REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY TWIN CITIES STUDENT ASSEMBLY CONVENTION

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

Minneapolis, Minnesota

March 27, 1976

I'm particularly pleased that you've invited me here for this auspicious event. To be present at the creation of this unique student organization makes me feel kind of like a Founding Father.

You might not know it, but the original Founding Fathers were not much older than many of you here in this room.

Of the 56 signers of the Declaration of Independence 19 were in their forties. Sixteen were in their thirties; and two were only 27.

In 1776, Thomas Jefferson was 33; James Madison was 25; and Alexander Hamilton was 21.

There is one major difference, however. Your meeting is legal! It is an interesting twist of history that the first act committed by the Framers of the Constitution was itself illegal. Those men were dispatched to Philadelphia to amend the Articles of Confederation.

Instead, they locked themselves up for 4 months -- from May to September, scrapped the Articles, and produced a Constitution.

The result of this "cover-up" was that for the first time in history they had established a philosophy of government that proclaimed the inalienable rights of the individual and, in doing so, had set in motion the most powerful force for human freedom since the dawn of time.

They had lighted for the world a beacon of hope that still exists today -- a beacon of hope and faith for generations of human beings over 20 decades.

I share this with you to add some perspective to your deliberations at your own founding convention.

I want to wish you well as you begin to represent the interests of students in state universities and land-grant colleges around the country.

I understand that you will be giving a good deal of time and attention to the task of lobbying. As you define the issues which should most concern your new organization and develop plans to see them translated into public policy, I want you to remember two important points.

One. This government is not perfect. It is not perfect because it's run by 215 million people, non of whom are perfect.

That's right. Representative democracy is not -- it cannot be -- perfect, and I, for one, don't think it has to be perfect to be successful.

Winston Churchill once said, "Many forms of government have been tried, and will be tried in this world of sin and woe. . . no one pretends that democracy is perfect or allwise. Indeed, it has been said that democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried from time to time."

The word "efficiency" is not found in any of our national documents. But you $\underline{\text{will}}$ find these words: equality, liberty, justice.

The second thing I want you to remember is that you have a right to try to make your influence felt.

The word "lobby" conjures up a bad image in the minds of many of our people. Contrary to the view which exists in some quarters, lobbyists are not back-room heavies who dangle politicians on a puppet string. There are some, of course, who seek to wield undue influence, but they are in the minority, and much of this kind of activity has been exposed and stopped.

No, the vast majority of those who belong to special interest groups are citizens like you and me with special needs, with subjective concerns, and a spokesman to voice these concerns before the Congress, in the White House, before the Federal agencies, and in the State Legislatures.

This not only is acceptable; it is required if this government is to be responsive to the needs of its people.

The Founders, in their great wisdom, created what Daniel Webster called, "The people's government, made for the people, made by the people, and answerable to the people."

The Framers of the Constitution left no doubt where the concentration of power was to be in our government.

"We the People," they wrote. Not we the rich, or we the poor, or we the blacks, or we the whites, or we the politicians, or we the corporate executives, but "We the People." There are no words more beautiful in our heritage than these.

Vast power is concentrated in this phrase, "We the People." In it lies an enormous gift, a monumental challenge, and a charge to the citizens of this great land to make their government what it ought to be.

How will we secure the blessings of liberty for all Americans? How will we harness the resources of this land and put them to work for the common good? How will we guide our inefficient democracy toward the goals we share? The answer to all these questions is -- you.

And, my friends, whether you like it or not, the name of the game is politics. Dirty word though it has become to some people, politics is the way to get things done in our system of government.

It is the life-blood of representative democracy.

It is the vehicle of change.

It is the means by which conflicts and competing interests can be resolved peacefully.

It enables us to choose leaders who will represent and protect our rights and interests and remove them when they fail.

The beauty of our political system is its flexibility. And the beauty of the Constitution is the capacity it gives us to bring to fruition those ideals which are expressed so eloquently in it.

Yet at a time when those ideals are most in need of rebirth, we have witnessed a <u>decline</u> in voting and participation in our political system.

In the 1972 election only 55 percent of America's eligible voters went to the polls -- the lowest percentage in a quarter of a century. Some $\underline{68 \text{ million}}$ eligible citizens did not vote.

It is tempting to say that those 68 million people deserved what they got in that election. That may be too harsh. But the people in this country, more than anywhere else in the world, have only themselves to blame when they get sorry leadership.

So did the turnout improve in 1974? The Census Bureau found that only 45 percent of the voting age population actually voted in the Congressional elections of that year.

Saddest of all are the figures for the 18- to 20- year-old group.

For those of us who fought to extend the franchise, it was a tough blow to find that 63.6 percent in this group did not even bother to register in 1974. Of those who did register, almost half did not vote in the election. Only 20.8 percent of eligible 18- to 20- year-olds voted in 1974 -- just slightly more than one out of five.

In the 21- to 24- year-old bracket, a slightly higher percentage -- about one quarter of those eligible -- registered and voted.

We must ask ourselves why, with more opportunity for free voting and freedom of political participation, the United States has the lowest voter turnout of any free country in the world.

This is a national disgrace. But it is more than that. When citizens who can vote don't, they are giving notice, in effect, that their share of the U.S. government is up for sale. Worse, they are giving it away -- to the biggest campaign contributor, the biggest corporations, the loudest voice.

Those who boycott the ballot box are doing so at their own peril.

So if you care about your government, if you care about your own future, get off the sidelines and participate. If you think politics is dirty -- and if you're clean, get in there with your bar of political Ivory Soap and clean it up.

If you want good government, if you want responsive leadership, you will have to put something of yourself into it. If you don't, your credentials for citicism are sadly lacking.

I like to think that each of you is on the way to a personal and collective "rendezvous with destiny," in Franklin Roosevelt's words. Each of you is -- or should be -- struggling with the difficult problems which threaten our national well-being and your own future.

I want to see a commitment on the part of our young people to use that vast reserve of energy and enthusiasm to bring about solutions and new ideas.

Believe me, there is plenty for you to do.

The Administration has special plans for land-grant colleges in the fiscal year 1977 Budget.

The President has proposed to wipe out the categorical aid to land-grant colleges that was established by the second Morrill Act and the Bankhead-Jones Act. Last year, that assistance totalled \$12.2 million dollars in aid to the 72 land-grant institutions in each of the 50 States, the District of Columbia, Puerto Rico, Guam and the Virgin Islands.

This is an assault on the very institutions which provided the impetus for universal education in this country. It cannot be allowed to happen. Moreover, the entire Federal program of aid to higher education is being revamped by the Administration.

The President wants to hold the Basic Education Opportunity Grants to the current maximum of \$1,400 a year, without any adjustment for inflation.

He wants to phase out the Direct Student Loan program and cut Federal funding of Work-Study programs from \$390 million to \$250 million in fiscal year 1977.

And he wants to cut out the supplemental opportunity grants altogether. This is the program designed for exceptionally needy students. It would eliminate assistance for almost half a million students in one fell swoop.

The Administration's plans would mean that a total of 1,016,000 students have less chance of getting a college or university education.

This is unconscionable, and it is up to you and me to see that it doesn't happen.

It should concern you that over seven million Americans are out of work. More than that, some 20 million of our citizens were jobless at one time or another in 1975.

It is your concern when 19.9 percent of young people age 16 to 19 are unemployed. And, when those 20 to 24 years old suffer an average jobless rate of 12.7 percent.

We have a vast, unfinished agenda including aid to the cities, housing, transportation, day care and care for the elderly.

You, more than any other group of Americans, face the challenge of making tomorrow better.

I have a poster in my office which bears this slogan:

"Today is the first day of the rest of your life."

This expression appeals to me because it is a reminder that each day can be a new beginning.

In our dynamic democracy there always will be one constant -- the inevitability of change.

The problems and the challenges always will be replaced by new ones, which will require new approaches, new ideas, creative solutions.

If you care about what happens, you must be prepared to get in the middle of the fight. You cannot afford to let someone else make all the decisions. This government is your business. It's everybody's business. I challenge you to get to work.

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Lary Engstrand

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

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I'M PARTICULARLY PLEASED THAT YOU'VE INVITED ME HERE FOR THIS AUSPICIOUS EVENT. TO BE PRESENT AT THE CREATION OF THIS UNIQUE STUDENT ORGANIZATION MAKES ME FEEL KIND OF LIKE A FOUNDING FATHER.

You MIGHT NOT KNOW IT, BUT THE ORIGINAL FOUNDING FATHERS WERE

NOT MUCH OLDER THAN MANY OF YOU HERE IN THIS ROOM.

OF THE 56 SIGNERS OF THE DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE, 19 WERE IN THEIR FORTIES / SIXTEEN WERE IN THEIR THIRTIES; AND TWO WERE ONLY 27.

IN 1776, Thomas Jefferson was 33; James Madison was 25; And

THERE IS ONE MAJOR DIFFERENCE, HOWEVER. YOUR MEETING IS LEGAL!

WIT IS AN INTERESTING TWIST OF HISTORY THAT THE FIRST ACT COMMITTED

BY THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION WAS ITSELF ILLEGAL THOSE MEN

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I SHARE THIS WITH YOU TO ADD SOME PERSPECTIVE TO YOUR DELIBERATIONS AT YOUR OWN FOUNDING CONVENTION.

I WANT TO WISH YOU WELL AS YOU BEGIN TO REPRESENT THE

INTERESTS OF STUDENTS IN STATE UNIVERSITIES AND LAND-GRANT COLLEGES

AROUND THE COUNTRY

ATTENTION TO THE TASK OF LOBBYING. AS YOU DEFINE THE ISSUES WHICH SHOULD MOST CONCERN YOUR NEW ORGANIZATION AND DEVELOP PLANS TO SEE THEM TRANSLATED INTO PUBLIC POLICY, I WANT YOU TO REMEMBER TWO IMPORTANT POINTS.

ONE. THIS GOVERNMENT IS NOT PERFECT. IT IS NOT PERFECT

BECAUSE IT'S RUN BY 215 MILLION PEOPLE, NON OF WHOM ARE PERFECT.

THAT'S RIGHT. REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY IS NOT -- IT

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BUT THEY ARE IN THE MINORITY, AND MUCH OF THIS KIND OF ACTIVITY

HAS BEEN EXPOSED AND STOPPED.

I No, THE VAST MAJORITY OF THOSE WHO BELONG TO SPECIAL SPECIAL

INTEREST GROUPS ARE CITIZENS LIKE YOU AND ME WITH SPECIAL NEEDS,

WITH SUBJECTIVE CONCERNS, AND STORY TO VOICE THE THE

CONCERNS BEFORE THE CONGRESS, IN THE WHITE HOUSE, BEFORE

THE FEDERAL AGENCIES, AND IN THE STATE LEGISLATURES, Courthouses

THIS NOT ONLY IS ACCEPTABLE; IT IS REQUIRED IF THIS

GOVERNMENT IS TO BE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS OF ITS PEOPLE.

THE FOUNDERS, IN THEIR GREAT WISDOM, CREATED WHAT DANIEL WEBSTER CALLED, "THE PEOPLE'S GOVERNMENT, MADE FOR THE PEOPLE, MADE BY THE PEOPLE, AND ANSWERABLE TO THE PEOPLE."

THE FRAMERS OF THE CONSTITUTION LEFT NO DOUBT WHERE

THE CONCENTRATION OF POWER WAS TO BE IN OUR GOVERNMENT.

OR WE THE PEOPLE," THEY WROTE. NOT WE THE RICH, OR WE THE POOR,

OR WE THE BLACKS, OR WE THE WHITES, OR WE THE POLITICIANS, OR WE

THE CORPORATE EXECUTIVES, BUT "WE THE PEOPLE." THERE ARE NO WORDS

MORE BEAUTIFUL IN OUR HERITAGE THAN THESE.

VAST POWER IS CONCENTRATED IN THIS PHRASE, "WE THE

PEOPLE." IN IT LIES AN ENORMOUS GIFT, A MONUMENTAL CHALLENGE,

AND A CHARGE TO THE CITIZENS OF THIS GREAT LAND TO MAKE

THEIR GOVERNMENT WHAT IT OUGHT TO BE.

How will we secure the blessings of liberty for all Americans? How will we harness the resources of this land and put them to work for the common good? How will we guide our inefficient democracy toward the goals we share? The

ANSWER TO ALL THESE QUESTIONS IS -- YOU.

AND, WHETHER YOU LIKE IT OR NOT, THE NAME

OF THE GAME IS POLITICS. DIRTY WORD THOUGH IT HAS BECOME

TO SOME PEOPLE, POLITICS IS THE WAY TO GET THINGS DONE IN OUR

IT IS THE LIFE-BLOOD OF REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.

IT IS THE VEHICLE OF CHANGE.

SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT,

IT IS THE MEANS BY WHICH CONFLICTS AND COMPETING

INTERESTS CAN BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY.

LIT ENABLES US TO CHOOSE LEADERS WHO WILL REPRESENT AND

PROTECT OUR RIGHTS AND INTERESTS AND REMOVE THEM WHEN THEY

FAIL.

THE BEAUTY OF OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM IS ITS FLEXIBILITY

AND THE BEAUTY OF THE CONSTITUTION IS THE CAPACITY IT GIVES US

TO BRING TO FRUITION THOSE IDEALS WHICH ARE EXPRESSED SO

ELOQUENTLY IN IT.

YET AT A TIME WHEN THOSE IDEALS ARE MOST IN NEED OF

REBIRTH, WE HAVE WITNESSED A DECLINE IN VOTING AND PARTICIPATION

IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM.

IN THE 1972 ELECTION ONLY 55 PERCENT OF AMERICA'S ELIGIBLE

VOTERS WENT TO THE POLLS -- THE LOWEST PERCENTAGE IN A QUARTER

OF A CENTURY. 2 SOME 68 MILLION ELIGIBLE CITIZENS DID NOT VOTE.

IT IS TEMPTING TO SAY THAT THOSE 68 MILLION PEOPLE DESERVED

WHAT THEY GOT IN THAT ELECTION. THAT MAY BE TOO HARSH BUT THE

PEOPLE IN THIS COUNTRY, MORE THAN ANYWHERE ELSE IN THE WORLD,

HAVE ONLY THEMSELVES TO BLAME WHEN THEY GET SORRY LEADERSHIP.

O DID THE TURNOUT IMPROVE IN 1974? THE CENSUS BUREAU

FOUND THAT ONLY 45 PERCENT OF THE VOTING AGE POPULATION ACTUALLY

VOTED IN THE CONGRESSIONAL ELECTIONS OF THAT YEAR.

SADDEST OF ALL ARE THE FIGURES FOR THE 18- TO 21- YEAR-OLD GROUP.

FOR THOSE OF US WHO FOUGHT TO EXTEND THE FRANCHISE, IT WAS A TOUGH BLOW TO FIND THAT 63.6 PERCENT IN THIS GROUP DID NOT EVEN BOTHER TO REGISTER IN 1974. OF THOSE WHO DID REGISTER, ALMOST HALF DID NOT VOTE IN THE ELECTION, ONLY 20.8 PERCENT OF ELIGIBLE 18- TO 21- YEAR-OLDS VOTED IN 1974 -- JUST SLIGHTLY MORE THAN ONE OUT OF

FIVE.

IN THE 21- TO 24- YEAR-OLD BRACKET, A SLIGHTLY HIGHER

PERCENTAGE -- ABOUT ONE QUARTER OF THOSE ELIGIBLE -- REGISTERED

AND VOTED.

WE MUST ASK OURSELVES WHY, WITH MORE OPPORTUNITY FOR FREE

VOTING AND FREEDOM OF POLITICAL PARTICIPATION, THE UNITED STATES

HAS THE LOWEST VOTER TURNOUT OF ANY FREE COUNTRY IN THE WORLD.

THIS IS A NATIONAL DISGRACE. BUT IT IS MORE THAN THAT.

WHEN CITIZENS WHO CAN VOTE DON'T, THEY ARE GIVING NOTICE, IN

EFFECT, THAT THEIR SHARE OF THE U.S. GOVERNMENT IS UP FOR SALE.

WORSE, THEY ARE GIVING IT AWAY - TO THE BIGGEST CAMPAIGN

CONTRIBUTOR, THE BIGGEST CORPORATIONS, THE LOUDEST VOICE.

THOSE WHO BOYCOTT THE BALLOT BOX ARE DOING SO AT THEIR OWN PERIL.

YOUR OWN FUTURE, GET OFF THE SIDELINES AND PARTICIPATE. IF
YOU THINK POLITICS IS DIRTY -- AND IF YOU'RE CLEAN, GET IN
THERE WITH YOUR BAR OF POLITICAL IVORY SOAP AND CLEAN IT UP.

IF YOU WANT GOOD GOVERNMENT, IF YOU WANT RESPONSIVE

LEADERSHIP, YOU WILL HAVE TO PUT SOMETHING OF YOURSELF INTO

IT IF YOU DON'T, YOUR CREDENTIALS FOR CITICISM ARE SADLY
LACKING.

I LIKE TO THINK THAT EACH OF YOU IS ON THE WAY TO A

PERSONAL AND COLLECTIVE "RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY," IN FRANKLIN

ROOSEVELT'S WORDS. EACH OF YOU IS -- OR SHOULD BE -- STRUGGLING

WITH THE DIFFICULT PROBLEMS WHICH THREATEN OUR NATIONAL

WELL-BEING AND YOUR OWN FUTURE.

I WANT TO SEE A COMMITMENT ON THE PART OF OUR YOUNG
PEOPLE TO USE THAT VAST RESERVE OF ENERGY AND ENTHUSIASM TO
BRING ABOUT SOLUTIONS AND NEW IDEAS.

BELIEVE ME, THERE IS PLENTY FOR YOU TO DO.

THE ADMINISTRATION HAS SPECIAL PLANS FOR LAND-GRANT COLLEGES IN THE FISCAL YEAR 1977 BUDGET.

THE PRESIDENT HAS PROPOSED TO WIPE OUT THE CATEGORICAL AID TO LAND-GRANT COLLEGES THAT WAS ESTABLISHED BY THE SECOND MORRILL ACT AND THE BANKHEAD-JONES ACT. LAST YEAR, THAT ASSISTANCE TOTALLED \$12.2 MILLION DOLLARS IN AID TO THE 72 LAND-GRANT INSTITUTIONS IN EACH OF THE 50 STATES, THE DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA, PUERTO RICO, GUAM AND THE VIRGIN ISLANDS.

THIS IS AN ASSAULT ON THE VERY INSTITUTIONS WHICH PROVIDED

THE IMPETUS FOR UNIVERSAL EDUCATION IN THIS COUNTRY. IT

CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO HAPPEN.

MOREOVER, THE ENTIRE FEDERAL PROGRAM OF AID TO HIGHER EDUCATION IS BEING REVAMPED BY THE ADMINISTRATION.

GRANTS TO THE CURRENT MAXIMUM OF \$1,400 A YEAR, WITHOUT ANY ADJUSTMENT FOR INFLATION.

HE WANTS TO PHASE OUT THE DIRECT STUDENT LOAN PROGRAM AND CUT FEDERAL FUNDING OF WORK-STUDY PROGRAMS FROM \$390 MILLION TO \$250 MILLION IN FISCAL YEAR 1977.

AND HE WANTS TO CUT OUT THE SUPPLEMENTAL OPPORTUNITY GRANTS

ALTOGETHER. THIS IS THE PROGRAM DESIGNED FOR EXCEPTIONALLY

IT WOULD ELIMINATE ASSISTANCE FOR ALMOST HALF A MILLION STUDENTS
IN ONE FELL SWOOP.

THE ADMINISTRATION'S PLANS WOULD MEAN THAT A TOTAL OF 1,016,000 STUDENTS HAVE LESS CHANCE OF GETTING A COLLEGE OR UNIVERSITY EDUCATION.

THIS IS UNCONSCIONABLE, AND IT IS UP TO YOU AND ME TO

SEE THAT IT DOESN'T HAPPEN.

and

IT SHOULD CONCERN YOU THAT OVER SEVEN MILLION AMERICANS

ARE OUT OF WORK. MORE THAN THAT, SOME 20 MILLION OF OUR

CITIZENS WERE JOBLESS AT ONE TIME OR ANOTHER IN 1975.

IT IS YOUR CONCERN WHEN 19.9 PERCENT OF YOUNG PEOPLE

AGE 16 TO 19 ARE UNEMPLOYED AND, WHEN THOSE 20 TO 24 YEARS

OLD SUFFER AN AVERAGE JOBLESS RATE OF 12.7 PERCENT.

WE HAVE A VAST, UNFINISHED AGENDA INCLUDING AID TO THE CITIES, HOUSING, TRANSPORTATION, DAY CARE AND CARE FOR THE ELDERLY.

You, MORE THAN ANY OTHER GROUP OF AMERICANS, FACE THE

I HAVE A POSTER IN MY OFFICE WHICH BEARS THIS SLOGAN:

("Today is the first day of the rest of your Life."

This expression appeals to me because it is a reminder

THAT EACH DAY CAN BE A NEW BEGINNING.

CHALLENGE OF MAKING TOMORROW BETTER.

IN OUR DYNAMIC DEMOCRACY THERE ALWAYS WILL BE ONE

CONSTANT -- THE INEVITABILITY OF CHANGE.

THE PROBLEMS AND THE CHALLENGES ALWAYS WILL BE REPLACED

BY NEW ONES, WHICH WILL REQUIRE NEW APPROACHES, NEW IDEAS,

CREATIVE SOLUTIONS.

IF YOU CARE ABOUT WHAT HAPPENS, YOU MUST BE PREPARED TO GET IN THE MIDDLE OF THE FIGHT. YOU CANNOT AFFORD TO LET SOMEONE ELSE MAKE ALL THE DECISIONS. THIS GOVERNMENT IS YOUR BUSINESS. It's EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS. I CHALLENGE YOU TO GET TO WORK.

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