

REMARKS OF SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

UNITED STATES SENATE YOUTH

PROGRAM LUNCHEON

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN ROOM

State Department

Washington, D.C.

February 4, 1977

We have just celebrated our bicentennial. It was a momentous event for us, but that is history. It is the past. You are the future.

Victor Hugo aptly said:

"The future has several names. For the weak, it is impossible. For the fainthearted, it is unknown. For the thoughtful and valiant, it is ideal. The challenge is urgent. The task is large. The time is now."

I've learned to start each day as if it were the first of a new and exciting experience. Every day is a new beginning.

The only limit you have to your realization of tomorrow will be your doubts of today. I want you to move forward into tomorrow with strong and active faith in yourselves. I do not believe that the era of the pioneer is at an end, I only believe that the area for pioneering has changed.

You must make yourselves the pioneers of America's third century. You must learn from the past, or you will repeat the mistakes of history. But you must not be bound by the past or the present as you dare to explore new frontiers.

Today I want to tell you where we are and give you an agenda of new opportunities -- new frontiers which must be pioneered in our third century.

Our society is in the midst of a painful readjustment. We are learning that our affluence and our national resources are not limitless.

We are faced with the grim reality of hunger at home and starvation abroad. We are increasingly dependent for energy and other basic raw materials on poorer nations that are jealous of our wealth and suspicious of our motives.

We no longer have the power to solve every international crisis and enforce our will around the world by diplomacy or military might.

We are threatened within by crime and the fear that crime breeds, by the relaxation of moral and ethical standards, and by the flight from responsibility that causes people to drop out, run away from their problems, or seek refuge in drugs and alcohol.

In meeting these challenges we face as a nation; in achieving the goals we set for ourselves as a society -- our nation needs bold and persistent experimentation. We must find new methods, new means.

We must not take the slogan, "It can't be done," as an answer or an attitude. It is common sense to take a method and try it. If it fails, admit it frankly and try another. But above all, we must try something.

Now is the time when new policies for our future must be molded. I urge you to be informed about the future issues that we must address right now and to find ways to express your views and to share your concerns with other interested citizens.

Politics is the way we get things done in our system.

It is the life-blood of our representative democracy.

It is the vehicle of change, bringing forth new ideas, new concepts of government, and new leaders.

It is the means by which conflicts and competing interests of different races, religions, regions, generations and cultural life styles can be resolved peacefully.

You are our future leaders, and yes, our future politicians. You must take the vanguard in solving, through politics, the challenges we face.

But not only politics -- get involved wherever you are, wherever you can have an impact. Get involved now.

The years in which your generation will play the leading role -- the formative years of our nation's third century -- may be decisive in the future of this nation. It will be up to you to insure we survive as a strong, free nation, and as a people who believe in equal opportunity and justice for all.

We must find a way to give each and every individual a job -- meaningful employment, not just "make-work." No section of our society should be written off. We must not bow to cliches, such as "free market," and allow any individual to remain unproductive and not wanted in our society.

We must find the ways to conserve our energy and raw materials and find new sources. But at the same time, we must do everything possible to preserve our natural resources and environment.

We must revitalize the cities, make them again the cultural, economic and communication hubs of our civilization. We must make them safe, beautiful, renewed. Renewed not just by new construction, but by new faith and support -- where a genuine sense of "neighborhood" or "community" can be established.

We must clothe the needy, feed the hungry and make adequate housing, health care and educational opportunities available to all our citizens.

This is a big order, but I believe we can do all these things.

The future is now. We must start today. There must be an active commitment of every American citizen -- young and old, rich and poor, black and white, men and women.

In the last decade or so, new roles have been opening up for young people, for women, and for minorities. New ideas are shattering old myths and stereotypes that held people back or kept them down. New talents have been liberated to enrich our national life.

This great movement of change has had a profound impact on our system of politics and government.

It has brought about reform in our political parties, reforms in the Congress, and limits on the powers of the President.

It has inspired millions of citizens to involve themselves in the great social issues of our time -- civil rights, poverty, hunger, the environment, the energy crisis.

I think most people believe in the ultimate ability of America to solve its problems and to continue to progress. They have faith in our political system. People continue to think that the government, with the right leaders, can be made to work effectively and that even the most intractable problems will yield to creative and energetic leadership.

The future is today. I want to tell you that you can start -- you must start -- today to build America in its third century.

We desperately need the compassion and idealism of youth in public life.

We need your energy and your enthusiasm.

We welcome the participation of students and other young people who seriously feel the responsibility of being citizens in a free society and want to do something about it.

Be true to yourself, listen to your conscience, and then wade in and seek a meaningful experience in practical, real politics.

We have a new Administration in Washington -- a new President and Vice President. And we have new leadership in Congress, new people who are interested in developing policies for all our citizens.

These new leaders need your help. Bring to them your fresh ideas, your social conscience, your visions for America's future.

New initiatives are being developed to solve our energy crisis, to give jobs to our unemployed, to revitalize our cities and our national economy.

Tell us what must be done and keep after us until it gets done. Get involved and help us do the job. You can make this government accountable and effective only if you, and others like you, care enough to get involved and do something about it.

I especially urge you to keep in touch with what is going on in the Congress, because that is where the issues will be defined most clearly. And the outcome will be expressed in legislation that will effect each of you directly and individually.

We cannot afford to waste any talents in our efforts to create a more just, humane and democratic society. The problems we face as a nation today will require the best efforts of all citizens, men and women, rich and poor, young and old, if we are to find solutions. I urge you to pledge yourselves personally to that cause in this year, the first in our nation's third century.

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∟ WE HAVE JUST CELEBRATED OUR BICENTENNIAL. ∟ IT WAS A MOMENTOUS
EVENT FOR US, BUT THAT IS HISTORY. ∟ IT IS THE PAST. YOU ARE THE
FUTURE.

VICTOR HUGO APTLY SAID:

"THE FUTURE HAS SEVERAL NAMES. ∟ FOR THE WEAK,
IT IS IMPOSSIBLE. ∟ FOR THE FAINTHEARTED, IT IS
UNKNOWN. ∟ FOR THE THOUGHTFUL AND VALIANT, IT IS
IDEAL. ∟ THE CHALLENGE IS URGENT. ∟ THE TASK IS
LARGE. ∟ THE TIME IS NOW."

h I'VE LEARNED TO START EACH DAY AS IF IT WERE THE FIRST OF A
NEW AND EXCITING EXPERIENCE ∟ EVERY DAY IS A NEW BEGINNING.

ADR

THE ONLY LIMIT YOU HAVE TO YOUR REALIZATION OF TOMORROW
 WILL BE YOUR DOUBTS OF TODAY. I WANT YOU TO MOVE FORWARD INTO
 TOMORROW WITH STRONG AND ACTIVE FAITH IN YOURSELVES I DO NOT
 BELIEVE THAT THE ERA OF THE PIONEER IS AT AN END, I ONLY BELIEVE
 THAT THE AREA FOR PIONEERING HAS CHANGED.

YOU MUST MAKE YOURSEL^{VES} THE PIONEERS OF AMERICA'S THIRD
 CENTURY. YOU MUST LEARN FROM THE PAST, OR YOU WILL REPEAT THE
 MISTAKES OF HISTORY. BUT YOU MUST NOT BE BOUND BY THE PAST OR
 THE PRESENT AS YOU DARE TO EXPLORE NEW FRONTIERS.

TODAY I WANT TO TELL YOU WHERE WE ARE AND GIVE YOU AN AGENDA
 OF NEW OPPORTUNITIES -- NEW FRONTIERS WHICH MUST BE PIONEERED
 IN OUR THIRD CENTURY.

↳ OUR SOCIETY IS IN THE MIDST OF A PAINFUL READJUSTMENT. WE
ARE LEARNING THAT OUR AFFLUENCE AND OUR NATIONAL RESOURCES ARE
NOT LIMITLESS.

↳ WE ARE FACED WITH THE GRIM REALITY OF HUNGER AT HOME AND
STARVATION ABROAD. WE ARE INCREASINGLY DEPENDENT FOR ENERGY AND
OTHER BASIC RAW MATERIALS ON POORER NATIONS THAT ARE JEALOUS OF
OUR WEALTH AND SUSPICIOUS OF OUR MOTIVES.

↳ WE NO LONGER HAVE THE POWER TO SOLVE EVERY INTERNATIONAL
CRISIS AND ENFORCE OUR WILL AROUND THE WORLD BY DIPLOMACY OR
MILITARY MIGHT.

↳ WE ARE THREATENED WITHIN BY CRIME AND THE "FEAR THAT CRIME BREEDS," BY THE RELAXATION OF MORAL AND ETHICAL STANDARDS, AND BY THE FLIGHT FROM RESPONSIBILITY THAT CAUSES PEOPLE TO DROP OUT, RUN AWAY FROM THEIR PROBLEMS, OR SEEK REFUGE IN DRUGS AND ALCOHOL.

↳ IN MEETING THESE CHALLENGES WE FACE AS A NATION; IN ACHIEVING THE GOALS WE SET FOR OURSELVES AS A SOCIETY -- OUR NATION NEEDS BOLD AND PERSISTENT EXPERIMENTATION. ↳ WE MUST FIND NEW METHODS, NEW MEANS.

↳ WE MUST NOT TAKE THE SLOGAN, "IT CAN'T BE DONE," AS AN ANSWER OR AN ATTITUDE. ↳ IT IS COMMON SENSE TO TAKE A METHOD AND TRY IT. ↳ IF IT FAILS, ADMIT IT FRANKLY AND TRY ANOTHER. BUT ABOVE ALL, WE MUST TRY SOMETHING.

New issues -
- Environment
- Population
- etc.

Resources -
Racism -
North-South

L Now IS THE TIME WHEN NEW POLICIES FOR OUR FUTURE MUST BE
MOLDED. L I URGE YOU TO BE INFORMED ABOUT THE FUTURE ISSUES THAT

May that
Rule

WE MUST ADDRESS RIGHT NOW AND TO FIND WAYS TO EXPRESS YOUR VIEWS

AND TO SHARE YOUR CONCERNS WITH OTHER INTERESTED CITIZENS.

L I came to the conclusion that
POLITICS IS THE WAY WE GET THINGS DONE IN OUR SYSTEM.

Not
only
Politics

L IT IS THE LIFE-BLOOD OF OUR REPRESENTATIVE DEMOCRACY.

L IT IS THE VEHICLE OF CHANGE, BRINGING FORTH NEW IDEAS,

NEW CONCEPTS OF GOVERNMENT, AND NEW LEADERS.

L IT IS THE MEANS BY WHICH CONFLICTS AND COMPETING INTERESTS
OF DIFFERENT RACES, RELIGIONS, REGIONS, GENERATIONS AND CULTURAL
LIFE STYLES CAN BE RESOLVED PEACEFULLY.

some of you
L YOU ARE OUR FUTURE LEADERS, AND YES, [^] OUR FUTURE POLITICIANS.

YOU MUST TAKE THE VANGUARD IN SOLVING, THROUGH POLITICS, THE
CHALLENGES WE FACE,

L BUT NOT ONLY POLITICS -- GET INVOLVED WHEREVER YOU ARE,
WHEREVER YOU CAN HAVE AN IMPACT. ^{But} GET INVOLVED NOW.

THE YEARS IN WHICH YOUR GENERATION WILL PLAY THE LEADING
ROLE -- THE FORMATIVE YEARS OF OUR NATION'S THIRD CENTURY --
MAY BE DECISIVE IN THE FUTURE OF THIS NATION, IT WILL BE UP TO
YOU TO INSURE WE SURVIVE AS A STRONG, FREE NATION, AND AS A
PEOPLE WHO BELIEVE IN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL.

Human Rts - Freedom

Message of America - Not Nuclear Power
but, the importance of people - their
Rts. their opportunities

h WE MUST FIND A WAY TO GIVE EACH AND EVERY INDIVIDUAL A
JOB -- MEANINGFUL EMPLOYMENT, NOT JUST "MAKE-WORK." No SECTION
OF OUR SOCIETY SHOULD BE WRITTEN OFF. WE MUST NOT BOW TO
CLICHES, SUCH AS "FREE MARKET," AND ALLOW ANY INDIVIDUAL TO
REMAIN UNPRODUCTIVE AND NOT WANTED IN OUR SOCIETY.

h WE MUST FIND THE WAYS TO CONSERVE OUR ENERGY AND RAW
MATERIALS AND FIND NEW SOURCES. BUT AT THE SAME TIME, WE
MUST DO EVERYTHING POSSIBLE TO PRESERVE OUR NATURAL RESOURCES
AND ENVIRONMENT.

L WE MUST REVITALIZE THE CITIES, MAKE THEM AGAIN THE

CULTURAL, ECONOMIC AND COMMUNICATION HUBS OF OUR CIVILIZATION,

L WE MUST MAKE THEM SAFE, BEAUTIFUL, RENEWED, RENEWED NOT JUST

BY NEW CONSTRUCTION, BUT BY NEW FAITH AND SUPPORT -- WHERE A

GENUINE SENSE OF "NEIGHBORHOOD" OR "COMMUNITY" CAN BE ESTABLISHED.

L WE MUST CLOTHE THE NEEDY, FEED THE HUNGRY AND MAKE ADEQUATE

HOUSING, HEALTH CARE AND EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITIES AVAILABLE

TO ALL OUR CITIZENS.

L THIS IS A BIG ORDER, BUT I BELIEVE WE CAN DO ALL THESE

THINGS.

L THE FUTURE IS NOW. WE MUST START TODAY. THERE MUST BE AN ACTIVE COMMITMENT OF EVERY AMERICAN CITIZEN -- YOUNG AND OLD, RICH AND POOR, BLACK AND WHITE, MEN AND WOMEN.

h IN THE LAST DECADE OR SO, NEW ROLES HAVE BEEN OPENING UP
FOR YOUNG PEOPLE, FOR WOMEN, AND FOR MINORITIES. h NEW IDEAS
ARE SHATTERING OLD MYTHS AND STEREOTYPES THAT HELD PEOPLE BACK
OR KEPT THEM DOWN. h NEW TALENTS HAVE BEEN LIBERATED TO ENRICH
OUR NATIONAL LIFE.

h THIS GREAT MOVEMENT OF CHANGE HAS HAD A PROFOUND IMPACT
ON OUR SYSTEM OF POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT.

h IT HAS BROUGHT ABOUT REFORM IN OUR POLITICAL PARTIES, REFORMS
IN THE CONGRESS, AND LIMITS ON THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENT.

h IT HAS INSPIRED MILLIONS OF CITIZENS TO INVOLVE THEMSELVES
IN THE GREAT SOCIAL ISSUES OF OUR TIME -- CIVIL RIGHTS, POVERTY,
HUNGER, THE ENVIRONMENT, THE ENERGY CRISIS.

I THINK MOST PEOPLE BELIEVE IN THE ULTIMATE ABILITY OF AMERICA TO SOLVE ITS PROBLEMS AND TO CONTINUE TO PROGRESS,

THEY HAVE FAITH IN OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM ~~PEOPLE CONTINUE TO~~

~~THINK THAT THE GOVERNMENT, WITH THE RIGHT LEADERS, CAN BE MADE~~

~~TO WORK EFFECTIVELY AND THAT EVEN THE MOST INTRACTABLE PROBLEMS~~

~~WILL YIELD TO CREATIVE AND ENERGETIC LEADERSHIP.~~

~~THE FUTURE IS TODAY. I WANT TO TELL YOU THAT YOU CAN
START -- YOU MUST START -- TODAY TO BUILD AMERICA IN ITS THIRD
CENTURY,~~

~~WE DESPERATELY NEED THE COMPASSION AND IDEALISM OF YOUTH
IN PUBLIC LIFE,~~

~~WE NEED YOUR ENERGY AND YOUR ENTHUSIASM.~~

WE WELCOME THE PARTICIPATION OF STUDENTS AND OTHER YOUNG PEOPLE WHO SERIOUSLY FEEL THE RESPONSIBILITY OF BEING CITIZENS IN A FREE SOCIETY AND WANT TO DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

BE TRUE TO YOURSELF, LISTEN TO YOUR CONSCIENCE, AND THEN MADE IN AND SEEK A MEANINGFUL EXPERIENCE IN PRACTICAL, REAL POLITICS.

L WE HAVE A NEW ADMINISTRATION IN WASHINGTON -- A NEW PRESIDENT AND VICE PRESIDENT. AND WE HAVE NEW LEADERSHIP IN CONGRESS, NEW PEOPLE WHO ARE INTERESTED IN DEVELOPING POLICIES FOR ALL OUR CITIZENS.

h THESE NEW LEADERS NEED YOUR HELP. BRING TO THEM YOUR FRESH IDEAS, YOUR SOCIAL CONSCIENCE, YOUR VISIONS FOR AMERICA'S FUTURE.

NEW INITIATIVES ARE BEING DEVELOPED TO SOLVE OUR ENERGY CRISIS,
TO GIVE JOBS TO OUR UNEMPLOYED, TO REVITALIZE OUR CITIES AND
OUR NATIONAL ECONOMY,

TELL US WHAT MUST BE DONE AND KEEP AFTER US UNTIL IT GETS
DONE. GET INVOLVED AND HELP US DO THE JOB. YOU CAN MAKE THIS
GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABLE AND EFFECTIVE ONLY IF YOU, AND OTHERS LIKE
YOU, CARE ENOUGH TO GET INVOLVED AND DO SOMETHING ABOUT IT.

Congress
I ESPECIALLY URGE YOU TO KEEP IN TOUCH WITH WHAT IS GOING ON
IN THE CONGRESS, BECAUSE THAT IS WHERE THE ISSUES WILL BE DEFINED
MOST CLEARLY. AND THE OUTCOME WILL BE EXPRESSED IN LEGISLATION
THAT WILL EFFECT EACH OF YOU DIRECTLY AND INDIVIDUALLY.

[Handwritten scribble]
WE CANNOT AFFORD TO WASTE ANY TALENTS IN OUR EFFORTS TO CREATE
[Handwritten scribble]
A MORE JUST, HUMANE AND DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY. THE PROBLEMS WE FACE
AS A NATION TODAY WILL REQUIRE THE BEST EFFORTS OF ALL CITIZENS,
[Handwritten scribble]
MEN AND WOMEN, RICH AND POOR, YOUNG AND OLD. IF WE ARE TO FIND
SOLUTIONS, I URGE YOU TO PLEDGE YOURSELVES PERSONALLY TO THAT
CAUSE IN THIS YEAR, THE FIRST IN OUR NATION'S THIRD CENTURY,

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2/4/77 - SENATE YOUTH PROGRAM LUNCHEON
STATE DEPARTMENT, WASH., DC (C)

I have been in so many of these meetings, I believe that I have missed very few over the years. Only those years when I was away from Washington due to the will of the electorate. But, I've always attended and always enjoyed the experience of being with the representative of the 50 states that are here representing your states in the Senate Youth Program. What an interesting study it would be, and I hope that it will be done, to see what has happened to those ~~xxxxxx~~ who attended this program over the years. A sociological study. It's one we should ask Georgetown or George Washington or American University, or Catholic University; one of them here in Washington ~~would have~~ ^{- TO STUDY} just what happened in their lives. Did this youth program have an impact? Did it inspire you? Did it encourage you? Did it give you incentive to enter ^{into} public life? Or did you ~~xxxxxxxx~~ see something that compelled you or into the professions of what-ever they may be or whatever your interests might be. What a joy it would be to find that out.

[While you're here in Washington, I know you've had all too little time to see some of the things you would have liked to have seen with more time on your hands. This city is a center, for not only politics, but it's a center for culture, it's a center for many of the great professions. Here, is a great educational center; I have mentioned some of the universities and colleges that we have. It is a city that belongs to the American people. In every building, this building, all these great government buildings are yours. [The White House is the people's house, belongs to the people, and I'm very happy to note that the man who now occupies it seems to give that picture of himself that he belongs to the people, and that the White House is an open house, and I'm so pleased that he has seen fit to recognize that his predecessor, President Ford, also made this picture of the White House a reality. [I'm a democrat by politics, but ^{one} of my closest friends in this city was the former President of the United States, Jerry Ford, because he was a good man. He was a man who was deeply involved with ^{THE} political life of our nation. ~~and so~~ [I told him one time when Mrs. Humphrey and I were ^{IL} privileged to have dinner with Betty and Gerald Ford, we

we had just an evening together, with the family for about three hours. It was right after the election, and I know what it means to lose a close election. I lost one like that for the Presidency, ~~He~~ lost one, very close, very very close, ~~And~~ generally people are always writing about how morose you are, ~~and~~ ~~How~~ down you are, ~~and~~ ~~How~~ bitter you are, which is really not fact. [I saw this man not morose or bitter, Of course we always like to win when we're in contest. But I sat there and visited with him, and I said this to ~~the~~ President Ford. I said, you know history will not remember the bills that you vetoed, or the arguments that we had in Congress with you. History will not even remember the differences between our economic attitudes, or economic philosophy. What history will remember about you is that you restored decency and dignity and honor to the office of the Presidency. [I also said to him, you know Mr. President, I wanted to be in this house, that was my Life's ambition, I didn't make it, but I said that I would have given at least five years of my life to have had two days, two weeks, two months in this house. You have had two-and-a-half years. So, feel good. [With that note we broke off, and went to see what was going on in the White House. I mention this to you because when you're here in Washington many times you will be told, oh there ^{are} ~~is~~ bitter arguments going on, I mean there's this fellow, and there's that fellow, and they're fighting with each other, and the political parties are tearing at each other. [Well, good debate, good argument, dialogue, dissent, within the rules of the game, all this is part of the democratic process. But, there's very little ^c ~~rancor~~, there's no room for hatred, or bitterness. [I know I don't have any, it takes too much energy, to get all wound up to hate someone. It takes too much out of you to be bitter, and it's a genuine joy to have a good argument as I have regularly over at the United States Senate. Gets your blood warm, makes your glands percolate, ~~and~~ you'll find out, after it's all through, that most of those who have been in that argument are personal friends. [So, politics in a democracy must be an experience in human relations

it is not war, it's communication. You keep that in mind as you go away from the Nation's capitol. There are not bitter entrenched forces here, out to do each other in. There are forces here that disagree on the approach to a problem, but both sides seeking an answer to the problem. Now, occasionally, you will find someone that violates that general rule, that feels that it's maybe more dramatic or that you prove yourself to be tougher by being arrogant, mean, bitter. But, I'll tell you ~~xxx~~ that it's a very small minority, and they have little or no influence. They burn themselves out, besides that, they are a bore, and there's nothing worse ⁱⁿ than politics than ^e boredom.

[So, today I thought I'd just converse with you a little bit about some of the things that are happening, and maybe we can find this period ^{of} time we have together to be of mutual benefit. You and I know that we just celebrated our bicentennial. I remember hearing that young people were down-playing the bicentennial, I remember all the cynics that were saying, oh well there's nobody that will be ~~to be~~ interested, and after all, all it will be will be a lot of 4th of July celebration.

[The bicentennial was one of the great healing experiences in this country. All over this land, in every little village, town, and hamlet, people did things together. ^{Proved} that they could work together, became a part of the American scene as never before. People who had only been here a few years all at once thought that they came over on the Mayflower. [As a matter of fact, we began to understand that really we are a nation of immigrants. ^{We} are a people of different ⁹ backgrounds. ^B But like most anything that's beautiful, it comes from contrast. [If you have only one color in a painting, it isn't very beautiful. Take a look at the walls you see here, take a look at what you have here. There's blending, and we like to preserve some ⁺ identity. ⁴ That bicentennial gave us that opportunity. [And, we found ourselves, we found who we were, where we were, where we came from, what we are. And, now we have to find out where we're going. We need to build on the past, not to push it aside, but to build on it. [Victor Hugo is one of my favorite writers, and I'd like to quote a phrase or a little

paragraph that he wrote, and it's very wonderful. You remember this. He says, "The future has several names. For the weak, it is the impossible. For the faint-hearted, it is the unknown. For the thoughtful and the valiant, it is ideal. The challenge is urgent, the past is large, the time is now." You know, that was written more than 100 years ago, and yet, it's so appropriate. [The future has several names. For those who are frightened or weak, it's impossible. Don't tell me about it, don't bother me. I'm frightened already. For the faint-hearted, a person who has no sense of adventure, courage, well, it's the unknown. I don't want to hear about it. I am afraid to venture forth. For the thoughtful and the valiant, Hugo said it is the ideal, it's perfect. Give me a chance to get at it. When do we start? [And then he goes on and says, the challenge is urgent," and that's what it is right now. That's why you're here. The past is large, the time is now. Let me tell you something, that's been true in every generation. [Now, many speakers will come to you, and tell you that you're the generation. Oh you face immense problems. Well, let me tell you, when I was your age they told me ^{THE} same thing, and it was true. Every generation faces immense problems. [Can you imagine what the first generation of settlers in this country faced? Can you imagine what those who wrote the Constitution faced? Can you imagine ~~xxxxxx~~ those who wrote the Declaration of Independence, and their average age was 36? ~~36~~ There were a number of men who were under 30 that signed that Declaration of Independence. Thomas Jefferson was only 33, when he ^Npened the whole business, rolled it all up. [I'll tell you that the past was big and large. The challenge was urgent. They weren't sure ~~from what~~ ^{BUT THAT} they'd lose their heads. And every year, every year our republic has been the same. Succession for the first fifty years of this republic, succession. [Then came the ~~are~~ ^{WAR} between the states. Can you imagine anything that was more terrifying? The incredible corruption after that war, the process of reconstruction. Ahh, every generation has been the same. The only difference is that every generation is better equipped. Each generation has different problems, and in many ways the problems are bigger and greater, ^Bbut in each way you're better equipped. [Today you're better educated, you're better informed. When I was your age, I got ~~.....~~ I had never been into a community larger than Sioux Falls, South Dakota before I went to the University of Minnesota. [I had never been out of the State of South Dakota, but once in my life. I was born in South Dakota. But, I'll let you know that I ^{IN A TOWN}made in the town in which I was born, of 77 people. But, the next one which I lived in had 600, finally I got up to a town of 10,000. I was on the move you see, I was really making progress, slow, but I was making progress.

And, then I had the great experience of going to the University of Minnesota. It was a whole new world for me. Now, look where you are. You've been here a week. You have seen the people who make the history of your time. You've been to the Nation's capitol, and despite all that's said about it, all that's said about this city, all that's said about this government. It's one of the most beautiful cities in the world. Make no mistake about it, and this government is one of the great democracies of the world. There aren't many of them left, you know, there are only 27. We are an endangered species. Out of 150 and some nations on the face of the globe, there are 27 that can call themselves democracies where there's universal suffrage. Just think of that. ~~And..... have those homogenous people.~~ Japan, France, Norway, Sweden, Finland. In each of those countries 90-to 95% of the people are of one race or one creed, or one origin. What are we? Everything. Every walk of life, every religion, every race, every color, we are a heterogenous people. We are a great political mosaic. And, the most difficult task in the world is to govern, and to hold together a social structure in which the parts are all different. If you've ever watched a great artist ever put a mosaic together, every little stone has to be put there, and it has to be fitted in. And, anything that isn't done properly, it tends to crack or to break. That 's what we are?..... And it's been a growing and a ~~XXXXXX~~ learning process. All I'm trying to tell you is not that we're perfect, because we're not. Democracy is never perfect because it's human. We're falible, not infalible. We're people not gods. We'll make mistakes. Now, every once in a while you run into somebody in politics who thinks that he's a saint. But I've never run on the ticket, because I didn't think there were enough people who would support me. I never pretended, I've ~~XXXXXX~~ got plenty of human weaknesses. My task, like yours, is to do better. I had a reporter not long ago, six, seven months ago when I was getting ready to run for re-election out in my home state, ~~and he said~~ ^{SAY} to me, "Well, Senator, now that you've been in Washington all these years, what is your goal?" And, I replied, "My goal is to do better." He looked at me, and said, "Now wait, Senator, that's not an answer, you're being evasive." I said, "Well, you asked the question, I didn't, and I answered it. My answer is to do better." He said, "I don't consider that an answer." I said, "That is unimportant to me whether you consider that an answer. What is important to me is that I want to do better. I'd like to be a better father, husband, grandfather. I'd like to be a better citizen, I'd like to be a better Senator. I know I can't be perfect in any of these." Even the found ^{ING} fathers of this republic said that all they were trying to do was make a more perfect union, not a perfect

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union, a more perfect union. So, what my message is, don't lose faith. Bad news always makes headlines. Man bites dog, that's news, dog bites man, so what, it happens all the time.

~~Well,~~ ^W what I'm trying to get to you, is this. ^D Don't be ^P ~~Pol~~ ^H ~~ly~~ ^A ~~ant~~ ^I ~~ish.~~ ^D Don't go around saying we're perfect. ^Y You're not going to do that. But, don't be a cynic. ^I I know some- times that there are some people who think that they prove themselves ^I intellectuals if they run around looking like they've got a chronic belly-ache. ^Y You know they frown. ^T Their brows curled, they're not intellectuals, they're just miserable. By the same token, you ^{CAN'T} go running around looking like you're just jolly all day. ^Y You've got to have some sense of balance. ^I I've had people say to me, one of your problems, Mr. Humphrey, is that you're not tough enough. I'm being very frank with you, and I suppose there may be something to it. ~~But,~~ ^{LOTS OF} But, I've said, ~~now~~, well, look there's ~~as~~ ^{LOTS OF} toughies in the world without me. ~~..... here.~~ I mean that very sincerely. ^I And ultimately, in the long run, the most important thing is to be able to live with yourself. My plea to you, and my emphasis to you is that this is your country, this is my land and this is your land. It will be what we make it. ^{are} ^I We fortunate to have such a broad expanse, we're endowed and blessed with incredible resources, but most importantly, we're endowed with an incredible people. Just think a while about how lucky we've been, just imagine this. ^I Here's that mad-man, Hitler, and that junior mad-man, Mussolini, back in the thirties. Now, what did they do? ~~They took,~~ ^T They pushed out of their country some of the best brains. ^E Einstein, ^{VON BRAUN} ~~Fromade (?)~~, just to mention a couple, and made it possible for us to split the atom, and become a super-power. Oh, this is true all the way down the line. ~~.....,~~ they called ~~him retarded.~~ ^I The great electrical genius, Thomas Edison, was pushed out of school because he couldn't learn, he couldn't hear, that was the problem. But, most of the great things that have happened in our country have come because we were the inheritors of people somebody else didn't want.

[Or we were the inheritors of people who wanted desperately to live in freedom. My message to you is, that most people want freedom, more than they want wealth. They want opportunity more than they want security., and that's what this country is all about. That's the message of a rebel.

[The message of America is not that we produce the nuclear bomb, ~~because that message~~, the Chinese got the nuclear bomb, the French, the British, the Russians. They've all got it. There's a big argument whether the Russians have more than we have.

[But, as I tell the folks out home in Minnesota, one thing they haven't got is a single family farm. You can own your own land, where you can produce, where you can bring up your family, where you can attend your own church. That, they don't have.

[They can produce incredible weapons of destruction, so did Hitler. But, they do not have freedom. [I'm here to tell you that if they opened

the gates of the Soviet Union, there'd be a mass ~~exodus~~ ^{EXODUS} the likes of which you haven't seen since the children of Israel left Egypt, and crossed the Red Sea. They had to put a wall up between East

and West Berlin. Why? Because there was a ~~hemorrhage~~ ^{TORRENT} of people, ^{TRYING TO ESCAPE FROM EAST BERLIN.}

[They tell this story about this dog. There were two dogs, one from East Berlin, and one from West Berlin. And, the East Berlin dog is slick, and his fur is nice and shiney, and his eyes were clear, and not runny like mine today.

His nose was cool, and he was just looking so healthy, and this poor old dog from West Berlin, on the free side over there, he looked scrawny, and his eyes were runny, and his fur was matted.

And, the East Berlin dog said to his partner from West Berlin, he says, "Now, listen, why don't you come over and live with us?" The dog said, "Look at me. Look at the nice

white teeth I've got. Look at my cool nose. Look at my bright eyes. Look at my nice slick, shiny fur. Look at my weight. He says said, "Look, I'm really living. Why don't you come over and live with us?"

And the dog from West Berlin said, "I'd like to, but I'll tell you what, I like to bark also. You just couldn't speak like in East Berlin like you wanted to, you couldn't bark," said the dog. [And that's what we've got

here, we like to bark. The right to dissent, the right to gather. I attended a meeting last nightI was awarded what was called the first Amendment citation. [When the Constituion of the United States

was being written, when they got all through it, it dawned on them that

program in this government for four years. Fantastic experience. You talk about pioneering, you talk about Christopher Columbus ~~Figela (?)~~, you talk about the people in their covered wagons going across this great continent, all those tremendous efforts, and ~~you~~ ^{THEN} think of those men that went up in those space capsules.

[OUR ^{MERCURY} ~~murphy (?)~~ program first, ^{IN} which ~~sheperd~~ ^{PARTICIPATED} John Glenn, and then the ^{GLIMINI}program, and, then the Appollo program, I lived through

it all, / I helped to design the legislation that made our ~~par~~-ticipation possible. What a great experience it was, that day when the first American set foot on the moon. [Oh, I know ~~even~~

~~now~~ they've kind-of run down, Well, what good did ~~it~~ it do? I'll tell you what good it did. It proved that we could do it.

What good does it do to climb Mt. Everest? Proves that you can do it. It's there, ^I it ought to be conquered. [More importantly,

the space program deals with your neighborhood, your neighborhood is no longer where you live, not even your country, not even this earth, ^Y your neighborhood is the solar system. If you don't

believe so, well, ~~s~~ just ask a meteorologist why we're having the kind of weather we're having now, ~~.....happening here~~

~~on earth~~, ^I it's what's happening in the solar system. [We need to know more about our neighborhood, and you will. Inter-planetary

travel will be in your lifetime. We'll learn more in the next 20 years about the solar system, than we've learned ~~x~~ in the last 5000 years. There's so much yet that isn't even touched. ~~so,~~

[The arena of pioneering is still here. We've been spending ~~the~~ fifty years ~~x~~ studying cancer. I'm somewhat interested in this. Fifty years. We don't even know what causes it. We know a little how to ~~treat~~ it, we know how to ^{relieve} people's pain from it.

[Well, I predict that in the next generation ~~x~~, this generation, between now and the year 2000, there will be great moves in the conquest of this disease that are impossible to ~~x~~ dream about today.

Just ^{AS} ~~has~~ we had other diseases. [We ^{are} right on the breaking point, ^{we} ^{are} ^{right} ready to make the great advance, and ~~how~~ I envy those who are going to have that opportunity. ^A and who will be the doctors,

or the scientists that make, ~~that makes~~ ^{BREAKTHROUGH FOR A CURE} the ~~.....nobody~~

knows. [But, I'll tell you this, we got a better chance ~~than~~ to make a break through because we have more people today studying regardless of race, creed, or color. Can you imagine how stupid

we have been. We ~~x~~ have denied millions of our fellow citizens because of color or race to participate with their abilities, their intellect, their insight, their spirit in the American dream. [Can you imagine how stupid, gentlemen we are, and have been, by denying women their chance to be ~~x~~ equal participants and partners in our social structure? That doesn't deny the wonder and the beauty of motherhood, it's just an added dimension. Some of the great doctors, scientists, architects, engineers, and political leaders of the next 20 years will be women. They will come from minorities, and the democracy is only worthy of being called one if ^{it} protects the right of people to be different. And, assures them the opportunity to participate. Well, these are just ~~a~~ few of the things that I want ~~you to do (?)~~ ^{YOU TO CONSIDER.} There ~~are~~ ^{ARE} a lot of things to do. ^{SUCH AS UNSOLVED} ~~we've got~~ energy problems, ~~unsolved.~~ [By the way, we sat in this room, not long ago, some of us talking about our foreign policy, ~~and~~ ^T then we rode up to the ~~the~~ Smithsonian with President Carter, Secretary Vance, and a number of ~~us,~~ ^{OTHERS} and I said something ~~xx~~ there that I want to say to you. ^W We were discussing national security, and I said, "Mr. President, we have no national security, we have no foreign policy, that's worthy of the name, until we deal with the energy question. As long as any country can hold us hostage, we are not free. We've got to be able to be reasonably self sufficient, or have assurances of availability of supply. This country cannot operate without adequate sources of energy." ^{So. W} We're going to have to find energy, and we've got lots of it. It isn't all liquid fuels, or gases, even though there's much more to be found and discovered in ~~xx~~ oil and gas. ^W We have incredible amounts of coal that can be made safe and clean, but more important, we have the sun. Our ~~entire~~ space program operated on solar energy. The television broadcasts from the moon came back because of solar energy. Solar energy is here to heat the water, to heat our buildings, run our air-conditioning, and begin to help ~~us~~ with industry. There are all kinds of things that are going to happen. [Who ~~whidxxxx~~ would have believed ~~xx~~ ^{FORTY} years ago, if I had stood here and said, "You know what we're going to do? ^W We're going to split the atom and going to develop a nuclear bomb, and develop nuclear ^{ENERGY.} ~~energy.~~ ^{they'd say,} get the net, lock him up, that nuts got lose here, get him out of here." That's what they would have said.

But we did it, and as I said many times if we learned how to split the atom, **WE CAN LEARN HOW TO RECONCILE** some of usour differences, ~~or we wouldn't want to split the difference.~~ Well, **[** there are a lot of things that we're going to have to learn. We're going to have to learn that you cannot tolerate unemployment. ~~Now, you're going to have to learn that.~~ That doesn't mean that you abandon our economic system, it means that you make this system work so that people have an opportunity to be a participant in your society. Unemployment is not only a loss of wages **IT IS THE LOSS OF DIGNITY THAT IS DEVASTATING.** ~~it's not a~~ loss of income, ~~that's~~ secondary. **THE** We've got ways to repair ~~it~~

that. You can give people money, ~~you can have their.....~~ you can put them on welfare, you can get them unemployment compensation, and we've been doing just that. They don't ~~starve~~ starve, people aren't starving because they're without work. They are starving spiritually. **[** Unemployment is society's way of saying to somebody you're not needed, get out of the way, you're a bother, we'll pay you off, just shut-up. It's what happens to the individual, **WHEN UNEMPLOYMENT IS HIGH** ~~and~~

~~when we have a group of young people in this country,~~ **WHAT ARE GIVEN FOLLOWING STATISTICS** ~~white and black,~~ I just came away from ~~the~~ **A** meeting this morning **WHERE THE** forty percent young blacks unemployed, 20% young whites unemployed. **YOUNG PEOPLE** ~~whole decade of citizen~~ who've never had work experience, never been on a job, never got their pay check, never learned work discipline.

[You have a time bomb built in this society that's going to explode any day. And, you're going to hear about crime, and you read about it all the time, and ~~we~~ **I CAN** tell you that ~~we've produced~~ **THERE ARE** new studies now that are incontrovertible. **THESE STUDIES SAY** that as youth unemployment increases, crime increases. **EIGHTY** percent of all the crime in the country today is done by young people between the ages of 14 and 18.

A tragic figure. 90% **OF CRIME IS RELATED TO YOUTHS** between the ages of 14 and 24, and it's directly related to idleness. ~~And you're building jails,~~ **W** ~~and we've got people~~ around here talking about how much it costs to put a young person to work. I want them to work in the private sector, but above all, I want them to work. There are forests to clean up, rivers to clean, parks to build, trees to plant, cities to clean up, alleys to repair, streets to make. There are **A** thousands things to be done, and we spend **MONEY** paying people to do nothing.

[And, we do that in the name of compassion. I'd like to think that I'm compassionate, **S** so what do we do? ~~We pull~~ **DO WE STOP** ~~out right out of there,~~ unemployment compensation, **+** food stamps, **?** ~~god~~ **WE DON'T DISCONTINUE THESE THINGS** ~~only knows what,~~ because we say we don't want anybody to starve? **[** These

very same people will be so much better off, and happier if somebody said to them, ~~well~~ "Look, there's a job to do, and it's going to pay your living salary, go do it." [We don't know how to do all of this yet, but you've got to help us,.....You've got to be creative. It isn't just inventing a new machine, ~~that~~ we've got to invent new ideas that will work, and we have to experiment, and if they don't work, we try them again. [One of the problems of my profession is that if something doesn't work, they say it's a ~~boon-dog~~ ^{BOONDOG}, and we run for cover. [But, my dear friends, ~~I was~~, I served on the national security council ~~this~~ in this country for four years. ~~Now~~ ^I know how many experiments we made in the Pentagon that didn't work. I ~~wrote~~ ^{REMEMBER} the billions ~~that~~ ^{THAT WERE SPENT} ~~w~~ I recorded for research. [I remember a cannon which we spent a billion dollars on, and it never moved. I remember an airplane engine that we spent a half a billion dollars on, and ^{IT} never ~~hooked to a fuelselodge (?)~~ ^{HAD ITS FUSELAGE DIRTIED.} But, it was all for experimentation, research and development. [We need research and development in how to get people out of poverty, and it's not easy. Let me tell you, it's not easy. Because poverty is not just economics, it's the poverty spirit, the poverty of initiative, the poverty of the flesh. [We're going to have to experiment, ~~and~~ you're going to have to help, and you ^{are} going to have to be willing to run a risk, ~~and~~ ^S some of you are going to be ~~shot~~ shot down, so to speak, politically, or socially or economically, ^Y you're going to ~~run~~ run into trouble when you ~~start~~ start proposing these new things. They're going to say you're off your rocker, or you're dangerous, or something else. [Remember, no great decision was ever made by a majority. Great decisions were always made by ~~minorities~~ minorities. ~~Sometimes only one and a few more,~~ ~~and confirmed by a majority.~~ You think Albert Eienstein was in the majority, he was in the minority. ~~All the famous,~~ you think coporal white was in the majority, he was in the minority. Every struggle we've had in this country has been by somebody who dared to try, and that's why I said earlier, a free society will be judged by the willingness of a free society to protect the ~~right~~ right of the poeple to be different. [And, even no matter how unpopular ^{AN} ideas ^{MAY BE} ~~because an ideas is unpopular now~~ ^{IT} may be the best idea that you've ever heard of twenty years from now. My political life has characterized by that. I have tried to be a pioneer in ^{DIFFERENT AREAS OF} legislation. ^{AN} Many ~~to~~ ^{the} things I fought for 20 years ago, I thought they were going to run me out of town. Today, they're the law of the land. And,

You've IT

promise. ~~when you heard~~ recited so many times - I pledge allegiance to the flag of the United States ~~and~~ ^{AND} to the republic for which it stands ~~and~~ that part's a fact. Then comes the hope and promise. One which we're still trying to make before vacation. One Nation, under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all.. Now, all of that which I just said to you, is a hope and a promise. [We come closer to it. One time this nation was cut in half. The confederacy in the South. It has been cut economically by transportation. We're closer to being one nation with communications and transportation, and the mobility of our people, ~~and~~ like ~~before~~ never before. [I'm not sure that all of ^{us} appreciate that this is really, in many ways, the gift of divine providence, but you'll find out ~~and~~ in time that it's true. Remember that the American experiment in democracy is the synthesis of spirituality in practical politics. That's what the Declaration of Independence says. Those God-given natural rights. Governments are instituted amongst men to secure those rights. The one legal instrument, the one ~~great~~ great political document that recognized the divine providence given to all human ~~kind~~ - god-given rights, natural, unalienable rights. And, the only justification for government is how it protects those rights. [Everything about this country is a promise. A hope, a dream, our Constitution a great dream. We, the people ~~of~~ of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, to establish justice, to assure domestic tranquility, to provide for the common defense, to promote the general welfare, and to secure the blessings of liberty for ourselves and our posterity do hereby establish and ordain this Constitution. [Now, good Lord, that's all a great promise. I hear people, and they say, "Oh, so many of these fellows like Humphrey go about promising too much." [You bet I promise. The Lord promises Heaven, the prophets of the Old Testament promised us a Messiah under Heaven. A great promise, always a promise. Without the promise there isn't the hope, and without the hope there's never the dream, without the dream, there's never the achievement. Be dreamers. Be idealists. You'll have plenty of time to be practical. -HOPE AND DREAM AND DO Don't be afraid.....what you believe in. Share your thoughts. God Bless you.



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