JAMES B. RESTON

NOTES

COMMENCEMENT ADDRESS

STANFORD UNIVERSITY - JUNE 11 1972

MR. PRESIDENT, MEMBERS AND PARENTS AND TEACHERS OF THE CLASS

OF 1972, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN:

MANY OF YOU NO DOUBT WONDER WHAT I AM DOING UP HERE--IT IS A GOOD QUESTION--SO I'LL TRY TO EXPLAIN. AS I UNDERSTAND IT, PRESIDENT LYMAN HAD TO FIND A COMPROMISE BETWEEN THE PEOPLE WHO WANTED A COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER AND THE PEOPLE WHO DIDN'T WANT A COMMENCEMENT SPEAKER, AND SINCE I'M NO SPEAKER AT ALL, HE THOUGHT I'D DO. ALSO, I GOT OUT OF COLLEGE JUST 40 YEARS AGO THIS WEEK, AND IT

APPARENTLY OCCURRED TO HIM THAT ANYBODY WHO HAD SURVIVED IN

WASHINGTON FROM HERBERT HOOVER TO RICHARD NIXON SHOULD BE EXHIBITED,

IF NOT PRESERVED.

I PROPOSE TO TELL YOU WHAT I HAVE LEARNED IN THESE 40 YEARS

AND WHAT I KNOW ABOUT THE WORLD YOU ARE GOING INTO, SO NATURALLY I

WILL BE BRIEF. MY THEME IS THAT THE WAY TO SURVIVE OVER 40 YEARS IN

WASHINGTON OR ANYWHERE ELSE IS TO HAVE A GOOD WIFE, A SENSE OF HUMOR,

AND A SENSE OF HISTORY, AND THE GIFT OF TAKING THINGS WITH GRATITUDE

INSTEAD OF TAKING THEM FOR GRANTED.

FIRST ABOUT HISTORY. WHEN THE BLEAK NEWS OF MY APPEARANCE HERE WAS PUBLISHED IN THE STANFORD DAILY, I RECEIVED A LETTER FROM A MEMBER OF THIS GRADUATING CLASS DEPLORING THE CONFUSION OF THE PRESENT AGE. I GOT THE IMPRESSION FROM HIS LETTER THAT SOMEHOW HE THOUGHT IT WAS ALL MY FAULT, AND REGARDED ME AS A SYMBOL OF ALL THE COMING DISASTERS. ANYWAY, HE SOUNDED ABANDONED BY EVERYTHING HE HAD BELIEVED IN, LIKE HUBERT HUMPHREY ON THE MORNING AFTER, AND WAS FULL OF ALIBIS AND SELF-PITY.

I SENT HIM A VERSE WRITTEN BY A BAD EGYPTIAN POET OVER 4,000

YEARS AGO, AND A JUDGMENT ON AMERICA WRITTEN BY THAT OLD OPTIMIST,

WALT WHITMAN, JUST A HUNDRED YEARS AGO. THE POET ASKED A QUESTION:

"TO WHOM CAN I SPEAK TODAY?

THE GENTLE MAN HAS PERISHED,

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THE VIOLENT MAN HAS ACCESS TO EVERYBODY.

TO WHOM CAN I SPEAK TODAY?

THERE ARE NO RIGHTEOUS MEN,

THE EARTH IS SURRENDERED TO CRIMINALS."

WHITMAN WAS EVEN GLOOMIER:

"NEVER WAS THERE," HE SAID, "PERHAPS, MORE HOLLOWNESS AT HEART THAN AT THE PRESENT, AND HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. GENUINE BELIEF SEEMS TO HAVE LEFT US. THE UNDERLYING PRINCIPLES OF THE STATES ARE NOT HONESTLY BELIEVED IN... THE SPECTACLE IS APPALLING. WE LIVE IN AN ATMOSPHERE OF HYPOCRISY THROUGHOUT. THE MEN BELIEVE NOT IN THE WOMEN, NOR THE WOMEN IN THE MEN... THE GREAT CITIES REEK WITH ROBBERY AND SCOUNDRELISM..."

SO MUCH FOR "THE GOOD OLD DAYS." STILL, I HAVE SOME SYMPATHY

FOR MY CORRESPONDENT FROM THE CLASS OF 1972. MY GENERATION MERELY

HAD TO CONQUER ADVERSITY, WHILE YOURS HAS TO PUT UP WITH PROSPERITY,

WHICH IS MUCH HARDER. I AM THINKING OF ALL THOSE CHOICES YOU HAVE TO

MAKE; ALL THOSE EXPECTATIONS YOU HAVE, ALL THOSE GIRLS AND ALL THOSE

ALLURING DIVERSIONS. EVEN COMMENCEMENT WAS MUCH SIMPLER FOR US 40

YEARS AGO: WE THOUGHT IT WAS A TIME TO <u>COMMENCE</u>, TO GET GOING ON OUR OWN, EVEN IF WE DIDN'T KNOW WHERE WE WERE GOING.

YOU MUST MAKE ALLOWANCES FOR THE FACT THAT I'M A SCOTCH CALVINIST, AND NOTHING MAKES THE SCOTS HAPPIER THAN MISERY AND MORAL CONFUSION. IT IS A DOUR PHILOSOPHY, NOT VERY POPULAR THESE DAYS. WE BELIEVE THAT THE APPROACH TO LIFE IS EVERYTHING, THAT THE LESS YOU EXPECT THE HAPPIER YOU WILL BE. I WAS BROUGHT UP ON THAT DOCTRINE. "LEAD US NOT INTO TEMPTATION," BUT I NEVER UNDERSTOOD REALLY WHAT THAT MEANT UNTIL MY WIFE AND I RAISED THREE SONS, AND BEGAN TO SEE WHAT TEMPTATIONS YOUR GENERATION HAS BEEN LED INTO AND WONDER HOW WE WOULD

HAVE DEALT WITH THEM, IF WE'D HAD THE CHANCE.

KEEP IT SHORT, MY WIFE SAID, AND DON'T PREACH, AND I'LL TRY.

THE WORLD YOU ARE GOING INTO IS GOING TO FORCE YOU TO DO HARD THINGS

WITH YOUR MINDS. WE WERE SUSTAINED NOT ONLY BY ADVERSITY BUT BY

IGNORANCE OF THE WORLD. WE GREW UP IN A WORLD OF IDEOLOGY AND

AUTHORITY, AND SOME FAITH--NOT MUCH BUT SOME. WE HAD WARS YOU COULD

BELIEVE IN, IF YOU DIDN'T KNOW TOO MUCH, AND LEADERS WHO KNEW THE

RHYTHM OF A GOOD SOUND ENGLISH SENTENCE.

BUT NOW WE HAVE VIETNAM, AND MANAGERS INSTEAD OF LEADERS, AND NO IDEOLOGY AND NO AUTHORITY, AND FAR LESS IGNORANCE THAN BEFORE. SUDDENLY, MR. NIXON IS A KEYNESIAN, RUNNING FOR RE-ELECTION ON PRICE AND WAGE CONTROLS AND TRIPS TO PEKING AND MOSCOW TO PRODUCE A

GENERATION OF PEACE AND PROSPERITY. AND CHANCELLOR WILLY BRANDT OF

WEST GERMANY IS MAKING PEACE WITH THE SOVIET UNION, AND DEGAULLE'S

SUCCESSOR IS BRINGING BRITAIN INTO THE COMMON MARKET, AND MARSHALL

TITO IS IN MOSCOW, AND WILLY MAYS IS BACK IN SHAY STADIUM IN NEW YORK.

IT IS ALL A LITTLE CONFUSING. THE MOST SAVAGE BOMBING OF THE CENTURY GOES ON IN VIETNAM BUT MR. NIXON SLEEPS IN THE KREMLIN AND SIGNS AN AGREEMENT A DAY WITH MR. BREZHNEV, AND BERLIN, THE FLASH-POINT OF THE WORLD FOR OVER A QUARTER OF A CENTURY, IS NOW CALM. NONE OF THIS FITS WITH THE DOCTRINES OF OUR POLITICAL PARTIES, THE EDITORIAL POLICIES OF THE NEWSPAPERS, OR THE PRECONCEPTIONS OF PARENTS, ALUMNI, OR CONSERVATIVE OR LIBERAL STUDENTS AND FACULTY AT STANFORD OR ANYWHERE ELSE.

SO WE ARE ALL AT SEA. BUT I WOULD SUGGEST TO THIS CLASS THAT YOU MAKE A DISTINCTION BETWEEN THE WAVES AND THE TIDES. THE SURFACE OF THE WATERS AND THE WAVES ARE VERY ROUGH, PARTLY BECAUSE WE IN THE PRESS LIVE ON THE SURFACE AND LOVE WAVES, BUT UNDERNEATH THERE ARE SOME STRONG TIDES RUNNING TOWARD ACCOMMODATION BETWEEN THE NATIONS AND EVEN BETWEEN THE CLASSES, REGIONS AND RACES IN OUR OWN COUNTRY.

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THE GREAT POWERS ARE NO LONGER GOING TO WAR AGAINST ONE ANOTHER

ONE RESULT OF THIS IS THAT WE ARE NOW IN THE TWENTYSEVENTH YEAR SINCE THE END OF THE LAST WORLD WAR, AND WHILE THIS PROBABLY IS LESS REASSURING TO YOUR GENERATION ' TO MINE, THE FACT IS THAT THERE WERE ONLY TWENTY YEARS BETWEEN THE 1919 and 1939 WARS, and EVEN TEKX MR. BREZHNEV AND MR. NIXON ARE BEGINNING TO THIS DOUBT THE WOSDEM OF THEIR PAST POLICIES AND BEGIN TO THINK A LITTLE ABOUT RAISING THE STANDARD OF LIVING OF THEIR PEOPLES.

IT TAKES SOME IMAGINATION, I AGREE, TO SEE THEM, FOR WE ARE A

LONG WAY FROM A DECENT AND HONORABLE ARRANGEMENT BETWEEN THE POOR AND

THE RICH AT HOME AND ABROAD, BUT AT LEAST WE ARE BEGINNING TO TALK .

ABOUT THE FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS OF LIFE MORE THAN BEFORE--NOT ONLY

▶ BETWEEN THE NATIONS, BUT BETWEEN HUSBANDS AND WIVES, PARENTS AND

CHILDREN, TEACHERS AND STUDENTS, PREACHERS AND PARISHIONERS, LABOR

AND MANAGEMENT, BLACK AND WHITE.

MAYBE WE HAVE TAKEN ON TOO MUCH. IT COULD BE THAT LIFE WILL

NOT BEAR ALL THIS ANALYSIS AND CONFLICT. IT IS VERY HARD, AND THE

TEMPTATION IS VERY GREAT TO SMASH IT ALL WITH VIOLENCE, OR IGNORE

IT WITH INDIFFERENCE, OR TURN AWAY FROM IT TO BOOZE OR DRUGS, OR

BLAME IT ALL ON THE POLITICIANS.

Photocopy is for reference use only. Further reproduction requires permission from the Department of Special Collections, Stanford University Libraries LET ME SAY ONLY A COUPLE OF THINGS ABOUT THE POLITICIANS. AT THE TOP OF OUR GOVERNMENT THEY HAVE GREAT POWER. THE PRESIDENT CAN MAKE PEACE OR WAR. HE CAN MINE HAIPHONG AND BOMB THE TUNNELS RIGHT UP AGAINST THE CHINA BORDER. AND I SUPPOSE HE COULD GIVE GENERAL THIEU A ONE-WAY TICKET TO THE FRENCH RIVIERA AND PUT AN END TO THIS SENSE-LESS KILLING. BUT THE POOR POLITICIANS HAVE ALSO INHERITED THE PROBLEMS OF THIS COMPLICATED AND DISTRACTED AGE, AND IT IS REALLY A LITTLE SILLY TO BLAME THEM FOR ALL OUR TROUBLES. FOR THE WORLD IS BEING TRANS-FORMED, NOT BY THE ACTS OF PRESIDENTS AND PRIME MINISTERS, OR EVEN BY THE HENRY KISSINGERS, BUT BY THE FERTILITY OF THE HUMAN MIND AND WHEREVER I GO IN WASHINGTON OR IN THE WORLD, I FIND OFFICIALS BODY. SCRAMBLING TO KEEP UP WITH MORE IDEAS AND PEOPLE THAN THEY CAN IMAGINE NO IDEOLOGY, NO SYSTEM OF GOVERNMENT QUITE FITS LET ALONE CONTROL.

THE REVOLUTIONARY CONDITION OF OUR TIME, SO OUR LEADERS ARE IN TROUBLE,

AND PART OF THE TROUBLE IS THAT THEY INSIST ON PRETENDING THAT

THEY HAVE ANSWERS TO ALMOST EVERYTHING.

I AM PARTICULARLY SORRY ABOUT THIS. FOR THE COLLAPSE OF OLD POLITICAL ASSUMTIONS AND ILLUSIONS PRESENTS US NOW WITH GREAT OPPORTUNITIES IF WE CAN GET DOWN TO SOME HARD AND OBJECTIVE ANALYSIS OF THE FACTUAL SITUATION IN OUR COUNTRY. THE PRESIDENT HAS SHOWN WHAT CAN BE DONE BY HIS OPENING TO CHINA, EMIZINEXIANE AND MCGOVERN IS OPENING SOME FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS ABOUT THE HOME FRONT, BUT WE ARE STILL NOT DEBATING THESE ISSUES ON THE SCOPE THEY DESERVE

IT IS THIS PRETENSE IN OUR NATIONAL LIFE THAT IS TROUBLING AND DIVIDING US. I BELIEVE THE PEOPLE UNDERSTAND COMPLEXITY AND DON'T EXPECT PERFECT ANSWERS TO HUMAN PROBLEMS. ANYBODY WHO HAS EVER HAD A LOVE AFFAIR OR RAISED A CHILD KNOWS THAT FEW THINGS WORK OUT ACCORDING TO OUR DREAMS. BUT INSTEAD OF PLAIN AND HONEST TALK ABOUT HARD AND COMPLEX PROBLEMS, WE ARE GETTING PROPAGANDA AND PUBLIC RELATIONS. SOMEHOW THE TECHNIQUES OF MADISON AVENUE HAVE TAKEN OVER THE PROBLEMS OF PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE, AND THE PEOPLE ARE THEY DO NOT BELIEVE, BUT THEY STILL BELIEVE IN BELIEVING, CONFUSED. AND MAYBE THIS IS THE HOPE.

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THERE ARE SOME GOOD SIGNS. UNLESS I AM NOT HEARING OUR

FELLOW-COUNTRYMEN ACCURATELY, THEY ARE NOT HAPPY WITH ALL THIS

STAGGERING AND BLUNDERING AND ADVERTISING AND SCRAMBLING AFTER

MATERIAL SUCCESS, EVEN IF THEY GET IT.

THERE IS, I THINK, A LONGING FOR INTEGRITY IN THE NATION--IN PERSONAL, COMMERCIAL, AND POLITICAL LIFE. FAR BETTER THAN IN THE DAYS OF WILLIAM JENNINGS BRYAN OR OLD BOB LAFOLLETTE, WE ARE DEVELOPING A SERIES OF MORE EFFECTIVE PEOPLE'S LOBBIES. EVEN THE MOST POWERFUL POLITICIANS CAN NO LONGER IGNORE THE PEOPLE WHO INSIST ON CLEAN AIR AND WATER AND A LITTLE LESS NOISE. EVEN THE MOST POWERFUL CORPORATIONS HAVE TO DEAL WITH RALPH NADER: AND AFTER THE CALIFORNIA PRIMARY, THE BIG POLITICAL AND LABOR ORGANIZATIONS AND EVEN THE CAMPUS MILITANTS CANNOT ARGUE THAT YOUNG PEOPLE ARE NOT EFFECTIVE IN THE POLITICAL STRUGGLES OF THE NATION.

I THINK THIS IS A GOOD TIME TO HAVE AN ELECTION. I BELIEVE

WE NEED A NATIONAL REFERENDUM ON ALL THESE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES. WE

ARE DEEPLY DIVIDED ON THE WAR, AND ON TAXES, AND WELFARE, AND THE

DEFENSE BUDGET, AND EDUCATION AND BUSING. I THINK THAT THE WAR IS A

DISGRACE AND AN AFFRONT TO THE MEANING OF THIS NATION, THAT THE

WELFARE SYSTEM IS A SCANDAL, THAT THE STEEP RISE OF PRESIDENTIAL POWER

IS A DANGER, AND THAT THE MORAL CONFUSION AND DIVISION OF AMERICA IS MORE IMPORTANT TO THE ORDER AND DECENCY OF THE WORLD THAN ANYTHING - 12 - 12

ELSE.

SO I HOPE THESE FUNDAMENTAL ISSUES WILL BE DRAWN IN THIS

PROBABLY GOING TO HAVE TO THINK NIN REVOLUTIONARY TERMS.

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EVEN SO, GRADUATION IS A PERSONAL OCCASION AND NOT A FORUM

FOR POLITICAL ANALYSIS. MY VIEW IS THAT THERE IS NOW AT LEAST

ENOUGH ORDER IN THE WORLD SO THAT YOUNG MEN AND WOMEN HERE CAN PLAN

THEIR PRIVATE LIVES. YOU ARE A LUCKY CLASS IN MY OPINION. YOU HAVE

MISSED THE WORST OF THE DRAFT AND THE WAR, THE WORST OF THE CREAT

WRONG IN MY OPTIMISM, AND THAT THE YOUNG PESSIMISTS ARE RIGHT.

ON THAT ASSUMPTION, THE INSTITUTIONS OF TODAY PROVIDE LITTLE

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HOPE. THE CHURCH IS IRRELEVANT, THE GOVERNMENT INEFFICIENT AND

MISGUIDED, THE UNIVERSITY OUT OF DATE, COMMERCE ACQUISITIVE AND

CORRUPT, THE PRESS INACCURATE, SUPERFICIAL, AND UNRELIABLE.

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THEN IF THIS IS TRUE, AND IT IS PARTLY TRUE, THEN SURELY WHAT WE HAVE TO COUNT ON IS PERSONAL INTEGRITY, FRIENDSHIP, EXTENDED FAITHFUL LOVE, HUMAN COMPASSION AND THE FIDELITY OF THE FAMILY. I CAN'T THINK OF ANYTHING LESS HELPFUL OR MORE DISTASTEFUL DURING ALL THIS TALK ABOUT GENERATION GAPS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SELF-°ITY THAN FOR OLD MEN TO PRETEND, THEY ARE YOUNG, AND ACT AS IF THEY AGREED WITH THE POPULAR ASSUMPTIONS AND HABIT, OF THIS AGE WHEN THEY DON'T. MY CONCERN ABOUT THE SLACKNESS FO AND MORAL CONFUSION OF THIS TIME IS NOT THAT WE ARE GOING TO HAVE TO LIVE WITH THE CONSEQUENCES OF IT BUT THAT YOU ARE. AND IF ALL OUR POLITICANS ARE TWISTERS AND ALL OUR INSTITUTIONS ARE INEFFECTIVE AND EVEN CORRUPT, AS ST IS NOW OFTEN CHARGED, THEN ALL WE HAVE LES AS A BASIS FOR HAPPINESS BETWEEN YOUR AGE AND MINE IS A MUCH HIGHER STANDARD FROM OF HUMAN CONDUCT THAN WE NOW HAVE.

WHEN KENNETH CLARK CAME TO THE END OF HIS MAGNIFICENT STUDY OF WESTERN CIVILIZATION, HE SAID HE DIDN'T AT ALL FEEL THAT WE WERE ENTERING A NEW PERIOD OF BARBARISM. THE THINGS THAT MADE THE DARK AGES SO DAR, HE SAID THE ISOLATION, THE LACK OF MOBILITY AND CURIOSITY, THE HOPELESSNESS---- DONT OBTAIN AT ALL TODAY. THEN HE

ON SOME THINGS, HE SAID, HE WAS A DETRMINED STICK-IN-THE-MUD. "I BELIEVE THAT ORDER IS BETTER THAN CHAOS, CREATION BETTER THAN DESTRUCTION. I PREFER GENTLENESS TO VIOLENCE, FORGIVENESS TO VENDETTA. ON THE WHOLE I THINK KNOWLEDGE IS PREFEREBLE TO IGNORANCE, AND I'M SURE THAT HUMAN SYMPATHY IS MORE VALUABLE THAN IDEOLOGY...

"I ALSO **EXAMPLE AND SISTERS.....**" HOLD ONE OR TWO BELIEFS THAT ARE MORE DIFFICULT TO PUT SHORTLY. FOR EXAMPLE, I BELIEVE IN COURTESY, THE RITUAL BY WHICH WE AVOID HURTING OTHER PEOPLE'S FEELINGS BY SATISFYING OUR OWN EGOS. AND I THINK WE SHOW REMEMBER THAT WE ARE PART OF A GREAT WHOLE, WHICH FOR CONVENIENCE WE CALL NATURE. ALL LIVING THINGS ARE OUR BROTHERS AND SISTERS....."

THAN ANYTHING ELSE, THAT KILLS A CIVILIZATION. 'WE CAN DESTROY OURSELVES BY CYNICISM AND LITE

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AND PROGRESS IN ALL OUR PRESENT STRUGGLES AND COFUSION AND AVOID THE CYNICISM AND DISPAIR. THE OLD FOLKS WILL PROVIDE ENOUGH OF THAT, AND SPEAKING OF THEM:

CongratulaTE THE PARENTS OF THIS CLASS. YOUR TIMING WAS NOT VERY GOOD. YOU SHOULD HAVE CARRIED THEM UNDER YOUR HEART IN A SIMPLER AGE. BUT YOU HAVE GOT THEM THIS FAR AND THAT'S SOMETHING. COMMENCXEMENT IS EASY ENOUGH, BUT AS CHURCHILL ONCE SAID, THE REAL TEST IS WHETHER YOU CAN "STAY THE COURSE", AND ONLY US OLD GEEZE KNOW VERY MUCH ABOUT "THAT THAT MEANS.

MR. PRESIDENT, I THANK YOU FOR YOUR INVITATION AND YOUR COURTESY, AND YOU HAVE MY GOOD WISHES TOO, AND FROM ALL I CAN GATHER YOU'LL PROBABLY NEED THEM

end