- a new 3 R's for America today: Reconciliation, Reconstruction and Reaffirmation.

I believe America desperately needs leadership capable of bringing:

Reconciliation to a people who are today the victims of fear, of doubt and division;

Reconstruction to a Nation whose cities and rural countryside are deteriorating and plagued with problems of pollution, slums and obsolescence;

Reaffirmation for a people who are questioning the values and the ideals of American life. Yes, reaffirmation of that noble goal of one Nation, of a Nation united in common purpose, dedicated to liberty and justice and opportunity for all.

That is the promise of America. I believe we can realize that promise. I believe we must.

Let me tell you today what I think this task will require of us -- all of us -- you and me and the political leadership of our country.

Reconciliation

First, we must end the war in Vietnam, which has divided us as a people and from some of our friends abroad.

The war has done more than divide us. It has claimed thousands of young lives . . . maimed many more thousands of others . . . cheated us of billions of dollars in badly-needed resources . . . and, in the words of our forefathers, it could cost us the respect of the "opinions of mankind."

Indochina is a lingering disease that continues to infect the body politic.

It saps our strength.

It poisons the wells of good will.

It depletes our resources.

It distracts us from the urgent needs of a rapidly changing social and economic structure. It leaves us angry and frustrated.

There is but one answer: We must disengage and do it promptly.

Wars require courage. But making peace takes even greater courage.

America needs the political leadership with the courage to stop the war and negotiate the peace.

Yes, we must get out of Indochina. Until we do, there can be no reconciliation at home.

Second, we must end those abuses of our system that divide the citizen from his government.

I've been a Mayor, a Vice President, and a Senator. In all those offices I've always proceeded on the assumption that when a constituent came to me with a grievance against the government, the individual constituent was right and the government maybe wrong. I've seldom found that assumption to be in error.

Even those governmental institutions and programs instituted with the best of intent have a way, in practice, of abusing or ignoring the individual citizen. And if the aggrieved citizen

is not rich, or influential, or incredibly persistent, he can seldom find redress.

For example, I am the original author of the Food Stamp program. Until there is something better to replace them, Food Stamps will be needed to improve the diet of the hungry and needy.

But there is nonetheless something wrong with a Food Stamp program which, in city after city, results in mothers and their young children standing in line at 4 a. m. on winter mornings to receive their allotment, and others being turned away because they arrived too late.

There is something wrong with welfare programs which spy on the ill, the hopeless and the indigent as if they were chiselers trying to catch a free ride, and which encourage the breakup of the family unit.

There is something wrong with a Selective Service system which provides loopholes for the wealthy and well-connected, and sends poor whites, blacks and Chicanos out to Indochina to lose their limbs and lives.

Then there are the incredible inequities in our present tax laws at all levels of government.

Our people are crying for equal treatment before the tax collector.

There are millionaires who pay few, if any, taxes because they know about things like depreciation and capital gains and expense accounts, while little people who work for a weekly paycheck, who own or rent modest homes, who have no expense accounts are taxed more highly and oppressively each year.

What I'm saying here is this: We've got to show the individual citizen that he's in charge -- not simply an object to be acted-upon impersonally by some remote bureaucratic entity -- and that his government operates upon some easily-understandable principles of justice and equity.

I say we need a new Bill of Rights. And these are the elements:  
The Right to Peace.

The war in Vietnam violates the right to peace of all Americans, all Asians, All Africans, all Europeans -- of all mankind. We must withdraw from it as soon as possible -- this year.

Just as important is the right to be free from the threats to peace -- free from fear of nuclear annihilation -- free from the psychological and economic costs of an ever increasing escalation of the nuclear arms race.

Next is the right to a job -- the right to suitable employment for every American.

The Right to Health. America must build, and build soon, a health care system that guarantees us the right to be healthy; not the right to be treated when we become sick.

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

The right to a wholesome environment -- clean air, clean water, pure food, peace and quiet, and the refreshing touch of unspoiled nature.

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 justice -- so that man may stand before his peers and his society on a truly just and equal basis with his neighbor.

The right to a decent home -- housing that cradles a child's soul -- not crushes it under massive concrete and despair.

The right to a safe neighborhood -- so that man may move about freely without fear of life, limb or property.

The right to equal opportunity -- so that man may lift himself to the limits of his ability, no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion, or his so-called social status.

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

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

#### Reconstruction

One of the great tragedies of the Vietnam war is that it has so drained our energies, our resources and our attention that it

has diverted us from the task of reconstruction at home. It has led us to a distorted sense of national priorities.

Our Federal government spends 81.5 billion dollars for support of the Pentagon and only 9.9 billion for support of our schools . . . we grant a half-billion dollars to the oil industry in the form of depletion allowances while allocating less than one-tenth that much to the control of pollution in our water and air . . . we spend some 30 billion dollars in Vietnam while investing a sum total of 25.6 billions in all federal programs put together for health care and research, urban revitalization, foreign economic assistance, and encouragement of the arts.

In all the industrial and post-industrial nations -- both East and West -- both a new generation and the "left-outs" of society are rightly raising their voices against such imbalances, which not only sustain unnecessary hardship and hunger but also seem to debase and foul the everyday physical and spiritual environment.

And you don't have to be either poor or young in America to feel anger at the unresponsiveness of an "advanced" society where nothing seems to adequately work -- from exhaust controls on our automobiles . . . to arrogant, mistake-making computers . . . to our garbage collection systems . . . to sure-fire "secret plans" for ending the war in Indochina.

The obstacle is not, as charged by the 1970's breed of radicals, the inherent rottenness of our economic or political institutions.

The obstacles are, rather, inertia and lopsided priorities.

How do we change habits of thought of a generation and more? How do we revive and renew institutions that haven't been shaken and changed, many of them, for 30 or 40 years?

We have to ask ourselves some basic questions about ourselves --

Is our national wealth being fairly distributed?

Are the domestic and foreign-policy decisions of this avowedly-democratic nation being made through sufficiently-democratic means?

Is our federal system -- at all levels of government -- capable of meeting, in its present form, the requirements of our people?

In more prosaic terms: If we as a nation are rich, why are so many still poor?

If we as a nation profess racial and sexual equality, why are they still so clearly lacking?

If we as a nation want to end the war, why does our government still pursue it?

If we as a people seek more direct and immediate influence upon the things that affect our daily lives, why do all the decisions seem to be made all the more distantly and impersonally?

These, I believe, are the questions we must begin to address if we are to proceed with the reconstruction of the America we know we can build.

#### Reaffirmation

The last of the new 3 R's I suggest is Reaffirmation -- reaffirmation of the basic principles of our representative democracy, and yes, reaffirmation of love for the idea of America.

The impulse is there; it is in the American people, if it is summoned by a leadership with vision for what America can be.

Wherever I go in this country I still find a basic belief in the rightness of the idea which brought us here.

It's in the American flag on the motorcyclist's jacket.

It's in the lights burning late in the legal aid office on Lenox Avenue.

It's in the song lyrics on your radio: "There's a New Day 'Comin."

Yes, it's in the young veterans who came to Washington -- some of them without arms or legs -- to tell us to end the war.

It's in the millions of ordinary people sweating their way through hard daily work because they haven't given up their hopes and ambitions for their children and grandchildren in this New World.

More than ever, I have faith in the resiliency and the strength of this American society of ours.

We've lost our innocence. But we still have our dreams.

The America of tomorrow requires a new patriotism -- not only the patriotism to flag and country, to history and heritage, but the patriotism of service to people and love of mankind.

The new patriotism for the America of tomorrow is the patriotism of compassion for those who are in need, of the relentless fight for justice for those who have been the victims of injustice.

It is the patriotism of judging each other not on the basis of color, creed, or ethnic origin, but on the quality of character -- yes, on merit.

The America of tomorrow needs the passionate patriotism of unbounded confidence in our ability to create a better society, to build new and beautiful cities, to clean out our slums and ghettos, to cleanse ourselves of bigotry and intolerance.

The patriotism for your generation must be an unflinching dedication to peace and a respect for those who have the courage to truly seek peace and work for peace -- not only the peace that comes when the guns of war are silent, but the peace that comes from building a community of nations where differences are tolerated and the rule of force and brute power is rejected.

The new patriotism must embody a commitment to the preciousness of life and the enrichment of the human spirit -- a patriotism that measures our greatness not merely in the standard of our living but in the quality of our life.

This kind of patriotism will require more courage and steadfastness to principle and purpose.

The beloved Adlai Stevenson described it in these words:

"Patriotism is not a short and frenzied outburst of emotion, but the tranquil and steady dedication of a lifetime."

It is this challenge of discipline that will determine our future.

Can we be firm without being belligerent?

Can we be resolute without being angry?

Do we have the moral stamina to take problems and transform them into challenges? To take difficulties and make them opportunities?

If we do not, there is no future. If we do, the future is ours.

I believe we can do all of these things. There is a dynamic quality to the people of this Nation. It is manifest in the restlessness, the turbulence, and the dissent of our times. We know we can do better and we know we must.

The poet Thomas Wolfe in the dark days of the depression challenged every American in those stirring words of faith and promise:

"To every man his chance; to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself. And to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This . . . is the promise of America."

# # # # #

(4) (1)

Bob Hope -

my advice to you young graduates about ready to go out on the world - Don't Go!

- President Manning

- President Senior Class, Harold Sand

- Trustees

- Faculty, Students, Ladies Gentlemen

001865

REMARKS BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator

BRIDGEPORT UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT

Mr Mayor

International Union

BRIDGEPORT, CONNECTICUT

Harold Sand

- Chancellor Halsey -

JUNE 6, 1971

President-Emeritus, Dr Littlefield

Three Days to Remember

First week of June - Historically Significant

(1) D-Day June 6<sup>th</sup> 1944

(2) 6 Day war 1967

(3) Bobt Kennedy's death June 5<sup>th</sup>

(X) Aldous Huxley - "I have peered into the future and it won't work"

001866

1960's - Patent  
Duescher  
Debut  
Drawing  
Decision  
War  
Road  
Edus  
Seems  
Tactical

L

I WANT TO CALL YOU BACK TODAY TO THE "3 R's."

THIS MAY SEEM UNUSUAL AS YOU ARE ABOUT TO GRADUATE

FROM THIS DISTINGUISHED UNIVERSITY. BUT I HAVE IN MIND

A NEW 3 R's -- A NEW 3 R's FOR AMERICA TODAY: RECONCILIATION,

RECONSTRUCTION AND REAFFIRMATION.

L

I BELIEVE AMERICA DESPERATELY NEEDS LEADERSHIP CAPABLE

OF BRINGING:

L

RECONCILIATION TO A PEOPLE WHO ARE TODAY THE VICTIMS

OF FEAR, OF DOUBT AND DIVISION;

L

RECONSTRUCTION TO A NATION WHOSE CITIES AND RURAL

COUNTRYSIDE ARE DETERIORATING AND PLAGUED WITH PROBLEMS OF

POLLUTION, SLUMS AND OBSOLESCENCE;

L REAFFIRMATION FOR A PEOPLE WHO ARE QUESTIONING THE

VALUES AND THE IDEALS OF AMERICAN LIFE. L Yes, REAFFIRMATION

OF THAT NOBLE GOAL OF ONE NATION ~~OR~~ A NATION UNITED IN

COMMON PURPOSE, DEDICATED TO LIBERTY AND JUSTICE AND

OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL! *(signature)*

*Promise*

L THAT IS THE PROMISE OF AMERICA. I BELIEVE WE CAN

REALIZE THAT PROMISE. I BELIEVE WE MUST.

L ~~LET ME TELL YOU ~~WHAT~~ WHAT I THINK THIS TASK WILL~~

~~REQUIRE OF US -- ALL OF US -- YOU AND ME AND THE POLITICAL~~

LEADERSHIP OF OUR COUNTRY.

h THE POET THOMAS WOLFE IN THE DARK DAYS OF THE  
DEPRESSION CHALLENGED EVERY AMERICAN IN THOSE STIRRING  
WORDS OF FAITH AND PROMISE:

"TO EVERY MAN HIS CHANCE; TO EVERY MAN REGARDLESS  
OF HIS BIRTH, HIS SHINING GOLDEN OPPORTUNITY, TO EVERY  
MAN THE RIGHT TO LIVE, TO WORK, TO BE HIMSELF, AND TO  
BECOME WHATEVER THING HIS MANHOOD AND HIS VISION CAN  
COMBINE TO MAKE HIM. THIS . . . IS THE PROMISE OF  
AMERICA."

Let me share with you ~~my thoughts~~  
what I think <sup>#.#.#.#</sup> this challenge  
will require of us - all of us  
(~~no veterans!~~)

RECONCILIATION

~~First, we must end the war in Vietnam,~~ *a war which*  
~~which has~~

*has* ~~divided us as a people and from some of our friends abroad.~~

*But* ~~the war has done more than divide us.~~ ~~It has claimed~~

~~thousands of young lives . . . maimed many more thousands~~

~~of others . . . cheated us of billions of dollars in~~

~~badly-needed resources . . . and, in the words of our~~

~~forefathers,~~ ~~it could cost us the respect of the~~

~~"opinions of mankind."~~

~~Indochina is a lingering disease that continues to~~

~~infect the body politic.~~

~~It saps our strength.~~

~~It poisons the wells of good will.~~

~~It depletes our resources.~~

L IT DISTRACTS US FROM THE URGENT NEEDS OF A RAPIDLY  
CHANGING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC STRUCTURE. L IT LEAVES US  
ANGRY AND FRUSTRATED.

L THERE IS BUT ONE ANSWER: WE MUST DISENGAGE AND DO  
IT PROMPTLY.

L WARS REQUIRE COURAGE! BUT MAKING PEACE TAKES EVEN  
GREATER COURAGE!

L AMERICA NEEDS THE POLITICAL LEADERSHIP WITH THE  
COURAGE TO STOP THE WAR AND NEGOTIATE THE PEACE.

L ~~YES, WE MUST GET OUT OF INDOCHINA~~ L UNTIL WE DO, THERE  
CAN BE NO RECONCILIATION AT HOME!

#2 L SECOND, WE MUST END THOSE ABUSES OF OUR SYSTEM THAT  
DIVIDE THE CITIZEN FROM HIS GOVERNMENT.

I'VE BEEN A MAYOR, A VICE PRESIDENT, AND A SENATOR. IN  
ALL THOSE OFFICES I'VE ALWAYS PROCEEDED ON THE ASSUMPTION  
THAT WHEN A CONSTITUENT CAME TO ME WITH A GRIEVANCE AGAINST  
THE GOVERNMENT, THE INDIVIDUAL CONSTITUENT <sup>maybe</sup> ~~was~~ RIGHT  
AND THE GOVERNMENT MAYBE WRONG. I'VE SELDOM FOUND THAT  
ASSUMPTION TO BE IN ERROR!

↳ EVEN THOSE GOVERNMENTAL INSTITUTIONS AND PROGRAMS  
INSTITUTED WITH THE BEST OF INTENT HAVE A WAY, IN PRACTICE,  
OF ABUSING OR IGNORING THE INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN. AND IF  
THE AGGRIEVED CITIZEN IS NOT RICH, OR INFLUENTIAL, OR  
INCREDIBLY PERSISTENT, HE CAN SELDOM FIND REDRESS!

FOR EXAMPLE, I AM THE ORIGINAL AUTHOR OF THE FOOD  
 STAMP PROGRAM. UNTIL THERE IS SOMETHING BETTER TO REPLACE  
 THEM, FOOD STAMPS WILL BE NEEDED TO IMPROVE THE DIET OF  
 THE HUNGRY AND NEEDY.

*For stamps,*  
~~BUT~~ THERE IS ~~NONETHELESS~~ SOMETHING WRONG WITH A FOOD

STAMP PROGRAM WHICH, IN CITY AFTER CITY, RESULTS IN  
 MOTHERS AND THEIR ~~CHILDREN~~ CHILDREN STANDING IN LINE AT  
 4 A. M. ON WINTER MORNINGS TO RECEIVE THEIR ALLOTMENT,  
 AND OTHERS BEING TURNED AWAY BECAUSE THEY ARRIVED TOO  
 LATE.!

↳ THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH WELFARE PROGRAMS WHICH  
 SPY ON THE ILL, THE HOPELESS AND THE INDIGENT AS IF THEY  
 WERE CHISELERS TRYING TO CATCH A FREE RIDE, AND WHICH  
 ENCOURAGE THE BREAKUP OF THE FAMILY UNIT.!

~~There is something wrong with our system - that  
isn't, unemployment!~~

↳ THERE IS SOMETHING WRONG WITH A SELECTIVE SERVICE  
SYSTEM WHICH PROVIDES LOOPHOLES FOR ~~THE~~ SOME THE

WELL-CONNECTED, AND SENDS POOR WHITES, BLACKS AND

CHICANOS OUT TO INDOCHINA TO LOSE THEIR LIMBS AND LIVES,

and THEN THERE ARE THE INCREDIBLE INEQUITIES IN OUR

PRESENT TAX LAWS AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT,

↳ OUR PEOPLE ARE CRYING FOR EQUAL TREATMENT BEFORE  
THE TAX COLLECTOR.

↳ THERE ARE MILLIONAIRES WHO PAY FEW, IF ANY, TAXES  
BECAUSE THEY KNOW ABOUT THINGS LIKE DEPRECIATION AND  
CAPITAL GAINS AND EXPENSE ACCOUNTS, WHILE ~~THESE~~ PEOPLE  
WHO WORK FOR A WEEKLY PAYCHECK, WHO OWN OR RENT MODEST  
HOMES, WHO HAVE NO EXPENSE ACCOUNTS ARE TAXED MORE  
HIGHLY AND OPPRESSIVELY EACH YEAR. !

WHAT I'M SAYING HERE IS THIS: WE'VE GOT TO SHOW THE

INDIVIDUAL CITIZEN THAT HE'S IN CHARGE ~~NOT SIMPLY~~ *that his*

*voice is being heard -*  
~~AN OBJECT TO BE ACTED UPON IMPERSONALLY BY SOME REMOTE~~

~~BUREAUCRATIC ENTITY -- AND THAT HIS GOVERNMENT OPERATES~~

UPON SOME EASILY-UNDERSTANDABLE PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE

AND EQUITY. *! - the times call for*

*amendment*  
~~WE NEED A NEW BILL OF RIGHTS. AND THESE ARE~~

THE ELEMENTS:

*L* THE RIGHT TO PEACE.

THE WAR IN VIETNAM VIOLATES THE RIGHT TO PEACE OF

ALL AMERICANS, ALL ASIANS, ALL AFRICANS, ALL EUROPEANS --

OF ALL MANKIND. WE MUST WITHDRAW FROM IT AS SOON AS

POSSIBLE -- THIS YEAR.

JUST AS IMPORTANT IS THE RIGHT TO BE FREE FROM THE  
THREATS TO PEACE! -- FREE FROM FEAR OF NUCLEAR ANNIHILATION --  
 FREE FROM THE PSYCHOLOGICAL AND ECONOMIC COSTS OF AN EVER  
INCREASING ESCALATION OF THE NUCLEAR ARMS RACE.

30% of people  
 young & old  
 29% of youth

NEXT IS THE RIGHT TO A JOB! -- THE RIGHT TO SUITABLE  
 EMPLOYMENT FOR EVERY AMERICAN. *Not "make work" - but*  
*meaningful work in both the Private + Public sectors*

THE RIGHT TO HEALTH! AMERICA MUST BUILD, AND BUILD  
 SOON, A HEALTH CARE SYSTEM THAT GUARANTEES US THE RIGHT  
 TO HEALTHCARE *only*; NOT THE RIGHT TO BE TREATED WHEN WE BECOME  
*ill - but the opportunity to stay well -*  
*preventive health care.*

THE RIGHT TO SEARCH FOR KNOWLEDGE -- SO THAT NO MAN  
 MAY REMAIN ANOTHER'S SLAVE THROUGH THE DENIAL OF SKILL  
OR EDUCATION.

L THE RIGHT TO A WHOLESOME ENVIRONMENT -- CLEAN AIR,

CLEAN WATER, PURE FOOD, PEACE AND QUIET, AND THE REFRESHING

TOUCH OF UNSPOILED NATURE

L 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.

L THE RIGHT TO JUSTICE -- SO THAT MAN MAY STAND BEFORE

HIS PEERS AND HIS SOCIETY ON A TRULY JUST AND EQUAL BASIS

WITH HIS NEIGHBOR.

L THE RIGHT TO A DECENT HOME -- HOUSING THAT CRADLES

A CHILD'S SOUL -- NOT CRUSHES IT UNDER MASSIVE CONCRETE, *fills,*

AND DESPAIR.

L THE RIGHT TO A SAFE NEIGHBORHOOD -- SO THAT MAN MAY

MOVE ABOUT FREELY WITHOUT FEAR OF LIFE, LIMB OR PROPERTY.

L THE RIGHT TO EQUAL OPPORTUNITY -- SO THAT MAN MAY

LIFT HIMSELF TO THE LIMITS OF HIS ABILITY, NO MATTER

WHAT THE COLOR OF HIS SKIN, THE TENETS OF HIS RELIGION,

OR HIS SO-CALLED SOCIAL STATUS,

L THE RIGHT TO REST AND RECREATION -- SO THAT THE

NECESSITY OF LABOR NOT BE PERMITTED TO CRIPPLE HUMAN

DEVELOPMENT, *and physical + spiritual refreshment.*

L THE RIGHT TO PRIVACY -- SO THAT MAN MAY BE FREE OF

THE HEAVY HAND OF THE WATCHERS AND LISTENERS, *& Snoopers.*

*These are the <sup>social + economic</sup> rights that give substance to Political rights.*

RECONSTRUCTION

ONE OF THE GREAT TRAGEDIES OF THE VIETNAM WAR IS  
 THAT IT HAS SO DRAINED OUR ENERGIES, OUR RESOURCES AND  
 OUR ATTENTION THAT IT HAS DIVERTED US FROM THE TASK OF  
 RECONSTRUCTION AT HOME. IT HAS LED US TO A DISTORTED  
 SENSE OF NATIONAL PRIORITIES.

(Harold Sand)

OUR FEDERAL GOVERNMENT SPENDS ~~21.5~~<sup>over 30</sup> BILLION DOLLARS

FOR SUPPORT OF THE PENTAGON AND ONLY 10 BILLION FOR  
 SUPPORT OF OUR SCHOOLS . . .

WE GRANT 13.11 BILLIONS  
~~WE GRANT HALF BILLION~~

DOLLARS TO THE ~~OIL~~ INDUSTRY IN THE FORM OF DEPLETION  
 ALLOWANCES WHILE ALLOCATING LESS THAN ONE-TENTH THAT

*accelerated depreciation*

MUCH TO THE CONTROL OF POLLUTION IN OUR WATER AND AIR . . .

WE SPEND SOME 30 BILLION DOLLARS IN VIETNAM WHILE INVESTING

A SUM TOTAL OF 25.6 BILLIONS IN ALL FEDERAL PROGRAMS PUT

TOGETHER FOR HEALTH CARE AND RESEARCH, URBAN REVITALIZATION,

FOREIGN ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE, AND ENCOURAGEMENT OF THE ARTS

IN ALL THE INDUSTRIAL AND POST-INDUSTRIAL NATIONS --

BOTH EAST AND WEST -- BOTH A NEW GENERATION AND THE

"LEFT-OUTS" OF SOCIETY ARE RIGHTLY RAISING THEIR VOICES

AGAINST SUCH IMBALANCES, WHICH NOT ONLY SUSTAIN

UNNECESSARY HARDSHIP AND HUNGER BUT ALSO SEEM TO DEBASE

AND FOUL THE EVERYDAY PHYSICAL AND SPIRITUAL ENVIRONMENT.

AND YOU DON'T HAVE TO BE EITHER POOR OR YOUNG

IN AMERICA TO FEEL ANGER AT THE UNRESPONSIVENESS OF

AN "ADVANCED" SOCIETY WHERE NOTHING SEEMS TO ADEQUATELY

WORK -- FROM EXHAUST CONTROLS ON OUR AUTOMOBILES . . .

. . . TO ARROGANT, MISTAKE-MAKING COMPUTERS . . . TO OUR  
GARBAGE COLLECTION SYSTEMS . . . TO SURE-FIRE "SECRET PLANS"  
FOR ENDING THE WAR IN INDOCHINA.

↳ THE OBSTACLE IS NOT AS CHARGED BY THE 1970'S BREED  
OF RADICALS THE ~~rottenness~~ <sup>corruptness</sup> ROTTENNESS OF OUR ECONOMIC  
OR POLITICAL INSTITUTIONS.

↳ THE OBSTACLES ARE, RATHER, INERTIA AND LOPSIDED  
PRIORITIES. !

↳ HOW DO WE CHANGE HABITS OF THOUGHT OF A GENERATION  
AND MORE? HOW DO WE REVIVE AND RENEW INSTITUTIONS  
THAT HAVEN'T BEEN SHAKEN AND CHANGED, MANY OF THEM, FOR  
30 OR 40 YEARS?

*well* WE HAVE TO ASK OURSELVES SOME BASIC QUESTIONS ABOUT

OURSELVES --

↳ Is OUR NATIONAL WEALTH BEING FAIRLY DISTRIBUTED?

↳ ARE THE DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN-POLICY DECISIONS OF

THIS AVOWEDLY-DEMOCRATIC NATION BEING MADE THROUGH

SUFFICIENTLY-DEMOCRATIC MEANS?

↳ Is OUR FEDERAL SYSTEM -- AT ALL LEVELS OF GOVERNMENT --

CAPABLE OF MEETING, IN ITS PRESENT FORM, THE REQUIREMENTS

OF OUR PEOPLE?

↳ IN MORE PROSAIC TERMS: IF WE AS A NATION ARE

RICH, WHY ARE SO MANY STILL POOR?

↳ IF WE AS A NATION PROFESS RACIAL AND SEXUAL EQUALITY,

WHY ARE THEY STILL SO CLEARLY LACKING?

↳ IF WE AS A NATION WANT TO END THE WAR, WHY DOES OUR GOVERNMENT STILL PURSUE IT?

↳ IF WE AS A PEOPLE SEEK MORE DIRECT AND IMMEDIATE INFLUENCE UPON THE THINGS THAT AFFECT OUR DAILY LIVES, WHY DO ALL THE DECISIONS SEEM TO BE MADE ALL THE MORE DISTANTLY AND IMPERSONALLY?

↳ THESE, I BELIEVE, ARE THE QUESTIONS WE MUST BEGIN TO ADDRESS IF WE ARE TO PROCEED WITH THE RECONSTRUCTION OF THE AMERICA WE KNOW WE CAN BUILD.

Robert Kennedy oft - recited these words of Bernard Shaw -  
 "Some people see things as they are and ask why?  
 I dream dreams that never were, and ask why not?"

REAFFIRMATION

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↳ THE LAST OF THE NEW 3 R'S I SUGGEST IS REAFFIRMATION --

REAFFIRMATION OF THE BASIC PRINCIPLES OF OUR REPRESENTATIVE

DEMOCRACY, AND YES, REAFFIRMATION OF LOVE FOR THE IDEA OF  
AMERICA.

↳ THE IMPULSE IS THERE! IT IS IN THE AMERICAN PEOPLE,

IF IT IS SUMMONED BY A LEADERSHIP WITH VISION FOR WHAT

AMERICA CAN BE.

↳ WHEREVER I GO IN THIS COUNTRY I STILL FIND A BASIC

BELIEF IN THE RIGHTNESS OF THE IDEA WHICH BROUGHT US

HERE.

↳ IT'S IN THE AMERICAN FLAG ON THE MOTORCYCLIST'S

JACKET.

L IT'S IN THE LIGHTS BURNING LATE IN THE LEGAL AID  
 OFFICE ON LENOX AVENUE.

L IT'S IN THE SONG LYRICS ON YOUR RADIO: "THERE'S  
A NEW DAY 'COMIN."

~~L YES, IT'S IN THE YOUNG VETERANS WHO CAME TO WASHINGTON --  
 SOME OF THEM WITHOUT ARMS OR LEGS TO TELL US TO END~~

THE WAR.

L IT'S IN THE MILLIONS OF ORDINARY PEOPLE SWEATING  
 THEIR WAY THROUGH HARD DAILY WORK BECAUSE THEY HAVEN'T  
 GIVEN UP THEIR HOPES AND AMBITIONS FOR THEIR CHILDREN  
AND GRANDCHILDREN IN THIS NEW WORLD.

↳ MORE THAN EVER, I HAVE FAITH IN THE RESILIENCY AND  
THE STRENGTH OF THIS AMERICAN SOCIETY OF OURS.,

↳ WE'VE LOST OUR INNOCENCE, BUT, WE STILL HAVE OUR  
DREAMS.

##  
↳ THE AMERICA OF TOMORROW REQUIRES A NEW PATRIOTISM

NOT ONLY THE PATRIOTISM TO FLAG AND COUNTRY, TO HISTORY

AND HERITAGE, BUT THE PATRIOTISM OF SERVICE TO PEOPLE

AND LOVE OF MANKIND.

↳ THE NEW PATRIOTISM FOR THE AMERICA OF TOMORROW  
*must* BE THE PATRIOTISM OF COMPASSION FOR THOSE WHO ARE IN NEED

OF THE RELENTLESS FIGHT FOR JUSTICE FOR THOSE WHO HAVE

BEEN THE VICTIMS OF INJUSTICE.

↳ IT IS THE PATRIOTISM OF JUDGING EACH OTHER NOT ON  
THE BASIS OF COLOR, CREED, OR ETHNIC ORIGIN, BUT ON THE  
QUALITY OF CHARACTER -- YES, ON MERIT,

↳ THE AMERICA OF TOMORROW NEEDS THE PASSIONATE  
PATRIOTISM OF UNBOUNDED CONFIDENCE IN OUR ABILITY TO  
CREATE A BETTER SOCIETY; TO BUILD NEW AND BEAUTIFUL  
CITIES; TO CLEAN OUT OUR SLUMS AND GHETTOS; TO CLEANSE  
OURSELVES OF BIGOTRY AND INTOLERANCE.

↳ THE PATRIOTISM FOR YOUR GENERATION MUST BE AN  
UNFLINCHING DEDICATION TO PEACE AND A RESPECT FOR THOSE  
WHO HAVE THE COURAGE TO TRULY SEEK PEACE AND WORK FOR  
PEACE -- NOT ONLY THE PEACE THAT COMES WHEN THE GUNS OF  
WAR ARE SILENT, BUT THE PEACE THAT COMES FROM BUILDING A  
COMMUNITY OF NATIONS WHERE DIFFERENCES ARE TOLERATED AND  
THE RULE OF FORCE AND BRUTE POWER IS REJECTED.

*Dr. Schweitzer*  
*"Reverence for Life"*

001887

↳ THE NEW PATRIOTISM MUST EMBODY A COMMITMENT TO THE

"PRECIOUSNESS OF LIFE AND THE ENRICHMENT OF THE HUMAN

SPIRIT -- A PATRIOTISM THAT MEASURES OUR GREATNESS NOT

MERELY IN THE STANDARD OF OUR LIVING BUT IN THE QUALITY

OF OUR LIFE!

↳ THIS KIND OF PATRIOTISM WILL REQUIRE COURAGE

AND STEADFASTNESS TO PRINCIPLE AND PURPOSE.

↳ THE BELOVED ADLAI STEVENSON DESCRIBED <sup>IT</sup> IN THESE WORDS:

"PATRIOTISM IS NOT A SHORT AND FRENZIED OUTBURST OF EMOTION, BUT THE TRANQUIL AND STEADY DEDICATION OF A LIFETIME."

↳ IT IS THIS CHALLENGE OF <sup>SELF</sup> DISCIPLINE THAT WILL

DETERMINE OUR FUTURE.

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Carl Sandburg

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  
creative hand of God.

↙  
I see great days ahead - great  
days possible to men and  
women of will and vision"  
(Carl Sandburg)

↳ CAN WE BE FIRM WITHOUT BEING BELLIGERENT?

↳ CAN WE BE RESOLUTE WITHOUT BEING ANGRY?

↳ DO WE HAVE THE MORAL STAMINA TO TAKE PROBLEMS AND

TRANSFORM THEM INTO CHALLENGES? TO TAKE DIFFICULTIES

AND MAKE THEM OPPORTUNITIES?

↳ IF WE DO NOT, THERE IS NO FUTURE. ↳ IF WE DO, THE

FUTURE IS OURS.

↳ I BELIEVE WE CAN DO ALL OF THESE THINGS. ↳ THERE IS

A DYNAMIC QUALITY TO THE PEOPLE OF THIS NATION. ↳ IT IS

MANIFEST IN THE RESTLESSNESS, THE TURBULENCE, AND THE

DISSENT OF OUR TIMES. WE KNOW WE CAN DO BETTER AND WE

KNOW WE MUST

*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.*



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