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A COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

*Spid - Buena Vista College
Storm Lake, Iowa
May 26, 1968*

"ARCHITECTS OF CHANGE"

WHENEVER A MAN IS ASKED TO TALK TO A GRADUATING CLASS, HE AUTOMATICALLY THINKS BACK TO HIS OWN COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT.

THIS IS ALWAYS A RATHER DISCOURAGING EXPERIENCE FOR ME, BECAUSE I REALIZE THAT WHATEVER ADVICE MY UNIVERSITY COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER GAVE ME...I JUST CAN'T REMEMBER IT.

THE FIRST REQUISITE OF A COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER, THEREFORE, IS THAT HE BE RATHER BRAVE AND DARING. HE WOULD HAVE TO BE IF HE CONSIDERS THE WORDS OF PHILIP STANHOPE, EARL OF CHESTERFIELD, WHO ONCE WROTE:

"ADVICE IS SELDOM WELCOME, AND THOSE WHO ~~WANT~~ ^{need} (THAT IS, NEED) IT MOST / ALWAYS LIKE IT LEAST."

AND 42 YEARS BEFORE CHRIST, A



ROMAN SCHOLAR REMARKED THAT "MANY RECEIVE
ADVICE, (BUT) FEW PROFIT BY IT."

NEVERTHELESS, I AM UNDAUNTED.

NEITHER AM I BOTHERED BY WHAT SOME CALL THE
"GENERATION GAP." I BELIEVE A MAN OF MY AGE
IS SIMPLY A BOY GROWN OLDER, AN "OLD BOY" WHO CAN
SHARE WITH THOSE YOUNGER SOME OF THE TRUTHS HE
ABSORBS AS TIME TICKS OFF HIS MEASURE OF LIFE.

YOU HAVE PURSUED THE ARTS AND
SCIENCES FOR FOUR YEARS, AND HAVE SUCCESSFULLY
EARNED A DEGREE FROM THIS FINE COLLEGE. I
CONGRATULATE YOU.

I CONGRATULATE YOU ALSO BECAUSE IT
SEEMS TO ME YOU HAVE ATTAINED THE EMOTIONAL
MATURITY AND THE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY WHICH
ARE THE ATTRIBUTES OF EDUCATED, ENLIGHTENED
HUMAN BEINGS.

WE NEED MORE PEOPLE LIKE YOU IN
AMERICA BECAUSE WE ARE LIVING IN TROUBLED TIMES
TODAY--A FRIGHTENING AGE WHEN VIOLENCE IS

BROUGHT INTO THE LIVING ROOM OF EVERY AMERICAN HOME WITH A TELEVISION SET.

THIS IS NOT THE MAKE-BELIEVE VIOLENCE OF THE COWBOY WESTERN AND THE SPY THRILLER.

NOW IT'S WHAT'S "HAPPENING." IT'S THE RIOTS WHICH WRECKED PARTS OF MORE THAN 100 AMERICAN CITIES. IT'S GROUPS OF RADICAL STUDENTS SEIZING UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS AND PRODUCING CHAOS AT SOME OF THE NATION'S OUTSTANDING UNIVERSITIES.

AMERICANS ARE A DEEPLY MORAL PEOPLE. THEY ARE VERY MUCH CONCERNED WITH RIGHT AND WRONG. THEY WANT INJUSTICE TO BE ROOTED OUT. BUT MOST AMERICANS ARE ALSO VERY MUCH CONCERNED THAT THIS BE A NATION OF LAWS.

AMERICANS TODAY ARE DEEPLY DISTURBED, AND THEY ARE CONFUSED. THEY ARE ASKING WHY?... WHY?...AND WHAT'S TO BE DONE?

I DON'T THINK ANY ONE INDIVIDUAL IN

AMERICA CAN PROVIDE THE ANSWERS, BUT PERHAPS
ALL OF US...TOGETHER...CAN.

WHAT IS HAPPENING IN AMERICA TODAY?
TO UNDERSTAND, WE MUST GO BACK TO THE
BEGINNING.

WHEN THE RIOTING FIRST BEGAN IN
THE CENTRAL CITIES, MANY AMERICANS SAID: "THIS
IS NOT THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT AT WORK, THIS
IS THE END OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS MOVEMENT."

THEY WERE RIGHT, AND THEY WERE
WRONG.

IT WAS THE END OF THE CIVIL RIGHTS
MOVEMENT AS WE HAD KNOWN IT...PEACEFUL PROTESTS,
NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS, PETITIONS,
COMMUNICATIONS AND ECONOMIC BOYCOTT.

THE WEAPONS OF NON-VIOLENT PROTEST
HAD PRODUCED CONSIDERABLE SUCCESS FOR THOSE
SEEKING SOCIAL CHANGE AND LEGISLATION
GUARANTEEING CERTAIN CIVIL RIGHTS.

LANDMARK CIVIL RIGHTS BILLS WERE



PASSED, AND ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE PROGRAMS WERE LAUNCHED.

THIS PUSH FOR PEACEFUL CHANGE HAD THE BACKING OF A MAJORITY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--WHITE AND BLACK--AND RIGHTFULLY SO.

THERE SEEMS NO QUESTION THAT THE ENACTMENT OF CIVIL RIGHTS LEGISLATION AND OF MASSIVE SOCIAL WELFARE PROGRAMS CAUSED A MAJORITY OF AMERICAN NEGROES TO BELIEVE THEIR LIVES WOULD SOMEHOW BE CHANGED OVERNIGHT.

UNFORTUNATELY, THE PROMISE INHERENT IN SUCH LEGISLATION WAS INCAPABLE OF SHORT-TERM FULFILLMENT--IF INDEED THE PROMISE COULD BE REALIZED WITH THE MEANS AT HAND.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS HAD BEEN AROUSED.

THE RHETORIC OF THE PROMISSORY POLITICIAN HAD MISLED SLUM DWELLERS INTO BELIEVING THERE WAS HOPE FOR EARLY ELIMINATION OF ALL THE INEQUALITY AND IMBALANCE IN THE ECONOMIC, SOCIAL AND POLITICAL SPHERES OF



AMERICAN LIFE.

THIS PRODUCED A TERRIBLE FRUSTRATION, FED BY MILITANTS WHO SAW AN OPPORTUNITY TO ASSUME POSITIONS OF LEADERSHIP AMONG THEIR PEOPLE. AND SO THERE EMERGED A NEW MOVEMENT AMONG THE AMERICAN NEGRO--THE BLACK POWER MOVEMENT MARKED BY VIOLENCE, ARSON, LOOTING AND IDENTIFICATION WITH THE MOST EXTREME OF THE SO-CALLED ACTIVISTS.

I DO NOT THINK IT IS INACCURATE TO LINK, ALSO, THE BLACK MILITANTS IN THE CENTRAL CITIES WITH THE MILITANTS ON SOME COLLEGE CAMPUSES WHO HAVE CREATED ANARCHY AND CHAOS AT SOME SCHOOLS. THIS IS NOT TO SAY THAT ALL OF THOSE WHO SUPPORT THE MILITANTS ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES ARE SEEKING THE OVERTHROW OF THE UNITED STATES GOVERNMENT, *far from it.*

BUT THE BASIC TACTIC IS THE SAME-- VIOLENCE EMPLOYED TO BRING ABOUT CHANGE THROUGH TERROR AND COERCION.

THIS IS ALIEN TO THE AMERICAN CHARACTER. THIS IS ALIEN TO THE AMERICAN SYSTEM. THIS IS TERRORISM. THIS IS WHAT STOKELY CARMICHAEL MEANS WHEN HE CALLS FOR A VIETNAM IN AMERICA.

A WAVE OF LAWLESSNESS HAS SWEEP ACROSS THIS COUNTRY. WHILE THE NON-VIOLENT APPROACH TO REDRESS OF GRIEVANCES CONTINUES, THE CONSTANT FEAR NOW IS THAT OSTENSIBLY NON-VIOLENT DEMONSTRATIONS LIKE THE POOR PEOPLE'S CAMPAIGN WILL ERUPT INTO VIOLENCE.

THE REPEATED RESORT TO VIOLENCE IN THE CENTRAL CITIES AND ON COLLEGE CAMPUSES CANNOT BE TOLERATED IN AMERICA. LAWBREAKERS MUST BE DEALT WITH FAIRLY BUT FIRMLY.

IT IS WRONG TO ACCEPT WRONGDOING. THAT WAY/LIES DISASTER.

YET REPRESSION ALONE IS NOT THE ANSWER. THE PARALLEL NEED IS FOR A NEW PROGRAM OF EDUCATION IN THIS NATION--A DIALOGUE BETWEEN

THE HAVES AND HAVE-NOTS, COMMUNICATION BETWEEN THOSE IN POWER AND THOSE WITH REAL OR IMAGINED GRIEVANCES. THE BEST PRESCRIPTION FOR PEACE, WHETHER IN THE HOME, ON THE CAMPUS, OR IN WORLD COUNCILS, HAS ALWAYS BEEN: LET'S TALK THIS OUT AND THEN ACT TO SOLVE THE PROBLEM.

WE MUST TALK WITH EACH OTHER AND WE MUST TALK WITH THE MILITANTS, AS DIFFICULT AS THE LATTER CONVERSATIONS MAY BE.

Although I agree with Sir Winston Churchill - Democracy
THERE ARE MANY DEFECTS IN OUR SOCIETY. THERE IS NO QUESTION THAT CHANGES MUST BE MADE, IMPROVEMENTS ACHIEVED, ADVANCES REALIZED. BUT THE CHANGES MUST BE MADE ON THE BASIS OF KNOWLEDGE AND INFORMATION, CAREFUL CONSIDERATION AND THOUGHT, AND INTELLIGENT DECISION--NOT BECAUSE SOME BLACK MILITANT URGES NEGROES IN THE CENTRAL CITY TO GET THEM A GUN.

THE MILITANTS, THE RADICALS, THE NEW LEFT SHOULD HAVE SOMETHING BETTER TO OFFER WHEN THEY DEMAND CHANGES IN AMERICAN SOCIETY

AND THEY SHOULD MAKE A CASE FOR IT.

IT IS NOT HELPFUL FOR A NEGRO STUDENT TO ASK, AS ONE DID OF ME DURING A VISIT TO MY CONGRESSIONAL OFFICE: "WHAT WILL YOU DO IF WE JUST KEEP ON BURNING DOWN YOUR CITIES?"

IT IS TRULY IRONIC THAT THE CAMPUS RADICALS WHO SHOUT DOWN SPEAKERS AND SEIZE UNIVERSITY BUILDINGS PRETEND TO BE LIBERALS. RADICALS ARE NOT LIBERALS. THEY ARE THE THIEVES OF FREEDOM, THE DESTROYERS OF DEMOCRACY, THE TRAMPLERS OF RIGHTS.

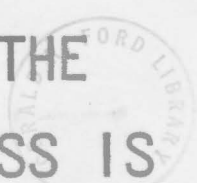
AS NEWS COMMENTATOR AND COLUMNIST ERIC SEVAREID PUTS IT:

"OUR FREEDOM WILL BE IMPERILED ONLY IF IT TURNS INTO LICENSE, SERIOUSLY IMPAIRING ORDER. THERE CAN BE NO FREEDOM IN THE ABSENCE OF ORDER. THERE CAN BE NO PERSONAL OR COLLECTIVE LIFE WORTH LIVING IN THE ABSENCE OF MODERATION."

EDMUND BURKE ONCE WROTE: "MEN ARE QUALIFIED FOR CIVIL LIBERTIES IN EXACT PROPORTION TO THEIR DISPOSITION TO PUT MORAL CHAINS UPON THEIR OWN APPETITES. SOCIETY CANNOT EXIST UNLESS A CONTROLLING POWER UPON WILL AND APPETITE BE PLACED SOMEWHERE, AND THE LESS OF IT THERE IS WITHIN, THE MORE THERE MUST BE WITHOUT. IT IS ORDAINED IN THE ETERNAL CONSTITUTION OF THINGS THAT MEN OF INTEMPERATE MINDS CANNOT BE FREE. THEIR PASSIONS FORGE THEIR FETTERS."

THERE IS NO EXCUSE FOR VIOLENCE-- EITHER IN THE STREETS OR ON THE CAMPUSES.

OUR POLITICAL SYSTEM ON ALL LEVELS PROVIDES A VARIETY OF AVENUES TO CHANGE, METHODS TO BRING ABOUT REFORMS AND IMPROVEMENTS IF THEY ARE NEEDED. PEACEFUL PROTESTS, PETITIONS AND DISCUSSION, PEACEFUL DEMONSTRATIONS AND THE USE OF ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL POWER ARE THE PROPER INSTRUMENTS OF CHANGE. LAWLESSNESS IS




NO SHORTCUT, ONLY THE ROAD TO DESTRUCTION.

OURS IS A FREE SOCIETY BASED ON LAW. TO PRESERVE THAT SOCIETY WE FOLLOW CERTAIN PROCEDURES WHICH GUARANTEES THE RIGHTS OF OTHERS AND PRESERVE THEIR FREEDOMS. ORDER IS THE BASIS OF OUR CONSTITUTIONAL SYSTEM--AND NONE OF OUR SYSTEM'S IMPERFECTIONS JUSTIFY TEARING IT DOWN. LET'S BUILD ON IT.

WE SHOULD NOT ACT OUT OF FEAR BUT NEITHER SHOULD WE FEAR TO ACT. WE MUST ACT NOT BECAUSE OF MARCHES ON WASHINGTON OR RIOTS IN THE CITIES BUT BECAUSE THERE ARE PROBLEMS WHICH FOR TOO LONG HAVE CRIED OUT FOR A SOLUTION AND NEEDS WHICH FOR TOO LONG HAVE GONE UNANSWERED.

THE AMERICAN PEOPLE ARE CONFUSED AND TROUBLED. THEY ARE ASKING INSISTENTLY...WHAT SHALL WE DO.

FOR THE GOOD OF ALL, WE MUST GET ABOUT A TASK TOO LONG NEGLECTED--THE REBUILDING OF OUR CITIES.



WE CAN ONLY REBUILD OUR CITIES IF WE BUILD THE PEOPLE OF THE CENTRAL CITIES INTO SELF-RELIANT INDIVIDUALS WITH THE SELF-RESPECT THAT BRINGS RESPECT FROM OTHERS--HELP THEM TO HELP THEMSELVES AND TO LIVE BETTER LIVES FROM A SENSE OF PERSONAL PRIDE.

WE NEED AN ENTIRELY NEW APPROACH TO AMERICA'S SOCIAL PROBLEMS TODAY--NOT AN EXPANSION OF THE TRADITIONAL TOTAL GOVERNMENT PROGRAMS WHICH HAVE PROVED SO INADEQUATE. WE NEED TO BRING BUSINESS AND INDUSTRY INTO A LEADERSHIP ROLE IN PROBLEM-SOLVING, ALONG WITH GOVERNMENT, AT ALL LEVELS.

AND WE MUST CULTIVATE A NEW MEASURE OF UNDERSTANDING AMONG THE AMERICAN PEOPLE--THE REALIZATION, AS ABRAHAM LINCOLN EXPRESSED IT, THAT A HOUSE DIVIDED AGAINST ITSELF CANNOT STAND.

WE MUST LIVE THE SELF-EVIDENT TRUTH SET FORTH IN OUR DECLARATION OF



INDEPENDENCE--THAT ALL MEN ARE CREATED EQUAL.

WHY DO I SPEAK OF THESE MATTERS HERE IN A PEACEFUL PART OF AMERICA AND ON A CAMPUS WHERE STUDENTS HAVE EXHIBITED THE SELF-DISCIPLINE AND STURDINESS OF CHARACTER WHICH DISTINGUISH THE RESPONSIBLE INDIVIDUAL?

I DO SO BECAUSE YOU ARE NOT ONLY A PART OF AMERICA BUT PEOPLE LIKE YOU ARE ITS BACKBONE.

AMERICA'S PROBLEMS WILL NOT BE SOLVED BY RADICAL STUDENTS WHO BRING THE EDUCATIONAL PROCESS TO A HALT OR BY FACULTY MEMBERS WHO ENCOURAGE VIOLENT STUDENT ACTIVISTS OR BY BLACK MILITANTS WHO TALK OF BURNING AMERICA DOWN.

AMERICA'S PROBLEMS WILL BE SOLVED BY PEOPLE LIKE YOU--IF YOU WILL LET YOURSELF BECOME A PART OF THOSE PROBLEMS, GET YOURSELF INVOLVED.

WE SHOULD NOT BE AFRAID OF CHANGE.



WE SHOULD BE THE ARCHITECTS OF IT. BUT THE ARCHITECTS OF CHANGE WHO ARE TO BE ADMIRER ^{and who are effective} ARE THOSE WHO BUILD, NOT THOSE WHO DESTROY.

DIOGENES ASKED THAT HE BE BURIED ON HIS FACE. WHEN HE WAS ASKED WHY, HE REPLIED: "BECAUSE IN A LITTLE WHILE EVERYTHING WILL BE TURNED UPSIDE DOWN."

TODAY'S YOUNG PEOPLE ARE, PERHAPS MORE THAN THOSE OF THE PAST, THE CHILDREN OF CHANGE. YOU ARE IMPATIENT WITH THE STATUS QUO, AND PROPERLY SO. LIVING IN THE SHADOW OF THE BOMB AND THE VIETNAM WAR, YOU ARE LOOKING WITHIN YOURSELVES FOR VALUES AND MEANING.

IT IS HERE, IN COLLEGE, THAT YOU COME TO GRIPS WITH MANY MORAL AND PHILOSOPHICAL QUESTIONS. YOU WANT THE FREEDOM TO STRIVE TOWARD YOUR OWN INDIVIDUAL GOALS IN YOUR OWN WAY--AND YOU SHOULD HAVE IT. YOU WANT TO BE PART OF THE DECISION-MAKING PROCESS IN AMERICA--AND YOU SHOULD BE.



ANYBODY IN THIS COUNTRY WHO LUMPS ALL COLLEGE STUDENTS TOGETHER AS IRRESPONSIBLE IS BADLY MISTAKEN.

MOST COLLEGE STUDENTS SIMPLY WANT TO STAND FOR SOMETHING--AND THEY SHOULD. THEY ARE SEEKERS AFTER THE TRUTH--AND THAT REALLY IS WHAT LIFE IS ALL ABOUT.

I AM PROUD THAT IN TODAY'S AFFLUENT SOCIETY, MOST YOUNG AMERICANS ARE MORE INTERESTED IN MEANING AND IN BASIC VALUES THAN IN MONEY.

I AM PROUD THAT YOU SHARE WITH ME THE BELIEF THAT MERE GOODS CAN NEVER BESTOW REAL HAPPINESS OR A SENSE OF A LIFE WELL LIVED, THAT MECHANICAL SOLUTIONS AND MASS ANSWERS CAN NEVER TAKE THE PLACE OF INDIVIDUAL THOUGHT AND EFFORT.

AMERICA TODAY NEEDS NEW DIRECTION-- AND THIS PRESENTS YOU WITH A TREMENDOUS OPPORTUNITY. THERE ARE GREAT ISSUES AWAITING SOLUTION. AND THESE PROBLEMS WILL ONLY BE

SOLVED IF INDIVIDUAL AMERICANS LIKE YOU DEDICATE THEMSELVES TO A BETTER LIFE FOR ALL.

HENRY BESTON, IN HIS REVIEW OF JOHN BURROUGH'S "AMERICA," SPOKE OF "THE NEON GLOW OF THE AGE OF COMFORT AND VIOLENCE." WE MUST CHANGE THAT HARSH NEON GLOW TO A LIGHT OF PEACEFUL CHANGE THAT ENNOBLES OUR NATION AND ITS PEOPLE.

WE WILL BE ENCOURAGED IN OUR MISSION IF WE RECALL THE WORDS OF PLUTARCH WHEN HE WROTE, "PERSEVERANCE IS MORE PREVAILING THAN VIOLENCE; AND MANY THINGS WHICH CANNOT BE OVERCOME WHEN THEY ARE TAKEN TOGETHER YIELD THEMSELVES WHEN TAKEN LITTLE BY LITTLE."

YOU ARE THE COMMUNITY LEADERS OF TOMORROW. YOU ARE THE YOUNG, THE POWERFUL. MAKE YOUR POWER FELT IN THE CAUSE OF JUSTICE, IN SERVICE TO OTHERS.

REMEMBER ALWAYS THAT IT MATTERS NOT SO MUCH HOW LONG YOU LIVE BUT HOW WELL.



"LIVE AMONG MEN AS IF GOD BEHELD
YOU, SPEAK TO GOD AS IF MEN WERE LISTENING"...
FOR ...

→ "IF THERE IS RIGHTEOUSNESS IN THE
HEART, THERE WILL BE BEAUTY IN THE CHARACTER.

IF THERE BE BEAUTY IN THE CHARACTER,
THERE WILL BE HARMONY IN THE HOUSE.

IF THERE IS HARMONY IN THE HOUSE,
THERE WILL BE ORDER IN THE NATION.

WHEN THERE IS ORDER IN THE NATION,
THERE WILL BE PEACE IN THE WORLD."

THANK YOU -- CONGRATULATIONS --
GOOD LUCK! -- AND GOD BLESS YOU.

- END -



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A COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS BY REP. GERALD R. FORD, MICH.
REPUBLICAN LEADER OF THE U.S. HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

BUENA VISTA COLLEGE
STORM LAKE, IOWA
May 26, 1968

"Architects of Change"

Whenever a man is asked to talk to a graduating class, he automatically thinks back to his own college commencement.

This is always a rather discouraging experience for me, because I realize that whatever advice my university commencement speaker gave me...I just can't remember it.

The first requisite of a commencement speaker, therefore, is that he be rather brave and daring. He would have to be if he considers the words of Philip Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield, who once wrote:

"Advice is seldom welcome; and those who want (that is, need) it most always like it least."

And 42 years before Christ, a Roman scholar remarked that "Many receive advice, (but) few profit by it."

Nevertheless, I am undaunted. Neither am I bothered by what some call the "generation gap." I believe a man of my age is simply a boy grown older, an "old boy" who can share with those younger some of the truths he absorbs as time ticks off his measure of life.

You have pursued the arts and sciences for four years, and have successfully earned a degree from this fine college. I congratulate you.

I congratulate you also because it seems to me you have attained the emotional maturity and the sense of responsibility which are the attributes of educated, enlightened human beings.

We need more people like you in America because we are living in troubled times today--a frightening age when violence is brought into the living room of every American home with a television set.

This is not the make-believe violence of the cowboy Western and the spy thriller.

Now it's what's "happening." It's the riots which wrecked parts of more than 100 American cities. It's groups of radical students seizing university buildings and producing chaos at some of the Nation's outstanding universities.

(more)

Americans are a deeply moral people. They are very much concerned with right and wrong. They want injustice to be rooted out. But most Americans are also very much concerned that this be a Nation of Laws.

Americans today are deeply disturbed, and they are confused. They are asking why?...why?...and what's to be done?

I don't think any one individual in America can provide the answers, but perhaps all of us...together...can.

What is happening in America today? To understand, we must go back to the beginning.

When the rioting first began in the central cities, many Americans said: "This is not the civil rights movement at work; this is the end of the civil rights movement."

They were right, and they were wrong.

It was the end of the civil rights movement as we had known it...peaceful protests, non-violent demonstrations, petitions, communications and economic boycott.

The weapons of non-violent protest had produced considerable success for those seeking social change and legislation guaranteeing certain civil rights.

Landmark civil rights bills were passed, and economic assistance programs were launched.

This push for peaceful change had the backing of a majority of the American people--white and black--and rightfully so.

There seems no question that the enactment of civil rights legislation and of massive social welfare programs caused a majority of American Negroes to believe their lives would somehow be changed overnight.

Unfortunately, the promise inherent in such legislation was incapable of short-term fulfillment--if indeed the promise could be realized with the means at hand.

Great expectations had been aroused.

The rhetoric of the promissory politician had misled slum dwellers into believing there was hope for early elimination of all the inequality and imbalance in the economic, social and political spheres of American life.

This produced a terrible frustration, fed by militants who saw an opportunity to assume positions of leadership among their people. And so there emerged a new movement among the American Negro--the Black Power movement marked by violence, arson, looting and identification with the most extreme of the so-called activists.

(more)

I do not think it is inaccurate to link, also, the black militants in the central cities with the militants on some college campuses who have created anarchy and chaos at some schools. This is not to say that all of those who support the militants on college campuses are seeking the overthrow of the United States government.

But the basic tactic is the same--violence employed to bring about change through terror and coercion.

This is alien to the American character. This is alien to the American system. This is terrorism. This is what Stokely Carmichael means when he calls for a Vietnam in America.

A wave of lawlessness has swept across this country. While the non-violent approach to redress of grievances continues, the constant fear now is that ostensibly non-violent demonstrations like the Poor People's Campaign will erupt into violence.

The repeated resort to violence in the central cities and on college campuses cannot be tolerated in America. Lawbreakers must be dealt with fairly but firmly.

It is wrong to accept wrongdoing. That way lies disaster.

Yet repression alone is not the answer. The parallel need is for a new program of education in this Nation--a dialogue between the haves and have-nots, communication between those in power and those with real or imagined grievances. The best prescription for peace, whether in the home, on the campus, or in world councils, has always been: Let's talk this out and then act to solve the problem.

We must talk with each other and we must talk with the militants, as difficult as the latter conversations may be.

There are many defects in our society. There is no question that changes must be made, improvements achieved, advances realized. But the changes must be made on the basis of knowledge and information, careful consideration and thought, and intelligent decision--not because some black militant urges Negroes in the central city to get them a gun.

The militants, the radicals, the New Left should have something better to offer when they demand changes in American society and they should make a case for it.

It is not helpful for a Negro student to ask, as one did of me during a visit to my congressional office: "What will you do if we just keep on burning down your cities?"

It is truly ironic that the campus radicals who shout down speakers and

(more)

seize university buildings pretend to be liberals. Radicals are not liberals. They are the thieves of freedom, the destroyers of democracy, the trampers of rights.

As news commentator and columnist Eric Sevareid puts it:

"Our freedom will be imperiled only if it turns into license, seriously impairing order. There can be no freedom in the absence of order. There can be no personal or collective life worth living in the absence of moderation."

Edmund Burke once wrote: "Men are qualified for civil liberties in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."

There is no excuse for violence--either in the streets or on the campuses.

Our political system on all levels provides a variety of avenues to change, methods to bring about reforms and improvements if they are needed. Peaceful protests, petitions and discussion, peaceful demonstrations and the use of economic and political power are the proper instruments of change. Lawlessness is no shortcut, only the road to destruction.

Ours is a free society based on law. To preserve that society we follow certain procedures which guarantee the rights of others and preserve their freedoms. Order is the basis of our constitutional system--and none of our system's imperfections justify tearing it down. Let's build on it.

We should not act out of fear but neither should we fear to act. We must act not because of Marches on Washington or riots in the cities but because there are problems which for too long have cried out for a solution and needs which for too long have gone unanswered.

The American people are confused and troubled. They are asking insistently... what shall we do.

For the good of all, we must get about a task too long neglected--the rebuilding of our cities.

We can only rebuild our cities if we build the people of the central cities into self-reliant individuals with the self-respect that brings respect from others--help them to help themselves and to live better lives from a sense of personal pride.

We need an entirely new approach to America's social problems today--not an expansion of the traditional total government programs which have proved so

(more)

inadequate. We need to bring business and industry into a leadership role in problem-solving, along with government, at all levels.

And we must cultivate a new measure of understanding among the American people--the realization, as Abraham Lincoln expressed it, that a House divided against itself cannot stand.

We must live the self-evident truth set forth in our Declaration of Independence--that all men are created equal.

Why do I speak of these matters here in a peaceful part of America and on a campus where students have exhibited the self-discipline and sturdiness of character which distinguish the responsible individual?

I do so because you are not only a part of America but people like you are its backbone.

America's problems will not be solved by radical students who bring the educational process to a halt or by faculty members who encourage violent student activists or by black militants who talk of burning America down.

America's problems will be solved by people like you--if you will let yourself become a part of those problems, get yourself involved.

We should not be afraid of change. We should be the architects of it. But the architects of change who are to be admired are those who build, not those who destroy.

Diogenes asked that he be buried on his face. When he was asked why, he replied: "Because in a little while everything will be turned upside down."

Today's young people are, perhaps more than those of the past, the children of change. You are impatient with the status quo, and properly so. Living in the shadow of the bomb and the Vietnam War, you are looking within yourselves for values and meaning.

It is here, in college, that you come to grips with many moral and philosophical questions. You want the freedom to strive toward your own individual goals in your own way--and you should have it. You want to be part of the decision-making process in America--and you should be.

Anybody in this country who lumps all college students together as irresponsible is badly mistaken.

Most college students simply want to stand for something--and they should. They are seekers after the truth--and that really is what life is all about.

I am proud that in today's affluent society, most young Americans are more interested in meaning and in basic values than in money.

(more)

I am proud that you share with me the belief that mere goods can never bestow real happiness or a sense of a life well lived, that mechanical solutions and mass answers can never take the place of individual thought and effort.

America today needs New Direction--and this presents you with a tremendous opportunity. There are great issues awaiting solution. And these problems will only be solved if individual Americans like you dedicate themselves to a better life for all.

Henry Beston, in his review of John Burrough's "America," spoke of "the neon glow of the age of comfort and violence." We must change that harsh neon glow to a light of peaceful change that ennobles our Nation and its people.

We will be encouraged in our mission if we recall the words of Plutarch when he wrote, "Perseverance is more prevailing than violence; and many things which cannot be overcome when they are taken together yield themselves when taken little by little."

You are the community leaders of tomorrow. You are the young, the powerful. Make your power felt in the cause of justice, in service to others.

Remember always that it matters not so much how long you live but how well.

"Live among men as if God beheld you; speak to God as if men were listening"...for

"If there is righteousness in the heart, there will be beauty in the character.

If there be beauty in the character, there will be harmony in the house.

If there is harmony in the house, there will be order in the Nation.

When there is order in the Nation, there will be peace in the world."

Thank you--congratulations--Good Luck!--and God bless you.

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We need more people like you in America because we are living in troubled times today--a frightening age when violence is brought into the living room of every American home with a television set.

This is not the make-believe violence of the cowboy Western and the spy thriller.

Now it's what's "happening." It's the riots which wrecked parts of more than 100 American cities. It's groups of radical students seizing university buildings and producing chaos at some of the Nation's outstanding universities.

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Americans are a deeply moral people. They are very much concerned with right and wrong. They want injustice to be rooted out. But most Americans are also very much concerned that this be a Nation of Laws.

Americans today are deeply disturbed, and they are confused. They are asking why?...why?...and what's to be done?

I don't think any one individual in America can provide the answers, but perhaps all of us...together...can.

What is happening in America today? To understand, we must go back to the beginning.

When the rioting first began in the central cities, many Americans said: "This is not the civil rights movement at work; this is the end of the civil rights movement."

They were right, and they were wrong.

It was the end of the civil rights movement as we had known it...peaceful protests, non-violent demonstrations, petitions, communications and economic boycott.

The weapons of non-violent protest had produced considerable success for those seeking social change and legislation guaranteeing certain civil rights.

Landmark civil rights bills were passed, and economic assistance programs were launched.

This push for peaceful change had the backing of a majority of the American people--white and black--and rightfully so.

There seems no question that the enactment of civil rights legislation and of massive social welfare programs caused a majority of American Negroes to believe their lives would somehow be changed overnight.

Unfortunately, the promise inherent in such legislation was incapable of short-term fulfillment--if indeed the promise could be realized with the means at hand.

Great expectations had been aroused.

The rhetoric of the promissory politician had misled slum dwellers into believing there was hope for early elimination of all the inequality and imbalance in the economic, social and political spheres of American life.

This produced a terrible frustration, fed by militants who saw an opportunity to assume positions of leadership among their people. And so there emerged a new movement among the American Negro--the Black Power movement marked by violence, arson, looting and identification with the most extreme of the so-called activists.

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I do not think it is inaccurate to link, also, the black militants in the central cities with the militants on some college campuses who have created anarchy and chaos at some schools. This is not to say that all of those who support the militants on college campuses are seeking the overthrow of the United States government.

But the basic tactic is the same--violence employed to bring about change through terror and coercion.

This is alien to the American character. This is alien to the American system. This is terrorism. This is what Stokely Carmichael means when he calls for a Vietnam in America.

A wave of lawlessness has swept across this country. While the non-violent approach to redress of grievances continues, the constant fear now is that ostensibly non-violent demonstrations like the Poor People's Campaign will erupt into violence.

The repeated resort to violence in the central cities and on college campuses cannot be tolerated in America. Lawbreakers must be dealt with fairly but firmly.

It is wrong to accept wrongdoing. That way lies disaster.

Yet repression alone is not the answer. The parallel need is for a new program of education in this Nation--a dialogue between the haves and have-nots, communication between those in power and those with real or imagined grievances. The best prescription for peace, whether in the home, on the campus, or in world councils, has always been: Let's talk this out and then act to solve the problem.

We must talk with each other and we must talk with the militants, as difficult as the latter conversations may be.

There are many defects in our society. There is no question that changes must be made, improvements achieved, advances realized. But the changes must be made on the basis of knowledge and information, careful consideration and thought, and intelligent decision--not because some black militant urges Negroes in the central city to get them a gun.

The militants, the radicals, the New Left should have something better to offer when they demand changes in American society and they should make a case for it.

It is not helpful for a Negro student to ask, as one did of me during a visit to my congressional office: "What will you do if we just keep on burning down your cities?"

It is truly ironic that the campus radicals who shout down speakers and

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seize university buildings pretend to be liberals. Radicals are not liberals. They are the thieves of freedom, the destroyers of democracy, the trampers of rights.

As news commentator and columnist Eric Sevareid puts it:

"Our freedom will be imperiled only if it turns into license, seriously impairing order. There can be no freedom in the absence of order. There can be no personal or collective life worth living in the absence of moderation."

Edmund Burke once wrote: "Men are qualified for civil liberties in exact proportion to their disposition to put moral chains upon their own appetites. Society cannot exist unless a controlling power upon will and appetite be placed somewhere, and the less of it there is within, the more there must be without. It is ordained in the eternal constitution of things that men of intemperate minds cannot be free. Their passions forge their fetters."

There is no excuse for violence--either in the streets or on the campuses.

Our political system on all levels provides a variety of avenues to change, methods to bring about reforms and improvements if they are needed. Peaceful protests, petitions and discussion, peaceful demonstrations and the use of economic and political power are the proper instruments of change. Lawlessness is no shortcut, only the road to destruction.

Ours is a free society based on law. To preserve that society we follow certain procedures which guarantee the rights of others and preserve their freedoms. Order is the basis of our constitutional system--and none of our system's imperfections justify tearing it down. Let's build on it.

We should not act out of fear but neither should we fear to act. We must act not because of Marches on Washington or riots in the cities but because there are problems which for too long have cried out for a solution and needs which for too long have gone unanswered.

The American people are confused and troubled. They are asking insistently... what shall we do.

For the good of all, we must get about a task too long neglected--the rebuilding of our cities.

We can only rebuild our cities if we build the people of the central cities into self-reliant individuals with the self-respect that brings respect from others--help them to help themselves and to live better lives from a sense of personal pride.

We need an entirely new approach to America's social problems today--not an expansion of the traditional total government programs which have proved so

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inadequate. We need to bring business and industry into a leadership role in problem-solving, along with government, at all levels.

And we must cultivate a new measure of understanding among the American people--the realization, as Abraham Lincoln expressed it, that a House divided against itself cannot stand.

We must live the self-evident truth set forth in our Declaration of Independence--that all men are created equal.

Why do I speak of these matters here in a peaceful part of America and on a campus where students have exhibited the self-discipline and sturdiness of character which distinguish the responsible individual?

I do so because you are not only a part of America but people like you are its backbone.

America's problems will not be solved by radical students who bring the educational process to a halt or by faculty members who encourage violent student activists or by black militants who talk of burning America down.

America's problems will be solved by people like you--if you will let yourself become a part of those problems, get yourself involved.

We should not be afraid of change. We should be the architects of it. But the architects of change who are to be admired are those who build, not those who destroy.

Diogenes asked that he be buried on his face. When he was asked why, he replied: "Because in a little while everything will be turned upside down."

Today's young people are, perhaps more than those of the past, the children of change. You are impatient with the status quo, and properly so. Living in the shadow of the bomb and the Vietnam War, you are looking within yourselves for values and meaning.

It is here, in college, that you come to grips with many moral and philosophical questions. You want the freedom to strive toward your own individual goals in your own way--and you should have it. You want to be part of the decision-making process in America--and you should be.

Anybody in this country who lumps all college students together as irresponsible is badly mistaken.

Most college students simply want to stand for something--and they should. They are seekers after the truth--and that really is what life is all about.

I am proud that in today's affluent society, most young Americans are more interested in meaning and in basic values than in money.

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I am proud that you share with me the belief that mere goods can never bestow real happiness or a sense of a life well lived, that mechanical solutions and mass answers can never take the place of individual thought and effort.

America today needs New Direction--and this presents you with a tremendous opportunity. There are great issues awaiting solution. And these problems will only be solved if individual Americans like you dedicate themselves to a better life for all.

Henry Beston, in his review of John Burrough's "America," spoke of "the neon glow of the age of comfort and violence." We must change that harsh neon glow to a light of peaceful change that ennobles our Nation and its people.

We will be encouraged in our mission if we recall the words of Plutarch when he wrote, "Perseverance is more prevailing than violence; and many things which cannot be overcome when they are taken together yield themselves when taken little by little."

You are the community leaders of tomorrow. You are the young, the powerful. Make your power felt in the cause of justice, in service to others.

Remember always that it matters not so much how long you live but how well.

"Live among men as if God beheld you; speak to God as if men were listening"...for

"If there is righteousness in the heart, there will be beauty in the character.

If there be beauty in the character, there will be harmony in the house.

If there is harmony in the house, there will be order in the Nation.

When there is order in the Nation, there will be peace in the world."

Thank you--congratulations--Good Luck!--and God bless you.

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