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"A CONTEXT FOR CHANGE"

I AM VERY PLEASED TO BE WITH YOU TODAY. SUFFOLK'S COMMENCEMENT COMES LATE THIS YEAR AND, IF MY CALCULATION IS CORRECT, I NOW HAVE 2,229 OTHER ADDRESSES FROM WHICH TO SELECT A MESSAGE FOR TODAY. PERHAPS IT HAS ALL BEEN SAID BY NOW, AND I SHOULD JUST REFER YOU TO A FEW PRINTED EXCERPTS, WITH PROPER USE OF "IBIDS" AND "OP CITS." BUT YOUR INVITATION IS TOO GRACIOUS, AND MY SPEECHMAKING INSTINCTS MUCH TOO STRONG, FOR ME TO ADOPT SO CONVENIENT A COURSE.

HOWEVER, MANY OF THOSE ADDRESSES HAVE A CENTRAL THEME IN COMMON, AND ONE WHICH WE ALL DO WELL TO REPEAT. YOU WHO GRADUATE TODAY ARE CUSTODIANS OF A VITAL TRADITION, A TRADITION ESSENTIAL TO THE WELL-BEING OF THIS OR ANY OTHER NATION DEDICATED TO SELF-GOVERNMENT. THE BENEFICIARIES OF HIGHER EDUCATION HAVE A SPECIAL RESPONSIBILITY TO FOCUS THEIR INTELLIGENCE, THEIR CRITICAL SKILLS, THEIR LEARNING AND THEIR MORAL INSIGHT ON THE GRAVE CHALLENGES BEFORE US. THAT IS THE MANDATE YOU CARRY AND THE OPPORTUNITY YOU CONFRONT.

TO COMMENCE IN 1969 IS TO BEGIN YOUR CAREERS AT A MOMENT OF UNPRECEDENTED UNCERTAINTY IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE. THE BOUYANCY AND HOPE WHICH SHOULD MARK THIS OCCASION OFFER STARK CONTRAST TO THE TENSION AND DEPRESSION WHICH ENVELOP OUR NATION. THE SPIRIT OF REASON AND HUMANITY WHICH ANIMATES A GREAT UNIVERSITY, THE SPIRIT WHICH HAS INSPIRED THE FORWARD MOVEMENT OF CIVILIZATION ITSELF, IS CLOUDED BY THE BRUTALITY AND INHUMANITY WHICH BLIGHT THE EARTH.

AS WE CONTEMPLATE AMERICA'S CRUEL DILEMMAS, IT IS EASY TO BE DISILLUSIONED. INDEED, IT IS EVEN FASHIONABLE. IN OUR TIME, AS IN ALL THE AGES PAST, THERE ABOUT THE CYNICS AND PESSIMISTS WHO DENOUNCE THE BROTHERHOOD OF THE HOPEFUL AS FOOLISH, WHO DERIDE THE FRATERNITY OF THE ACTIVE AS FUTILE. BUT CYNICISM AND PESSIMISM DO NOT CONSTITUTE REALISM. I HOPE AND I TRUST THAT YOU AND YOUR PEERS WILL HAVE THE WISDOM TO DISCERN THE DIFFERENCE.

TO BE SURE THERE ARE PLAUSIBLE GROUNDS FOR THE GLOOMY VIEWS OF THE WORLD WHICH YOUR GENERATION WILL INHERIT AND WHICH IT IS CALLED TO TRANSFORM. RIOTS AT HOME AND WARS ABROAD ARE NOT A LIKELY BASIS FOR OPTIMISM. POVERTY IN EVERY CONTINENT, INJUSTICE IN EVERY NATION, SOCIAL DISCORD IN EVERY STATE, THESE ARE GRIM OMENS. THEY MUST BE FACED AND THEY MUST BE RELIEVED.

YET THOSE WHO SEE ONLY THESE FEATURES OF THE TERRAIN ARE AS MISTAKEN AS THOSE WHO WALLOW IN A SEA OF PERSONAL EUPHORIA. BOTH GROUPS ARE EQUALLY DESERVING OF SIR FRANCIS BACON'S TRENCHANT COMMENT:

THEY ARE ILL DISCOVERERS
THAT THINK THERE IS NO LAND,
WHEN THEY SEE NOTHING BUT SEA.

I AM CONVINCED THAT THE DRASTIC CHANGES WHICH HAVE SHAKEN THE SOCIAL AND PHYSICAL ORDERS OF THIS PLANET DURING THE FIRST TWO THIRDS OF THE TWENTIETH CENTURY CAN PORTEND A GOLDEN AGE FOR MANKIND. YOU AND YOUR CHILDREN CAN INAUGURATE THAT ERA. IT IS NOT ONLY THAT THE HUMAN RACE HAS ACQUIRED A GROWING MASTERY OF THE MATERIAL UNIVERSE, A MASTERY WHICH CAN ENABLE ALL MEN TO HAVE THE MATERIAL NECESSITIES OF LIFE. WHILE MODERN SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY ARE BY NO MEANS UNMITIGATED BLESSINGS, THEY DO PERMIT US TO FACE THE FUTURE WITH THE REASONABLE EXPECTATION THAT WE CAN, WITH PRUDENT MANAGEMENT, MEET THE PHYSICAL NEEDS OF ALL THOSE ON EARTH. MOREOVER, THEY HOLD SOME PROMISE OF CORRECTING THE UNWANTED BYPRODUCTS WHICH THEY THEMSELVES GENERATE. THUS, IT IS THROUGH RESEARCH THAT WE HAVE THE GREATEST HOPE FOR CONTROLLING THE ENVIRONMENTAL POLLUTION WHICH HAS ARISEN FROM APPLICATION OF MODERN TECHNOLOGY; IT IS THROUGH RESEARCH THAT WE MAY HOPE TO FIND CURES FOR THE PHYSICAL AND MENTAL TRAUMAS WHICH ARISE FROM THE STRESSES OF MODERN SOCIETY; IT IS THROUGH RESEARCH THAT WE MAY EVEN BE ABLE TO FIND SOME OF THE MOST EFFECTIVE SAFEGUARDS AGAINST THE ACTUAL USE OF THE DESTRUCTIVE TECHNOLOGY WHICH DEFINES THE NUCLEAR AGE.

YET IT IS NOT THE PHYSICAL PROSPECTS RAISED BY CONTEMPORARY SCIENCE WHICH LEAD ME TO BET ON THE FUTURE. --TO BET ON YOU. I BELIEVE THAT THE TRULY ENCOURAGING TRENDS FOR THE INHABITANTS OF SPACESHIP EARTH ARE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL IN NATURE. THE TRENDS TO WHICH I REFER ARE RUNNING MOST STRONGLY IN THIS COUNTRY AND THEY ARE EPITOMIZED BY MEMBERS OF YOUR GENERATION. THESE TRENDS ARE COMPLEX AND DIFFICULT TO DESCRIBE BRIEFLY, BUT I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THEIR PRINCIPAL EFFECT IS TO INCREASE OUR COLLECTIVE CAPACITY TO ADAPT TO SOCIAL CHANGE.

AMONG THE YOUNG ELITE OF AMERICA, THOSE WHO WILL BEAR THE MAJOR RESPONSIBILITY FOR GUIDING THIS NATION THROUGH THE TURBULENCE WHICH LIES AHEAD, COMPLACENCY IS GIVING WAY TO CONCERN, APATHY TO INVOLVEMENT, SELF-SACRIFICE. WHILE YOU HAVE BEEN GROWING UP, A VAST SHIFT IN SOCIAL ATTITUDES HAS BEEN UNDERWAY IN THIS COUNTRY. WE ARE BECOMING, IN MY CONSIDERED JUDGMENT, A FUTURE-ORIENTED SOCIETY, A NATION ACUTELY AWARE OF THE PAST FAILURES AND PRESENT DEFECTS AND DETERMINED TO ALLEVIATE THEM IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

WHEN COMPARED WITH THE UNCERTAINTY AND ANXIETY WHICH ALWAYS ACCOMPANY SIGNIFICANT CHANGE, "THE GOOD OLD DAYS AND THE GOOD OLD WAYS" HAVE POWERFUL APPEAL. BUT IF ONE SUCCUMBS UNCRITICALLY TO THAT APPEAL, THE PRACTICAL RESULT IS TO GLOSS OVER THE SHORTCOMINGS OF THE EXISTING SOCIAL ORDER AND TO DENY THE POSSIBILITY OF IMPROVING IT. ONE IS DRAWN TO RESIST CHANGE ON THE GENERAL ASSUMPTION THAT IT MAY NOT BE HELPFUL, RATHER THAN TO ACCEPT OR DISCOURAGE CHANGE ACCORDING TO A PRAGMATIC APPRAISAL OF ITS PROBABLE EFFECTS IN COMPARISON WITH THE STATUS QUO.

AMERICANS HAVE BEEN LESS CONSTRAINED BY TRADITION THAN OTHER PEOPLES, BUT I BELIEVE THAT THE ATTITUDES NOW COMING TO PREVAIL IN OUR SOCIETY ARE FAR MORE RECEPTIVE TO CHANGE THAN THOSE WHICH DOMINATED IN PAST DECADES. FURTHERMORE, THERE IS DEVELOPING A HEIGHTENED AWARENESS OF THE INEQUITIES WHICH STILL PLAGUE OUR SOCIETY AND A STRONGER DETERMINATION TO MAKE THE CHANGES NECESSARY TO DEAL WITH THEM. I BELIEVE THAT THE OUTCOME WILL BE A MORE RESPONSIVE AND A MORE RESPONSIBLE COMMUNITY.

THIS PSYCHOLOGICAL REVOLUTION HAS ITS PARALLELS IN OTHER COUNTRIES, BOTH IN THE WEST AND IN THE EAST. IT IS OF THE UTMOST CONSEQUENCE TO US ALL THAT THE SOVIET UNION, AS THE OTHER POWER WITH PRIMARY INFLUENCE ON THE QUESTIONS OF WAR AND PEACE, HAS SHOWN THAT IT TOO IS ADAPTABLE TO THE REALITIES OF OUR TIME. UNTIL FORMER PREMIER KHRUSHCHEV REPUDIATED THE LENINIST DOCTRINE OF THE INEVITABILITY OF WAR BETWEEN CAPITALIST AND COMMUNIST STATES, THE RISK OF A THERMONUCLEAR ARMAGEDDON WAS REAL AND INCREASING. THAT RISK HAS NOT DISAPPEARED -- FAR FROM IT -- BUT THE SHIFT IN SOVIET ATTITUDES HAS MADE POSSIBLE A NUMBER OF CONSTRUCTIVE INNOVATIONS IN THE INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL SYSTEM.

THERE CAN BE NO DOUBT THAT THE REALIZATION THAT NUCLEAR WAR WOULD BE MUTUALLY SUICIDAL HAS CONTRIBUTED SIGNIFICANTLY TO THE POSSIBILITIES OF PEACEFUL ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN MOSCOW AND WASHINGTON. ONE MAY HOPE THAT A SIMILAR MATURITY WILL EMERGE IN CHINA, AS THE CHINESE BECOME MORE FAMILIAR WITH THE AWESOME IMPLICATIONS OF THE NUCLEAR FORCES THEY ARE DEVELOPING.

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT RESULT OF THE ALTERED PSYCHOLOGY OF SOVIET-AMERICAN RELATIONS HAS BEEN THE RESTRAINT SHOWN BY BOTH COUNTRIES DURING THE STRUGGLE IN VIETNAM. HOWEVER BRUTAL AND PAINFUL THE WAR IN SOUTHEAST ASIA HAS BEEN, THE SEEDS OF GLOBAL STRIFE WHICH IT CONTAINS HAVE NOT BEEN ALLOWED TO SPROUT. NO ONE CAN REJOICE AT WHAT HAS HAPPENED IN VIETNAM, BUT WHAT HAS NOT HAPPENED IS CERTAINLY CAUSE FOR PRAYERFUL GRATITUDE. THE PRUDENCE EXHIBITED BY THE UNITED STATES AND THE SOVIET UNION CAN PROVIDE US TIME TO IDENTIFY AND DEVELOP OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS, AND IN THOSE MUTUAL INTERESTS LIES THE WORLD'S BEST CHANCE FOR LONG-TERM SECURITY AND PROSPERITY.

I MUST TELL YOU OF MY DEEP APPREHENSION THAT THIS DAWNING PERCEPTION OF OUR MUTUAL INTERESTS IS THREATENED BY THE MOST MENACING TECHNOLOGICAL DEVELOPMENTS IN SOME YEARS. WE AND THE SOVIETS ARE ON THE VERGE OF AN OMINOUS ROUND IN THE STRATEGIC ARMS RACE. UNLESS WE CAN TOGETHER MUSTER THE POLITICAL WISDOM TO SUCCEED IN THE IMPENDING ARMS CONTROL NEGOTIATIONS, A WHOLE NEW GENERATION OF WEAPONS WILL SOON BE UPON US, THREATENING THE STABILITY OF THE NUCLEAR BALANCE AND THE STRENGTH OF THE PEACE.

THE CENTRAL PROBLEM IN THIS REGARD IS THE EMERGENCE OF THE SO-CALLED MIRV SYSTEMS WHICH BOTH THE SOVIET UNION AND THE UNITED STATES ARE PURSUING. THESE SYSTEMS WOULD RAPIDLY MULTIPLY THE NUMBER OF WARHEADS WHICH EACH SIDE'S ROCKETS COULD DELIVER. IF THEY ARE IN FACT DEPLOYED THEY WOULD INCREASE THE CAPACITY OF BOTH SIDES TO ATTACK THE OTHER SIDE'S RETALIATORY FORCES. IN PERIODS OF EXTREME CRISIS THERE COULD BE HEIGHTENED DANGERS OF PRE-EMPTIVE ATTACK, AS EACH SIDE HAS TO WORRY THAT IF IT DOES NOT STRIKE FIRST THE OTHER MAY DO SO. THIS SITUATION IS NO RECIPE FOR SECURITY, AND COMPARED TO IT, THE QUESTIONS RAISED CONCERNING ABM SYSTEMS PALE.

I STRONGLY FEEL THAT WE NEED TO INITIATE NEGOTIATIONS WITH THE SOVIET UNION AT THE EARLIEST POSSIBLE MOMENT, TO SEE IF IT IS POSSIBLE TO FOREGO SUCH DESTABILIZING WEAPONS ON BOTH SIDES. A NUMBER OF MY COLLEAGUES HAVE JOINED ME IN URGING THAT, IN THE MEANTIME, BOTH SIDES SUSPEND FURTHER FLIGHT TESTS OF MIRV SYSTEMS. AT THE SAME TIME I HAVE PROPOSED AND HOPE THE SENATE WILL ADOPT A PLAN TO AVOID COMMITTING THE UNITED STATES TO DEPLOYMENT OF AN ABM WEAPONS SYSTEM AT THIS TIME, WHILE PERMITTING EXTENSIVE TESTS AND EVALUATION OF THE RADARS, COMPUTERS, AND ASSOCIATED ELECTRONICS FOR SUCH A SYSTEM.

SUCH RESTRAINT ON OUR PART, WOULD I BELIEVE, CONTRIBUTE SUCCESS OF THE PLANNED NEGOTIATIONS. IT WOULD BUY A LITTLE TIME IN WHICH TO EXPLORE POSSIBLE ARRANGEMENTS WITH THE SOVIET UNION FOR PREVENTING THE WASTEFUL AND SINISTER COMPETITION IN ARMS IN WHICH WE HAVE BEEN LOCKED FOR SO MANY YEARS.

ONLY BY DEVISING SUCH ARRANGEMENTS CAN WE AND THE SOVIETS HOPE TO STEM THE FLOW OF NATIONAL RESOURCES INTO UNPRODUCTIVE MILITARY INVESTMENTS. ONLY BY STEMMING THAT FLOW WILL WE BE ABLE TO CONCENTRATE OUR ENERGIES AND INVESTMENTS ON THE PRESSING SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC NEEDS WHICH AFFLICT BOTH COUNTRIES. WE MUST NOT ALLOW THIS OPPORTUNITY TO SLIP THROUGH OUR FINGERS.

A DIFFERENT KIND OF PSYCHOLOGICAL ENVIRONMENT HAS EVOLVED ON THE DOMESTIC SCENE. HERE AT HOME THE DISPOSITION HAS BECOME NOT ONE OF CAUTION AND RESTRAINT, BUT OF RAPID AND ENERGETIC ACTION TO PROMOTE SOCIAL CHANGE. THIS ACTIVIST ATTITUDE HAS COME INCREASINGLY TO THE FORE IN THE LAST DECADE. IT IS WELL-MATCHED TO THE NEEDS OF THE NATION. THE NEW ACTIVISM HAS BEGUN TO ZERO IN ON THE CRITICAL REQUIREMENTS OF MODERN AMERICA, ON THE PRESSING NEED TO IMPROVE LIFE IN OUR URBAN

CENTERS, TO RELIEVE THE LINGERING INJUSTICE FROM WHICH TOO MANY SUFFER, TO PROVIDE A DECENT STANDARD OF LIVING FOR ALL CITIZENS.

THE UPWELLING OF SOCIAL CONCERN IS CREATING A NEW ETHIC FOR THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. IF I JUDGE THE MATTER CORRECTLY, THE NEW ETHIC WILL RETAIN THE TRADITIONAL AMERICAN REVERENCE FOR THE INDIVIDUAL PERSONALITY BUT IT WILL TEMPER THE HARSHTEST OVERTONES OF OUR PURITAN HERITAGE. THAT HERITAGE HAS TENDED TO SEE INDIVIDUAL FAILURE IN THE ECONOMIC SPHERE AS A REFLECTION OF PERSONAL CORRUPTION AND HAS TENDED TO DISCOURAGE COMMUNITY ACTION TO ASSIST THE DISADVANTAGED MEMBERS OF SOCIETY.

MR. DOOLEY ONCE OBSERVED THAT THE PURITANS HAD CELEBRATED THANKSGIVING TO GIVE THANKS FOR BEING PRESERVED FROM THE INDIANS AND THAT WE CELEBRATE IT TO GIVE THANKS FOR BEING PRESERVED FROM THE PURITANS. HIS CONCLUSION THAT WE HAVE BEEN SO PRESERVED WAS PREMATURE, FOR WE HAVE NEVER FULLY SHAKEN THE PURITAN SUSPICION THAT AN INDIVIDUAL WHO COULD NOT PROVIDE FOR HIMSELF WAS NOT QUITE WORTH BEING PROVIDED FOR.

WE ARE BEGINNING TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE OPERATION OF A COMPLEX ECONOMY OFTEN WREAKS HAVOC ON THE FORTUNES OF INDIVIDUALS. THROUGH NO FAULT OF THEIR OWN, SOME PEOPLE HAVE LITTLE OPPORTUNITY TO BECOME SELF-SUPPORTING, MUCH LESS TO MAKE A FULL CONTRIBUTION TO SOCIETY.

WE ARE BEGINNING TO PERCEIVE THE REALITY OF POVERTY IN AMERICA, A REALITY COMPOUNDED OF INADEQUATE EDUCATION, UNEMPLOYMENT, MISERABLE HOUSING, AND MALNUTRITION.

RECOGNITION OF THESE FACTS HAS BROUGHT INCREASING NUMBERS OF AMERICANS TO SUPPORT THE PRINCIPLE THAT SOCIETY HAS AN OBLIGATION TO ITS LESS FORTUNATE MEMBERS. AS THIS PRINCIPLE WINS WIDER ACCEPTANCE, AND AS AMERICA'S ABUNDANT RESOURCES MAKE POSSIBLE A LARGER INVESTMENT IN PROGRAMS TO ATTACK THE ROOT CAUSES OF POVERTY, THE POSSIBILITIES FOR EFFECTIVE SOCIAL REFORM RISE PROPORTIONATELY. CLEAR, WORKABLE SOLUTIONS TO THESE PERENNIAL PROBLEMS ARE NOT YET IN HAND, BUT MANY OF THE CENTRAL DIFFICULTIES HAVE BEEN IDENTIFIED AND PROMISING APPROACHES ARE BEING EXPLORED.

THE EMERGENCE OF THIS NEW PERSPECTIVE ON POVERTY IS A WATERSHED IN OUR HISTORY, BUT NO ONE CAN STATE WITH CONFIDENCE EXACTLY WHAT WILL BE REQUIRED OF US, OR OVER HOW LONG A PERIOD OF TIME, TO SUCCOR THE DISTRESS WE NOW PERCEIVE. THAT IS WHY THE ACTIVIST BENT OF YOU AND YOUR GENERATION IS SO ESSENTIAL TO OUR COUNTRY. THE TASK OF DESIGNING AND IMPLEMENTING A SOUND STRATEGY TO COPE WITH THESE MOMENTOUS PROBLEMS IS BOUND TO TAKE OUR BEST EFFORTS FOR MANY YEARS. THE NATION DESPERATELY NEEDS A SPECIAL BREED OF TOUGHMINDED IDEALISTS, MEN AND WOMEN WHO ARE PREPARED TO ENTER THE LONG CAMPAIGN WHICH LIES AHEAD.

FRESH TROOPS ARE NEEDED IN ALL THE FIELDS OF SOCIAL SERVICE. WE WILL HAVE TO FIND DEDICATED AND INSPIRED TEACHERS TO UNDERTAKE THE DIFFICULT BURDENS OF INSTRUCTION IN THE GHETTO SCHOOLS. TO CONTROL THE SELF-DISRUPTIVE TENDENCIES OF MANY OF OUR DISADVANTAGED FAMILIES, COMPETENT AND CREDIBLE SOCIAL WORKERS WILL BE NEEDED. TO HELP MAP THE WAY OUT OF THE CLUSTER OF DILEMMAS WHICH FRUSTRATE MILLIONS IN OUR CENTER CITIES, WE MUST TRAIN AND EMPLOY THE MOST CAPABLE URBAN PLANNERS IN HISTORY. IN ALL THESE FIELDS AND OTHERS, THE CHALLENGES OF THE COMING DECADES WILL DEMAND A TOTAL COMMITMENT FROM THOSE BRAVE ENOUGH TO ACCEPT THEM.

BUT A CONSTRUCTIVE ATTACK ON THESE CRUCIAL SOCIAL ILLS WILL REQUIRE MORE THAN INDIVIDUAL COMMITMENTS TO SPECIALIZED PURSUITS, HOWEVER WORTHY THOSE PURSUITS MAY BE. EACH AMERICAN WILL HAVE TO GUIDE HIS SERVICE BY CONSTANT REFERENCE TO THE GENERAL REQUIREMENTS OF A FREE SOCIETY. WE MUST HAVE, AS WALTER LIPPMAN SO ELOQUENTLY ARGUED A DECADE AGO, A REVIVAL OF APPRECIATION FOR A PUBLIC PHILOSOPHY IN THIS COUNTRY, A RENEWED RESPECT FOR THE PUBLIC INTEREST. IT WILL NOT SUFFICE, IN A NATION WHOSE CITIZENS HAVE DEVELOPED A HITHERTO UNKNOWN INTERDEPENDENCE, FOR EACH MAN TO PURSUE HIS OWN DESIRES WITHOUT REGARD TO THE RIGHTS AND NEEDS OF OTHERS.

TO FUNCTION AS A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY AMERICA WILL HAVE TO DEVISE NEW MODES FOR THE VOLUNTARY COORDINATION OF THE MANIFOLD ACTIVITIES WHICH ENGAGE THE ENERGIES OF HER PEOPLE. THIS WILL BE THE SUPREME TEST OF REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT, BUT IT WILL ALSO BE THE ULTIMATE CHALLENGE TO ALL THE INSTITUTIONS WHICH COMPRISE THE PRIVATE SECTOR. BUSINESS, LABOR, CHURCHES, UNIVERSITIES, FAMILIES, AND INDIVIDUALS IN EVERY SPHERE OF OUR NATIONAL LIFE MUST LEARN TO ACT IN FULL CONSCIOUSNESS OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THEIR ACTIONS FOR OTHERS IN THE COMMUNITY.

TO STATE THIS IS TO STATE THE OBVIOUS PREREQUISITE OF LIFE IN A MODERN NATION. OUR POLITICAL, SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC ORGANIZATION HAS GROWN SO COMPLEX THAT EACH OF US SURVIVES QUITE LITERALLY AT THE MERCY OF DOZENS OF OTHERS. BY THE SAME TOKEN EACH OF US HAS COME TO HOLD A KIND OF VETO POWER OVER THE HAPPINESS AND WELL-BEING OF MANY OF OUR FELLOW CITIZENS. ALL OF US ARE DRIVING DOWN A CROWDED HIGHWAY, AND THE FATE OF EVERY PASSENGER IS LINKED TO THE BEHAVIOR OF EVERY OTHER. WE MUST SURELY LEARN TO GUIDE OURSELVES, FOR THERE IS NO INVISIBLE HAND TO DO THE JOB FOR US.

THE ODDS ARE GOOD THAT MOST OF YOU WILL BE HERE TO GREET THE NEXT CENTURY. BETWEEN NOW AND THE YEAR 2000, AMERICA AND THE OTHER NATIONS OF THE WORLD WILL UNDERGO THE MOST STUPENDOUS CHANGES IN ALL THEIR HISTORY. NO ONE FROM MY GENERATION CAN TELL YOURS HOW TO GRAPPLE WITH THE FUTURE. PERSONAL FULFILLMENT DOES NOT COME OUT OF A DO-IT-YOURSELF KIT, ANY MORE THAN SOCIAL PROGRESS PROCEEDS FROM A PAT FORMULA SET DOWN BY THE ELDERS OF THE COMMUNITY.

IT IS NOT SO MUCH THE RADICAL INNOVATIONS OF SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY AS THE CHANGES IN HUMAN ATTITUDES AND INSTITUTIONS WHICH WILL SHAPE THIS FUTURE. IF WE ARE TO BUILD A BETTER WORLD FOR OURSELVES AND OUR POSTERITY, WE MUST FIND OUR SALVATION, NOT IN MOTHER NATURE, BUT IN HUMAN NATURE.

IN THIS PERPETUAL QUEST YOU HAVE A VERY SPECIAL CONTRIBUTION TO MAKE. THE GRADUATES OF THIS DISTINGUISHED UNIVERSITY JOIN THE COMPANY OF THOSE WHO UNDERSTAND THAT, THOUGH OFTEN FLAWED, THE HUMAN PERSONALITY IS CAPABLE OF MIGHTY DEEDS.

THIS IS A FAITH WHICH ALL AMERICANS NEED. IT IS A FAITH HELPFUL IN PROSPERITY AND ESSENTIAL IN ADVERSITY. WITHOUT THIS FAITH THE ASPIRATION OF MEN TO BE FREE MUST PERISH; WITH IT THAT ASPIRATION WILL FUEL A SURGE OF HUMAN ACCOMPLISHMENT THAT WILL CAPTURE THE FUTURE AND MAKE IT OUR OWN.