

FROM THE CAMPAIGN OFFICE OF
ROBERT MORGAN

CANDIDATE, UNITED STATES SENATE
DRAWER M
RALEIGH, NORTH CAROLINA 27611
919-782-7852

SPEECH BY: ROBERT MORGAN

TO: GUILFORD COLLEGE COMMENCEMENT
GREENSBORO, NORTH CAROLINA

DATE: MAY 4, 1974

DUTIES AND RESPONSIBILITIES OF THE YOUNG

LOOKING OUT UPON THIS AUDIENCE TODAY, I KNOW IT IS NOT NECESSARY FOR ME TO REMIND YOU THAT GRADUATION IS A SERIOUS OCCASION. THIS IS TRUE FOR AS YOU REALIZE, PERHAPS FAR BETTER THAN I, GRADUATION MARKS THE END OF YOUR DEPENDENCE UPON OTHERS AND THE BEGINNING OF THE TIME WHEN MORE AND MORE YOU WILL FIND YOURSELVES STANDING ALONE PONDERING IMPORTANT DECISIONS AND CARRYING NEW, AND OFTEN STRANGE, RESPONSIBILITIES.

AND WE KNOW THAT RESPONSIBILITIES CAN NEVER BE CARRIED LIGHTLY, BUT WHO IS BETTER ABLE TO SHOULDER THEM THAN THOSE OF YOU GRADUATING HERE AND AROUND OUR NATION THIS YEAR. AFTER ALL, YOU HAVE HAD THE ADVANTAGE OF A UNIVERSITY EDUCATION, WHICH IN THIS DEMOCRATIC NATION OF OURS TRADITIONALLY HAS SOUGHT TO INSTILL AS A PRIMARY QUALITY AN APPRECIATION OF BOTH THE BENEFITS AND RESPONSIBILITIES WHICH ARE OURS BECAUSE WE ARE AMERICANS AND WE ARE FREE.

THE BURDENS WHICH FALL UPON YOU TODAY, HOWEVER, ARE ESPECIALLY HEAVY, FOR I BELIEVE THAT WE HAVE NEVER PRODUCED A GENERATION OF YOUNG PEOPLE WITH GREATER AWARENESS OF THE PROBLEMS ABOUT THEM OR GREATER CONCERN FOR THE WELFARE OF MANKIND.

CHANGE HAS ALWAYS BEEN PART OF THE HUMAN EXPERIENCE. IT IS THE NATURE OF A LIVING SOCIETY THAT IT IS ALWAYS UNDERGOING CHANGE AND REFINEMENT FOR THE ONLY SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ORDER IMMUNE TO CHANGE IS A DEAD ONE.

WHAT IS DIFFERENT NOW, HOWEVER, IS THE SPEED OF CHANGE, AND THE SURE KNOWLEDGE THAT IT WILL COME FASTER AND FASTER AS TIME GOES ON. THE RESULT OF SUCH CHANGE WILL AFFECT EVERY PART OF LIFE, INCLUDING PERSONAL VALUES, MORALITY, AND RELIGIONS - ALL OF WHICH SEEM MOST REMOTE FROM TECHNOLOGY. SO SWIFT IS THE ACCELERATION THAT TRYING TO MAKE SENSE OF CHANGE OR ACCLIMATE OURSELVES TO IT WILL COME TO BE OUR BASIC INDUSTRY. THE QUESTION WE WILL ASK ABOUT PROGRESS WILL NO LONGER BE "HOW MUCH" BUT INSTEAD, "HOW GOOD?"

FRANKLIN DELANO ROOSEVELT SAID THAT "THERE IS A MYSTERIOUS CYCLE IN HUMAN EVENTS, TO SOME GENERATIONS MUCH IS GIVEN, OF OTHER GENERATIONS, MUCH IS EXPECTED. THIS GENERATION OF AMERICANS HAS A RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY."

THE CYCLE HAS AGAIN TURNED ABOUT. TO YOUR GENERATION MUCH HAS BEEN GIVEN AND OF YOUR GENERATION, MORE IS EXPECTED THAN HAS EVER BEEN EXPECTED BEFORE. IT IS YOUR TURN TO RENDEZVOUS WITH DESTINY,

EACH GENERATION OF HUMAN BEINGS ATTEMPTS TO SOLVE THE PROBLEMS THAT CONFRONT IT. SOME OF ITS SOLUTIONS ARE SUCCESSFUL, SOME ARE NOT. AND EACH GENERATION PASSES ON TO THE NEXT NOT ONLY THE RESULTS OF ITS SUCCESSES AND FAILURES, BUT ALSO NEW PROBLEMS, FOR EACH DAY A NEW SUN COMES OVER THE HORIZON; TODAY IS NEVER QUITE THE SAME AS YESTERDAY.

YESTERDAY'S IDEAS ALONE WILL NEVER BE SUFFICIENT, AND NEITHER WILL KNOWLEDGE GATHERED FROM PAST EXPERIENCE, FOR THE WORLD HAS NEVER KNOWN BEFORE THE CONDITIONS WE ARE NOW IN.

AS PRESIDENT JOHN FITZGERALD KENNEDY SAID: "WE KNOW NOW THAT FREEDOM IS MORE THAN A REJECTION OF TYRANNY, THAT PROSPERITY IS MORE THAN AN ESCAPE FROM WANT, THAT PARTNERSHIP IS MORE THAN A SHARING OF POWER. THESE ARE, ABOVE ALL, GREAT HUMAN ADVERTURES. WE ARE CALLED TO A GREAT NEW MISSION. IT IS NOT A MISSION OF ARBITRARY POWER. THE MISSION IS TO CREATE A NEW SOCIAL ORDER, FOUNDED UPON LIBERTY AND JUSTICE, IN WHICH MEN ARE THE MASTER'S OF THEIR FATE, IN WHICH STATES ARE THE SERVANTS OF THEIR CITIZENS, AND IN WHICH ALL MEN AND WOMEN CAN SHARE A BETTER LIFE."

YOU MUST UNWIND THE THREAD OF KNOWLEDGE WHICH BINDS THE SOLUTIONS TO OUR PROBLEMS. IT IS YOUR FATE TO LIVE IN A WORLD OF CONDITIONS WHICH YOU DID NOT MAKE AND WHICH YOU CHANGE THEM FOR YOUR PROGENY, IF YOU SUCCEED, HUMANITY WILL FLOURISH; IF YOU FAIL, THOSE WHO SURVIVE WILL CONDEMN ALL OF US FOR IT.

IN YOUR EFFORTS TO SUCCEED, EDUCATION, OF COURSE, IS THE FIRST ANSWER AND YOU MUST SEEK TO IMPROVE IT, FOR IT IS THE BULWARK UPON WHICH NOT ONLY PROGRESS BUT PRESERVATION OF LIFE ON THIS PLANET STANDS. A SOCIETY IN WHICH ITS CITIZENS ARE NOT TRUE MEN AND WOMEN OF LEARNING CANNOT SUCCEED TODAY, FOR WITHOUT EDUCATION WE CANNOT SOLVE THE GREAT PROBLEMS OF OUR TIMES.

THE SECOND ANSWER TO THE CHALLENGES OF YOUR GENERATION IS CONSERVATION AND DEVELOPMENT, BOTH TOGETHER AND NOT ONE ALONE, SINCE WE MUST NOT COMMIT THE ERRORS OF OUR PREDECESSORS. DO WE WANT INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE INDUSTRIAL SLUMS AND WASTELAND OF THE NORTHEAST; DO WE WANT INDUSTRIAL DEVELOPMENT AND THE INDUSTRIAL ATMOSPHERE OF SOUTHERN CALIFORNIA? OR DO WE WANT DEVELOPMENT WHICH CONSERVES OUR COUNTRYSIDE, STREAMS, RIVERS AND AIR?

THE ANSWER TO THESE QUESTIONS IS OBVIOUS. THE DECADE OF THE 70'S IS A DECADE OF THE ENVIRONMENT. AT LONG LAST, WE HAVE BECOME CONCERNED ABOUT THE QUALITY OF OUR TOTAL ENVIRONMENT AND ASK WHETHER WE CAN CONTINUE TO DEplete OUR NATURAL RESOURCES WITHOUT CONCERN FOR THOSE WHO MUST COME AFTER US. LARGELY THROUGH THE INFLUENCE OF YOUR GENERATION - YOUR VERY YOUNG GENERATION - ALL OF US HAVE BECOME CONVINCED THAT THE QUALITY OF OUR ENVIRONMENT MUST BE IMPROVED AND THAT WE MUST HAND DOWN UNBLEMISHED, TO THOSE WHO COME AFTER US, THE NATURAL WEALTH AND BEAUTY THAT IS SO MUCH A PART OF OUR HERITAGE. WE HAVE RECOGNIZED THE TRUTH IN ADLAI STEVENSON'S WORDS, "THIS WORLD EXISTS FOR PEOPLE BEFORE IT EXISTS FOR ANYTHING ELSE."

OUR LAND MUST BE MADE SAFE AND FIT FOR PEOPLE.

THE WAYS IN WHICH THIS CAN BE DONE HAVE NOT YET BEEN FULLY LEARNED. THE SPOOL OF KNOWLEDGE IS STILL TOO TIGHTLY WOUND; YOU MUST UNWIND THE THREAD FROM THAT SPOOL.

PRESIDENT KENNEDY SAID: "THROUGHOUT OUR HISTORY OUR SOIL AND WATER, OUR FORESTS AND MINERALS, HAVE PROVIDED THE RESOURCES UPON WHICH THIS COUNTRY GREW; AND OUR POWER ASCENDED. TODAY, THIS GREAT GIFT OF MATERIAL WEALTH PROVIDES THE FOUNDATION UPON WHICH THE DEFENSE OF FREEDOM RESTS, HERE AND AROUND THE WORLD. AND OUR FUTURE GREATNESS AND OUR STRENGTH DEPEND UPON THE CONTINUED ABUNDANT USE OF OUR NATURAL RESOURCES.

"THUS, IT IS OUR TASK IN OUR TIME AND IN OUR GENERATION, TO HAND DOWN UNDIMINISHED TO THOSE WHO COME AFTER US, AS WAS HANDED DOWN TO US BY THOSE WHO WENT BEFORE, THE NATURAL WEALTH AND BEAUTY WHICH IS OURS."

THE THIRD ANSWER IS HUMAN CONCERN. THE PURPOSES OF GOVERNMENT ARE MANY, BUT TO SUM UP, ITS PRIMARY PURPOSE IS TO DO FOR THE PEOPLE WHAT THE PEOPLE CANNOT DO FOR THEMSELVES. AS A MORAL NATION AND A MORAL PEOPLE, WE MUST CONTINUE TO BE CONCERNED ABOUT MORE MEDICAL FACILITIES AND HEALTH CARE PERSONNEL. WE MUST MAKE SURE THAT THE MENTALLY ILL ARE TREATED WITH COMPASSION AND THAT EVERY EFFORT IS MADE TO RESTORE THE MENTALLY ILL TO PRODUCTIVE ROLLS IN THEIR COMMUNITIES.

WE MUST NOT BE COMPLACENT WHEN WE HAVE CONQUERED ONE DISEASE OR ONE ILLNESS OR ONE INJUSTICE. EACH GENERATION BRINGS NEW CHALLENGES. ONE FORM OF INJUSTICE REPLACES ANOTHER AND OUR STRUGGLE

TO RIGHT THEM MUST BE CONSTANT.

THE FOURTH ANSWER IS LIBERTY AND JUSTICE FOR ALL. HUMAN RIGHTS MUST BE PROTECTED. JUST AS THE ACCUSED MUST BE PROTECTED AND INSURED OF A FAIR TRIAL, THE PEOPLE MUST BE PROTECTED AND ASSURED SECURITY IN THEIR HOMES AND ON THEIR STREETS. AND JUST AS THE RIGHTS OF FREE ENTERPRISE MUST BE GUARANTEED, SO MUST THE CONSUMERS' RIGHT TO A FAIR SALE. AS WOODROW WILSON SAID,

"NO AMOUNT OF DWELLING UPON THE IDEA OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE WILL ACCOMPLISH THE OBJECT WE HAVE IN VIEW UNLESS WE OURSELVES ILLUSTRATE THE IDEA OF LIBERTY AND JUSTICE."

THE FIFTH ANSWER LIES IN THE IMPROVEMENT OF THE QUALITY OF AMERICAN GOVERNMENT, FOR GOVERNMENT MUST BE MADE RESPONSIVE TO THE NEEDS DEMANDED BY CHANGING CONDITIONS. YOU, AS THE MOST KNOWING PERSONS IN OUR SOCIETY, MUST MAKE GOVERNMENT RESPONSIVE, AND THE MOST EFFECTIVE WAY OF DOING THAT IS NOT BY VIOLENCE BUT BY BECOMING ACTIVE CITIZENS. FOR THOUGH WE MUST ADOPT A NEW WAY OF LIFE, WE MUST NOT ABANDON THE GREAT AND GOOD IDEALS OF HUMAN RIGHTS, LIBERTY, AND JUSTICE UPON WHICH OUR NATION HAS BEEN FOUNDED. WE MUST CONSERVE AND RESTORE THE GOOD IN OUR INTELLECTUAL HERITAGE AND NO ONE IS BETTER QUALIFIED THAN YOU TO PERFORM THAT TASK FOR CONSERVATION AND RESTORATION.

AS BENJAMIN FRANKLIN SO APTLY PUT IT TO A LADY WHO QUERRIED HIM ON WALKING OUT OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTION AFTER THE CONSTITUTION WAS WRITTEN, "DOCTOR FRANKLIN, WHAT HAVE YOU GENTLEMEN PRODUCED?" AND HE SAID, "LADY, WE HAVE PRODUCED A REPUBLIC, AND WE

HOPE YOU CAN KEEP IT."

EACH OF YOU IS A PRIVILEGED PERSON, FOR YOU HAVE OBTAINED A UNIVERSITY EDUCATION. BUT I BEG YOU NOT TO ALLOW YOURSELVES TO LEAVE THIS CAMPUS AND BECOME DEFENDERS OF PRIVILEGE OR PROPONENTS OF INTERESTS WHICH ARE SHORTSIGHTED AND SELFISH. I URGE YOU INSTEAD TO "FIGHT FOR A FREE AMERICA - FOR A COUNTRY IN WHICH ALL MEN AND WOMEN HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS TO LIBERTY AND JUSTICE." I URGE YOU TO FIGHT, AS I HOPE IT WILL SOMEDAY BE SAID I HAVE DONE, "FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE LITTLE MAN AS WELL AS THE BIG MAN - FOR THE WEAK AS WELL AS THE STRONG, FOR THOSE WHO ARE HELPLESS AS WELL AS THOSE WHO CAN HELP THEMSELVES." (FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT)

DEMOCRACIES, OF ALL FORMS OF GOVERNMENT, ARE MOST IN NEED OF GREAT MEN AND WOMEN. THEY ARE IN NEED OF ABLE, DEVOTED MEN AND WOMEN AND NEVER MORE THAN NOW. THUS EACH OF YOU, AS THE MOST ABLE OF OUR SOCIETY, SHOULD THINK OF BEING POLITICAL, OF RUNNING FOR LOCAL, STATE, AND PERHAPS NATIONAL OFFICES.

BEFORE CLOSING, I WOULD LIKE TO CHALLENGE YOU WITH THE WORDS OF SIR WINSTON CHURCHILL, WHO CHALLENGED THE YOUTH OF HIS DAY BY SAYING: "COME ON NOW, ALL YOU YOUNG MEN, ALL OVER THE WORLD... YOU HAVE NOT AN HOUR TO LOSE. YOU MUST TAKE YOUR PLACES IN LIFE'S BATTLE LINES..."

"DON'T BE CONTENT WITH THINGS AS THEY ARE. 'THE EARTH IS YOURS AND THE FULLNESS THEREOF.' ENTER UPON YOUR INHERITANCE, ACCEPT YOUR RESPONSIBILITIES.

"RAISE THE GLORIOUS FLAGS AGAIN, ADVANCE THEM UPON THE NEW ENEMIES, WHO CONSTANTLY GATHER UPON THE FRONT OF THE HUMAN ARMY, AND HAVE ONLY TO BE ASSAULTED TO BE OVERTHROWN.

"DON'T TAKE NO FOR AN ANSWER, NEVER SUBMIT TO FAILURE. DO NOT BE FOBBED OFF WITH MERE PERSONAL SUCCESS OR ACCEPTANCE. YOU WILL MAKE ALL KINDS OF MISTAKES; BUT AS LONG AS YOU ARE GENEROUS AND TRUE, AND ALSO FIERCE, YOU CANNOT HURT THE WORLD OR EVEN SERIOUSLY DISTRESS HER. SHE WAS MADE TO BE WOODED AND WON BY YOUTH."

I BELIEVE ALSO THAT THE WORLD WAS MADE TO BE WOODED AND WON BY YOUTH, SO WHEN YOU GO FORTH FROM GUILFORD COLLEGE, APPLY WHAT YOU HAVE LEARNED IN ORDER TO CREATE A CLEANER WORLD, A CONCERN FOR HUMAN BEINGS, A BETTER GOVERNMENT, AND A HAPPIER LIFE FOR ALL MANKIND. BE RESOLUTE AND FEARLESS AND YOUR REWARD WILL BE YOUR OWN AND MANKIND'S PRESERVATION.

THIS IS A BIG ORDER, I KNOW, BUT I SHARE THE FAITH OF NORTH CAROLINA'S THOMAS WOLFE WHO SAID, "I THINK THE TRUE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA IS BEFORE US. I THINK THE TRUE FULFILLMENT OF OUR SPIRIT, OF OUR PEOPLE, OF OUR MIGHTY AND IMMORTAL LAND, IS YET TO COME. I THINK THE TRUE DISCOVERY OF OUR OWN DEMOCRACY IS STILL BEFORE US. AND I THINK THAT ALL THESE THINGS ARE CERTAIN AS THE MORNING, AS INEVITABLE AS NOON. I THINK I SPEAK FOR MOST MEN LIVING WHEN I SAY THAT OUR AMERICA IS HERE, IS NOW, AND BECKONS ON BEFORE US, AND THAT THIS GLORIOUS ASSURANCE IS NOT ONLY OUR LIVING HOPE, BUT OUR DREAM TO BE ACCOMPLISHED."
