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THE PRESIDENT HAS SEEN *68*

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS AT
THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA

MAY 18, 1975

PRESIDENT MEYERSON, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS,
MEMBERS OF THE FACULTY, PARENTS, FRIENDS, AND GRADUATING
SENIORS OF THE CLASS OF 1975:

LET ME THANK YOU MOST SINCERELY FOR THE HONOR AND
PLEASURE OF SPEAKING HERE TODAY TO THE GRADUATING CLASS OF THE
UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA. ONE OF AMERICA'S GREAT EDUCATIONAL
COMPLEXES CONSISTING OF SIXTEEN OUTSTANDING INSTITUTIONS OF
HIGHER LEARNING AND PERSONAL ENLIGHTENMENT. SEVENTEEN, /
IF YOU INCLUDE SMOKEY JOE'S.

I'VE ONLY BEEN HERE FOR A FEW HOURS TODAY --

BUT ONE OF THE THINGS I'VE COME TO RECOGNIZE AND ADMIRE IN

PENN STUDENTS IS YOUR ABILITY TO KEEP THINGS IN PERSPECTIVE.

THE WAY I SEE IT \-- IN AN AGE THAT PUTS SUCH A PREMIUM ON

DRIVE, \ AMBITION, \ COMPETITION, \ AND THE NEED TO EXCEL \ ANY

CAMPUS THAT HAS A SCULPTURE CALLED "WE LOST" \-- CAN'T BE ALL BAD!

I AM DELIGHTED TO BE HERE ON THIS MOMENTOUS
OCCASION IN THE HISTORY OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA.

TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, THE MEMBERS OF THE
SECOND CONTINENTAL CONGRESS ADJOURNED THEIR SESSIONS AND
MARCHED OVER IN A BODY TO PARTICIPATE IN THE GRADUATION
CEREMONIES OF YOUR GREAT INSTITUTION. I CONGRATULATE
YOU ON THIS UNIQUE BIT OF HISTORY. FROM MY EXPERIENCE,
IT ISN'T ALL THAT EASY TO GET A CONGRESS TO MARCH TOGETHER
ON ANYTHING.

I CONGRATULATE TODAY'S GRADUATES. BUT

IF MY CONGRATULATIONS ARE TO HAVE REAL MEANING, I MUST

RELATE THE PAST TO THE PRESENT, AND OUR NATIONAL GOALS

TO YOUR INDIVIDUAL GOALS.

IT IS A SPECIAL PRIVILEGE TO ADDRESS A UNIVERSITY
WHOSE GROWTH HAS ALWAYS BEEN ORIENTED TOWARD THE FUTURE,
YOUR MEDICAL SCHOOL, YOUR SCHOOL OF BUSINESS AND OTHER
DEPARTMENTS OF THE UNIVERSITY OF PENNSYLVANIA TESTIFY TO A
TIMELY RESPONSE TO NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY BY EQUIPPING
INDIVIDUALS TO SOLVE PROBLEMS.

YOUR ILLUSTRIOUS FOUNDER, BENJAMIN FRANKLIN,
CONCEIVED OF THE UNIVERSITY AS A CENTER WHERE AN INDIVIDUAL
CAN FIND FULLFILLMENT THROUGH THE INDIVIDUAL'S OWN EFFORTS.
FRANKLIN DID NOT SEE SCHOOLS AS THE PURVEYORS OF ALL THE
ANSWERS. HE SAW THEM CONSTANTLY RESPONDING TO THE
NEEDS OF THE COMMUNITY RATHER THAN CONFORMING SCHOLARS
TO A RIGID CLASSIC MOLD.

FRANKLIN'S OWN LIFE WAS A CONTINUOUS SELF-EDUCATIONAL

PROCESS.

PRACTICAL WISDOM WAS HIS AIM.

WE FIND

NOWHERE IN HIS WRITINGS THE FALSE CONCEPT OF "THE COMPLETION

OF EDUCATION."

HE SAW NO LIMITATIONS TO WHAT AN INDIVIDUAL

COULD LEARN.

WHEN EIGHT BACHELORS AND FOUR MASTERS RECEIVED
THEIR DEGREES HERE TWO HUNDRED YEARS AGO, THE CONTINENTAL
CONGRESS WAS GROPING ITS WAY TO A FATEFUL DECISION AS TO
THE DIRECTION THIS COUNTRY SHOULD TAKE IN THE FUTURE.
BUT THERE WAS ALSO MUCH TALK OF THE PAST, FOR THE DELEGATES
WERE DETERMINED NOT TO REPEAT ITS MISTAKES.

ONE OF THE YOUNG COMMENCEMENT SPEAKERS IN 1775

HELD FORTH ON "THE FALL OF THE EMPIRES," WHICH HE ATTRIBUTED
TO EXCESSES OF LUXURY, VENALITY AND VICE. HE WAS NOT
FAR WRONG, AND HE WOUND UP BY LOOKING FAR INTO THE FUTURE
AND EXPRESSING HIS HOPE FOR AMERICA -- "THAT AMIDST THE
WIDE WASTE OF EMPIRES, THIS ONE CORNER OF THE GLOBE MAY
AT LEAST REMAIN THE LAST ASYLUM OF TRUTH, RIGHTEOUSNESS
AND FREEDOM."

FREEDOM WAS ON EVERYONE'S LIPS THAT DAY IN
MAY, 1775, JUST AS IT IS IN MAY, 1975.

THE NEWS OF LEXINGTON AND CONCORD, THOUGH NEARLY
A MONTH HAD PASSED, HAD JUST REACHED THE PHILADELPHIA
NEWSPAPERS. BUT THERE WAS BY NO MEANS UNANIMITY
FOR INDEPENDENCE; INDEED, IF THERE HAD BEEN PUBLIC OPINION
POLLS IN THOSE DAYS, THEY PROBABLY WOULD HAVE SHOWED
A GREAT MAJORITY OF AMERICANS CONSIDERED THEMSELVES
LOYAL ENGLISHMEN AND WANTED NO WAR.

AS WE READ THE RECORDS OF 1775, WE FIND A SPIRITED
DEBATE WAS IN PROGRESS RIGHT HERE ON THIS CAMPUS, AS WELL AS
IN THE NEARBY DELIBERATIONS OF THE CONTINENTAL CONGRESS,
BETWEEN THE PROPONENTS OF INDIVIDUAL LIBERTY AND INDEPENDENCE
AND THE DEFENDERS OF DISCIPLINE AND ORDER.

IN THE LONG PERSPECTIVE OF TWO CENTURIES, IT IS
CLEAR TO US TODAY THAT BOTH SIDES WERE RIGHT. THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS NOT A SINGLE SHOT HEARD 'ROUND
THE WORLD. IT WAS, AS JOHN ADAMS WARNED, "A LONG,
OBSTINATE AND BLOODY WAR" THAT LASTED SIX AND A HALF YEARS,
FOLLOWED BY ANOTHER PERIOD OF POLITICAL EXPERIMENTATION
IN WHICH THE WEAK AND DIVIDED INFANT NATION BARELY SURVIVED.

BUT THE MOST REMARKABLE THING ABOUT THE BEGINNINGS OF OUR
NATION IS THAT THE MEN OF THE REVOLUTION STUCK TO IT UNTIL
IT WAS FINISHED. THEIR MUTUAL PLEDGES OF THEIR LIVES,
THEIR FORTUNES AND THEIR SACRED HONOR WERE MORE THAN EMPTY
WORDS. IN BREAKING WITH THEIR PAST, THEY DID NOT NEGLECT
TO BUILD A BETTER SYSTEM FOR THEIR POSTERITY.

TODAY, WE LOOK BACK TWO HUNDRED YEARS, NOT
MERELY TO TAKE PRIDE IN OUR HISTORY, ALTHOUGH WE DO;
NOT MERELY TO MARK THE HIGH PRIORITY WHICH AMERICANS HAVE
ALWAYS ACCORDED TO EDUCATION AND HIGHER LEARNING, ALTHOUGH
WE DO; WE LOOK BACK DURING THIS BICENTENNIAL TO LEARN SOME
PRACTICAL LESSONS FOR TODAY AND TOMORROW.

AS A NATION, WE HAVE RECENTLY GONE THROUGH SOME
ROUGH TIMES. WE HAVE EXPERIENCED MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC
SETBACKS -- BUT WASHINGTON AND FRANKLIN SURVIVED EXPERIENCES
FAR WORSE. INFLATION, HIGH PRICES, UNEMPLOYMENT,
RECESSION -- ALL THESE PROBLEMS WERE MORE PRESSING IN 1775
THAN THEY ARE IN 1975, IF ONE BELIEVES THE RHETORIC OF THE
CONTINENTAL CONGRESS AND THE LIVELY REPORTS OF THE COLONIAL PRESS.

BUT THESE ARE NOT THE REAL LESSONS OF THE
AMERICAN REVOLUTION.

THE REAL LESSON OF OUR REVOLUTION IS THAT NATIONAL
GOALS CAN BE ACHIEVED ONLY THROUGH A COMBINATION OF NATIONAL
PURPOSE AND OF NATIONAL WILL.

THE THIRTEEN COLONIES IN THE BEGINNING WERE WEAK
MILITARILY, DEPENDENT ECONOMICALLY, AND DIVIDED POLITICALLY.

GRADUALLY, THEY FOUND THEIR GOALS AND ARTICULATED THEIR

PURPOSE -- IN THOMAS JEFFERSON'S WORDS: LIFE, LIBERTY

AND THE PURSUIT OF HAPPINESS.

BUT THE NATIONAL WILL THAT SAW THE STRUGGLE THROUGH TO ITS
SUCCESSFUL CONCLUSION WAS BETTER EXPRESSED BY THE PATRIOT
FARMER WHO SAID AS HE PICKED UP HIS MUSKET: "WE'LL SEE
WHO'S GOING TO OWN THIS FARM."

I BELIEVE THAT SPIRIT IS VERY MUCH ALIVE IN
AMERICA TODAY.

I AM IMMENSELY PROUD OF THE MARINES, THE AIRMEN
AND THE SEAMEN WHO RESCUED THEIR CAPTURED COUNTRYMEN
AND OUR MERCHANT SHIP LAST WEEK IN THE GULF OF SIAM,

THEIR SKILL AND COURAGE, / THEIR DEDICATION AND
SACRIFICE MAKE US ALL HUMBLY GRATEFUL AND GLAD THAT A
GREATER DANGER WAS AVERTED.

BUT WE MUST NOT FORGET THAT THE JUBILANT CHEERS
THAT GREETED THE PEALING OF THE LIBERTY BELL WERE FOLLOWED BY
THE TRIAL AND TESTING OF VALLEY FORGE.

NATIONAL WILL COMES FROM A CONSENSUS OF
NATIONAL PURPOSE, FROM THE COLLECTIVE AGREEMENT AMONG
THINKING CITIZENS AS TO THE GOALS THEY SEEK AS A NATION.

A FREE PEOPLE WILL NEVER FIND UNANIMITY --

BUT A PEOPLE MUST BE UNITED IN THE PURSUIT OF CERTAIN

COMMON GOALS IN ORDER TO REMAIN FREE.

THE GOALS WHICH WERE PROCLAIMED HERE IN
PHILADELPHIA AFTER A DOZEN YEARS OF WAR AND WRESTLING
WITH THE PROBLEMS OF A NEW KIND OF SELF-GOVERNING SOCIETY
ARE AS VALID TODAY AS THEY WERE IN 1787:

- TO FORM A MORE PERFECT UNION

- ESTABLISH JUSTICE

- INSURE DOMESTIC TRANQUILITY

- PROVIDE FOR THE COMMON DEFENSE

- PROMOTE THE GENERAL WELFARE

- AND SECURE THE BLESSINGS OF LIBERTY

TO OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY.

WE NEED ADD TO THESE ORIGINAL GOALS ONLY THE
IMPLICIT ONE OF STRIVING TO PRESERVE AND TO ADVANCE THE
CAUSE OF PEACE AND HARMONY AMONG ALL NATIONS AND ALL PEOPLES.
WE DO NOT NEED NOBLER OR NEWER GOALS. WE DO NEED A
RENEWED SENSE OF NATIONAL PURPOSE AND A STRENGTHENING
OF OUR NATIONAL WILL TO PURSUE THESE GOALS.

IN A SENSE, OUR AMERICAN REVOLUTION WAS NEVER
ENDED. WE ARE A UNIQUE PEOPLE IN THAT WE ARE AT THE
SAME TIME EMINENTLY PRACTICAL AND INCURABLY IDEALISTIC.
AMERICANS ARE ALWAYS MORE INTERESTED IN THE FUTURE THAN THE
PAST. WE EXPECT AND INDEED DEMAND THAT TOMORROW
WILL BE BETTER THAN TODAY.

WHILE I HAVE SPOKEN OF NATIONAL GOALS, I KNOW THAT
EACH OF YOU HAVE INDIVIDUAL GOALS, AND THAT THE CELEBRATION OF
THIS DAY IS CLOUDED BY THE IMMEDIATE PROBLEM OF FURTHERING THOSE
GOALS BY FINDING MEANINGFUL EMPLOYMENT.

ALMOST A MILLION YOUNG AMERICANS GRADUATING FROM
INSTITUTIONS OF HIGHER LEARNING THIS YEAR ARE FACED, THROUGH NO
FAULT OF THEIR OWN, WITH ECONOMIC DIFFICULTIES GREATER THAN ANY
SINCE THE PERIOD OF MY OWN COMMENCEMENT WITH THE CLASS OF 1935.

AS PRESIDENT, MY FIRST OBJECTIVE HAS BEEN TO
OVERCOME CURRENT ECONOMIC PROBLEMS.

OUR NATIONAL GOAL IS JOBS FOR ALL WHO WANT TO WORK
AND ECONOMIC OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL WHO WANT TO ACHIEVE.

GOVERNMENT MUST FOLLOW POLICIES THAT ENABLE
AND ENCOURAGE THE PRIVATE ECONOMIC SYSTEM TO CREATE MORE
MEANINGFUL JOBS IN THE REAL WORLD. GREATER PRODUCTIVITY
IS THE ONLY SURE WAY TO GREATER PROSPERITY AND A BETTER LIFE
FOR EVERYBODY.

WE ARE COMING OUT OF THIS RECESSION.

WE ARE ON

OUR WAY.

AND WE ARE ON THE RIGHT TRACK.

BUT WE CANNOT BE SATISFIED WITH SIMPLY GETTING BACK

TO WHERE WE WERE, AND WE WILL NOT.

WE MUST REDEFINE OUR NATIONAL PURPOSES AND

PURSUE THEM WITH A RENEWAL OF NATIONAL WILL. ON OUR

TWO HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY, SHALL WE OCCUPY OURSELVES QUESTIONING

OUR LIMITATIONS / -- OR EXPLORING OUR POSSIBILITIES?

SHALL WE CONCLUDE FROM TWO CENTURIES OF AMERICAN

EXPERIENCE THAT WE CAN DO MORE - OR THAT WE CAN DO

 MUCH, MUCH MORE?

THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA THAT EVOLVED FROM
THE UNEASY DISPUTATIONS AND HEATED DEBATES HERE IN PHILADELPHIA
HAS NOW BEFORE IT A CHANCE TO WRITE A NEW DECLARATION OF
INTERDEPENDENCE, AMONG OURSELVES, AND WITH ALL PEOPLES.

WE MUST INFUSE OUR INSTITUTIONS WITH A NEW REALISM
BUILT ON THE OLD IDEALISM - AND WE WILL.

WE MUST DEVELOP A VAST NEW ENERGY INDUSTRY THAT
WILL SPUR EMPLOYMENT AND ENSURE ECONOMIC SECURITY - AND
WE WILL.

WE MUST EXPAND THE CONTROL OF EACH INDIVIDUAL

OVER HIS OR HER OWN LIFE, LIBERTY AND THE PURSUIT OF
HAPPINESS + AND WE WILL.

WE MUST INCREASE THE PARTICIPATION AND INFLUENCE
OF EVERY CITIZEN IN THE PROCESSES OF SELF-GOVERNMENT AND THE
SHAPING OF NATIONAL CONSENSUS -- AND WE WILL.

WE MUST LEAD HUMANITY'S EVERLASTING EFFORT TO LIVE
HARMONIOUSLY WITH NATURE, EMPLOYING TECHNOLOGY TO THE
ENRICHMENT OF SPIRIT AS WELL AS BODY - AND WE WILL.

WE MUST SUSTAIN AND STRENGTHEN OUR ALLIANCES
AND PARTNERSHIPS WITH OTHER FREEDOM-LOVING NATIONS AS WE
SEEK COOPERATION AND RATIONAL RELATIONS WITH ALL PEOPLES --
AND WE WILL.

WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR VIGILANCE AND OUR DEFENSES

AS A SYMBOL OF OUR UNDIMINISHED DEVOTION TO PEACE AND A

LAWFUL WORLD -- AND WE WILL.

FINALLY, PERHAPS MOST IMPORTANTLY, WE MUST
DECLARE AGAIN THE BROTHERLY LOVE IN WHICH THIS GREAT
COMMONWEALTH WAS FOUNDED, WE MUST LEARN TO TRUST ONE
ANOTHER AND TO HELP ONE ANOTHER. WE MUST PLEDGE ANEW TO
ONE ANOTHER OUR OWN LIVES, OUR OWN FORTUNES, AND OUR OWN
SACRED HONOR.

AND WE WILL.

BENJAMIN FRANKLIN TOLD THE CONSTITUTIONAL

CONVENTION IN THOSE EARLY YEARS THAT "MUCH OF THE STRENGTH
AND EFFICIENCY OF ANY GOVERNMENT, IN PROCURING AND SECURING
HAPPINESS TO THE PEOPLE DEPENDS ON OPINION, ON THE GENERAL
OPINION OF THE GOODNESS OF THAT GOVERNMENT AS WELL AS OF
THE WISDOM AND INTEGRITY OF ITS GOVERNORS."

AS PRESIDENT, I VALUE YOUR GOOD OPINION AND
HOPE ALWAYS TO DESERVE IT. AND I ASK THE GRADUATES OF
1975 TO WORK WITH ME ON AMERICA'S NEW AGENDA, JUST AS THE
CLASS OF 1775 JOINED IN PROCLAIMING A NEW ERA OF LIBERTY AND
HOPE. THEY DID WELL BY US. WE MUST DO EVEN BETTER
BY AMERICANS YET UNBORN.

END OF TEXT

CLEARANCE FORM FOR PRESIDENTIAL SPEECH MATERIAL

TO: THE PRESIDENT
VIA: ROBERT HARTMANN *RTH*
FROM: PAUL A. THEIS *PT*
SUBJECT: University of Pennsylvania Commencement

TIME, DATE AND PLACE OF PRESIDENTIAL USE: _____

2 p.m., Sunday, May 18, 1975, Philadelphia, Pa.

SPEECHWRITER: Hartmann

EDITED BY: _____

BASIC RESEARCH/SPEECH MATERIAL SUPPLIED BY:

Scheduling Office

CLEARED BY (Please initial):

- () OPERATIONS (Rumsfeld) _____
- () CONGRESSIONAL/PUBLIC LIAISON (Marsh) _____
- () PRESS (Nessen) _____
- () LEGAL (Buchen) _____
- () ECONOMIC POLICY BOARD (Seidman) _____
- () OFFICE OF MANAGEMENT AND BUDGET (Lynn) _____
- () DOMESTIC COUNCIL (Cannon) _____
- (X) NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL (Scowcroft) BS.
- (X) RESEARCH (Waldron) TR
- (X) JERRY WARREN (FYI) _____
- () ENERGY RESOURCES COUNCIL (Zarb) _____
- () _____
- () _____