REPRINTS OF SPEECHES

CATALOGUE

Date	Event
April 29, 1965	Investment Company Institute, New York City
June 6, 1965	Syracuse University
June 9, 1965	Fordham University
December 2, 1965	Southern Conference on Education
December 6, 1965	Edward R. Murrow Center of Public Diplomacy
February 25, 1966	Christianity and Crisis 25th Anniversary
March 11, 1966	National Press Club
March 12, 1966	Columbia Scholastic Press Association
May 24, 1966	Secretary of Labor's Conference of Labor Editors
June 8, 1966	United States Military Academy/West Point
June 10, 1966	University of Minnesota/Duluth
June 11, 1966	University of Minnesota ROTC Graduates
June 12, 1966	Michigan State University
June 13, 1966	U.S. Conference of Mayors
June 16, 1966	Temple University
June 22, 1966	American Agricultural Editors' Association
July 6, 1966	National Governors' Conference
August, 1966	Jewish War Veterans 71st Annual Convention
August 17, 1966	National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development
September 12, 1966	American Mining Congress
October 5, 1966	International Association of Chiefs of Police
October 11, 1966	Gannon College
October 26, 1966	International Conference of the Public Personnel Association
October 26, 1966	Philadelphia Public Service Conference
October 31, 1966	General Dynamics Engineering Center
December 6, 1966	Institute of International Education
January 26, 1967	International Newspaper Advertising Executives
February 7, 1967	International Development Conference
March 5, 1967	Westminster College
March 14, 1967	National League of Cities
March 15, 1967	Tenth Annual Goddard Memorial Dinner

Date	Event
April 3, 1967	National Conference of Councils of Governments
May 17, 1967	New York Stock Exchange 175th Anniversary
May 1967	Pan-Pacific Conference on Urban Growth
June 4, 1967	South Dakota State University
June 7, 1967	United States Naval Academy
July 27, 1967	Conference on Marine Frontiers
August 7, 1967	Congress of the Cities
August 8, 1967	National Association of Counties
September 8, 1967	National Baptist Convention
September 16, 1967	Forbes Magazine 50th Anniversary
September 18, 1967	Center for Inter-American Relations
October 10, 1967	National Conference of Catholic Charities
September 28, 1967	Ohio Catholic Education Association
October 3, 1967	Plans for Progress
October 4, 1967	Peace Corps Deputy Director Swearing-In
October 11, 1967	Future Farmers of America
October 15, 1967	National Shrine of our Lady of Czestochowa
October 23, 1967	National Outlook Conference on Rural Youth
October 24, 1967	National Defense Executive Reserve
November 13, 1967	Grocery Manufacturers of America
November 16, 1967	National Businessmen's Council
December 9, 1967	Minnesota DFL State Central Committee
January 20, 1968	U.S. Jaycees Ten Outstanding Young Men
February 24, 1968	American University
March 4, 1968	National Housing Conference
May 7, 1968	Collier Trophy Presentation Ceremony
October 20, 1969	Asian Affairs Research Council
October 30, 1969	Citizen's Hall/Korea

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT

Hubert H. Humphrey

before the

PACEM IN TERRIS Conference

New York City

February 17, 1965

Peace on Earth

The Scripture tells us to "Pursue peace" - and mankind has since the beginning of time condemned the horrors of war. If discord and strife, wars and the threat of wars have persisted throughout history, it is perhaps as St. Augustine says: that men make war not because they love peace the less, but rather because they love their own kind of peace the more. Yet men of peace of every kind and every land remember well the year 1963. For in that fateful year a venerable apostle of peace left our world, leaving behind a legacy which will endure for years to come. Generations of men -- young and old alike -- will remember the final testament of that gentle peasant Pope, Pope John XXIII, the encyclical Pacem in Terris, in which he left to men of all faiths, to men holding many concepts of peace, an outline for peace in our world which can be accepted by all men of good will.

And if our generation can heed the parting plea of the man whose work we honor at this Conference, generations yet to come may hope to live in a world where in the words of the late President Kennedy "the strong are just, the weak secure and the peace preserved."

It is a privilege and an honor to participate in this Conference dedicated to exploring the meaning and the message of Pacem in Terris. It is particularly fitting that this convocation meet at the beginning of International Cooperation Year. I am confident that your deliberations here will advance our world along the road to "peace on earth" as described by Pope John.

The encyclical John XXIII presented to the world was a public philosophy for a nuclear era. Comprehensive in scope, his message expounded a political philosophy governing relations between the individual and the state, relations between states, and relations between an individual state and the world organizations.

Pacem in Terris continues and completes the social philosophy which the Pope had begun a year earlier in his encyclical Mater et Magistra, in which he elaborated the principles of social justice which should guide the social order. In Pacem in Terris he extended this philosophy to the world, concentrating now on relations between states and the role of the world community.

This encyclical represents not a utopian blueprint for world peace, presupposing a sudden change in the nature of men. Rather, it represents a call to action to leaders of nations, presupposing only a gradual change in human institutions. It is not confined to elaborating the abstract virtues of peace but looks to the building of a world community governed by institutions capable of preserving peace.

The Pope outlined principles which can guide the actions of men -- all men regardless of color, creed or political affiliation -- but it is up to statesmen to decide how these principles are to be applied. The challenge to this Conference is to provide statesmen with further guidelines for applying the philosophy of Pacem in Terris to the problems confronting our world in 1965.

I would like to direct my remarks principally to the questions of relations between states and to that of a world community. Pope John's preoccupation -- and our preoccupation today -- is with an amelioration of international relations in the light of the dangers to mankind posed by the existence of modern nuclear weapons. The leaders of the world must understand -- as he understood -- that since that day at Alamogordo when man acquired the power to obliterate himself from the face of the earth, war has worn a new face. And the vision of it has sobered all men and demanded of them a keener perception of mutual interests and a higher order of responsibility. Under these conditions mankind must concentrate on the problems that unite us rather than on those which divide us.

Pope John proclaimed that the issues of war and peace are the concern of all. Statesmen -- who bear a heavier responsibility than others -- cannot ignore the implications for the survival of mankind of new discoveries in technology, biology, nuclear physics and space. In this nuclear age the deliberate initiation of full-scale war as an instrument of national policy has become folly.

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Originally a means to protect national interests, war today can assure the death of a nation, the decimation of a continent.

Nuclear power has placed into the hands of men the power to destroy all that man has created. Only responsible statesmen -- who perceive that perseverence in the pursuit of peace is not cowardice, but courage, that restraint in the use of forces is not weakness, but wisdom -- can prevent present international rivalries from leading to an incinerated world.

The confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union over Cuba in the autumn of 1962 undoubtedly weighed heavily in the Pope's thinking and lent urgency to his concern to halt the nuclear arms race. Addressing the leaders of the world, he stated:

> "Justice, right, reason, and humanity urgently demand that the arms race should cease; that the stockpiles which exist in various countries should be reduced equally and simultaneously by the parties concerned; that nuclear weapons should be banned; and that a general agreement should eventually be reached about progressive disarmament and an effective method of control."

This plea had special pertinence for the leaders of the United States and the Soviet Union, the principal nuclear powers.

A few months later, President Kennedy demonstrated the US commitment to the goal of peace. In a speech at American University in June of 1963, he called for renewed efforts toward a "more practical, more attainable peace -- based not on a sudden revolution in human nature but on a gradual evolution in human institutions -- on a series of concrete actions and effective agreements which are in the interest of all concerned."

The leaders of the Soviet Union responded favorably. In October 1963, the U.S. and Soviet governments signed a treaty banning nuclear tests in the atmosphere, in outer space and under water. This treaty won respect throughout the world for the United States and the Soviet Union -- indeed for all nations who signed it. It has inspired hope for the future of mankind on this planet. And members of this audience will recall that the man who first proposed a test ban treaty way back in 1956 -- and who shares in the credit for its accomplishment -- is the United States Representative to the United Nations, Ambassador Adlai E. Stevenson.

The nuclear test ban was the first step in the path toward a more enduring peace. "The longest journey begins with a single step,"

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President Johnson has said -- and that single step has been taken.

Other steps have followed.

We have resolved not to station weapons of mass destruction in space. A United Nations resolution, jointly sponsored by the United States and the Soviet Union, called on all countries to refrain from such action. It was adopted by acclamation -- without a single dissenting vote.

This was a vital step toward preventing the extension of the arms race into outer space.

This year the United States is cutting back on the production of fissionable materials. Great Britain and the Soviet Union have announced cutbacks in their planned production of fissionable materials for use in weapons. As President Johnson has stated, the race for large nuclear stockpiles can be provocative as well as wasteful.

The need for instant communication between the United States and the Soviet Union -- to avoid the miscalculation which might lead to nuclear war -- was proven during the Cuban missile crisis. Since that time, we have established a "hot line" between Washington and Moscow to avoid such miscalculation.

The agenda for the future remains long. Among the measures needed to limit the dangers of the nuclear age are measures designed to prevent war by miscalculation or accident.

We must seek agreements to obtain safeguards against surprise attacks, including a network of selected observation points. We must seek to restrict the nuclear arms race by preventing the transfer of nuclear weapons to the control of non-nuclear nations; transferring fissionable materials from military to peaceful purposes, and by outlawing underground tests, with adequate inspection and enforcement. The United States has offered a freeze on the production of aircraft and missiles used for delivering nuclear weapons. Such a freeze might open the door to reductions in nuclear strategic delivery vehicles.

It is the intention of the United States Government to pursue every reasonable avenut toward agreement with the Soviet Union in limiting the nuclear arms race. And the President has made it clear that he will leave no thing undone, no mile untraveled to further the pursuit of peace.

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Today in the year 1965 we must recognize that the next major step in controlling the nuclear arms race may require us to look beyond the narrow U.S. - Soviet competition to the past. For the explosion of a nuclear device by Communist China in 1964 has impressed upon us once again that the world of today is no longer the bi-polar world of an earlier decade. Nuclear competition is no longer limited to two super-powers.

The efforts of the United States and Europe to enable the nations of Europe to have a greater share in nuclear defense policy -- without encouraging the development of independent national nuclear deterrents -- constitute a recognition of this.

In addition to Europe, we now have the problem of finding ways of preventing the further proliferation of nuclear weapons in Asia, Latin America, Africa and the Middle East.

With the explosion of the Chinese nuclear device several months ago -- and the prospect of others to follow -- it may be that the most immediate "next step" in controlling the nuclear arms race is the prevention of further proliferation of nuclear weapons in Asia.

In view of the evident determination of the present Communist government of Mainland China to use its limited nuclear capability it hopes to develop for maximum political and propaganda benefit, it is not surprising that other modern Asian nations are tempted to build their own nuclear deterrent.

But the nations on the perimeter of Communist China are not alone. As President Johnson has stated, "The nations that do not seek national nuclear weapons can be sure that if they need our strong support against some threat of nuclear blackmail, then they will have it."

If the need for preventing the proliferation of nuclear weapons is more immediate in Asia today, it is no less important in Latin America, Africa and the Near East. All of these areas are ripe for regional arms pacts which would prevent these countries from developing nuclear weapons. Nuclear weapons would serve no useful purpose in preserving their security. The introduction of these weapons would provoke a rivalry that would imperil the peace of Latin America and Africa and intensify the present rivalries in the Near East. It would endanger the precarious economies of countries which already possess military forces too large for their

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security needs and too expensive to be maintained without outside assistance.

Such nuclear arms control agreements should naturally be initiated by the nations of the area. In Latin America, such an agreement has already been proposed. Should the nations of Latin America, of Africa and the Near East through their own institutions or through the United Nations, take the initiative in establishing nuclear free zones, they will earn the appreciation of all nations of the world. Containment in these areas would represent a major step toward world peace.

If nuclear rivalry is an obstacle to peace today, it is not the only one.

In Pacem in Terris John XXIII returned to a theme he had discussed in Mater et Magistra when he stated: "Given the growing interdependence among peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic inequality among them persists." If control of nuclear weapons is a central issue in improving relations between East and West, accelerating the economic development of new nations is essential to harmony between North and South.

In Latin America, in Asia and Africa, another threat to peace lies in the shocking inequality between privileged and impoverished, between glittering capitals and festering slums, between booming industrial regions and primitive rural areas. A real threat to peace in these areas is the revolutionary challenge of an unjust social order in which true peace -- peace based on justice -- is impossible.

Those who have been "more blessed with this world's goods" must heed the Pope's plea to assist "those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person."

We must do this out of compassion -- for we are our brother's keeper. And we also do it out of self-interest as well -- for our lot is their lot, our future their future, our peace their peace. This planet is simply too small for the insulation of the rich against turbulence bred of injustice in any part of the world.

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The flow of foreign aid -- both capital and technical assistance - is indispensable to the narrowin g of the gap between rich nations and poor. Much has been done by individual nations and by international organization. But more must be done -- both through foreign aid and by enlarging their opportunities for trade -- to assist those developing nations which are striving to bring to their people the economic and social benefits of modern civilization. The exact dimensions of the task and the most effective way of fulfilling it are questions which deserve further attention by the United Nations.

If the arms race is a strain on the economy of rich nations, it is an intolerable burden on that of poor nations. For developing nations with a rapidly expanding population, primitive economic institutions, and little capital development, participation in a nuclear arms race is inde - fensible.

A pioneer statesman of the nuclear era, the late Senator Brien McMahon, proposed almost two decades age that resources diverted from the arms race could be set aside to meet the unmet social and economic needs of mankind. His counsel remains valid today .

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The man whom we honor today -- like his predecessors -- recognised that a secure peace depends on a stable world community. And a stable world community requires a viable international organization .

The strengthening of the existing w orld organization -- the United Nations -- is one of our most urgent tasks.

Today we hear voices advocating abandonment of the United Nations, withdrawal from the United Nations, They are misguided. They would abandon an imperfect instrument for preserving world peace because they dislike our imperfect world. To abandon the U. N. -- or to immobilize it through crippling restrictions or failure to support it -- would only prove that our generation had forgotten the lessons of half a century of nationalism and isolationism. Let those who would destroy the United Nations recall the international anarchy that followed the demise of the League of Nations. In a nuclear era when anarchy can lead to annihilation, the United Nations deserves the support of all nations -- large and small, rich and poor. The heroes of the world community are not those who withdraw when difficulties ensue -- not those who can envision neither the prospect of success nor the consequence of failure -- but those who stand the heat of the battle -- the fight for world peace through the United Nations.

As everyone knows, the General Assembly has felt obliged to go into recess while negotiations proceed in search of a solution to the present constitutional impasse.

This is not a happy situation and it raises some political and legal problems for the UN's largest contributor as I am sure it does for other members. There are several things to be noted about this crisis.

First, the United Nations will continue even though the General Assembly has been deadlocked by a refusal of certain members to meet their obligations. The Security Council is not affected -- nor are the operations of that diversified family of affiliated agencies in the UN system.

Second, the membership includes nations with radically different ideas about the proper role of international organizations in world affairs; yet none denies they have a role. The argument is not whether the General Assembly should continue to function but under what ground rules it should carry on.

Third, the United Nations has expanded rapidly and almost continuously for two decades now -- and in the course of it the membership has more than doubled. In the meantime, the world environment in which it operates has undergone pervasive change. Under the circumstances, it would be surprising if the Organization did not face some awkward adjustments to new realities.

It may take time and patience and a high capacity to absorb frustration before the General Assembly gets back on the track or selects a somewhat different road ahead. But I am confident we meet in the hall of an institution which is in the throes of growing pains -- not in the grip of a fatal disease.

Another aspect of the world organization that requires immediate strengthening is the peacekeeping machinery of the United Nations. Given the scope and the scale of major power interests and commitments around the world -- we are required to assume that any armed conflict may bear within it the seeds of a nuclear disaster.

So a workable peace system must be able to resolve by non-violent means the kinds of disputes which in the past have led to wars -- and to keep disruptive change in non-violent channels.

Here we can begin to see just how operational a peace system must be -- to visualize peacekeeping machinery in being and in action.

In its most operational and visible form, peacekeeping in action is an armed patrol of soldiers of peace in blue berets -- standing between warring ethnic groups in Cyprus...men who patrol the Gaza Strip twenty-four hours a day for the eighth year running...those who jump in to repair breaches of the peace along the other frontiers of Israel ... others who still stand watch along the fifteen-year-old truce line in Kashmir... and still others who keep tabs on the armistice line along the 38th Parallel in Korea.

These units of operational peacekeeping machinery were in place and in action when we arose this morning and they will be there when we go to bed tonight because there was an international organization to deal with threats to the peace; because there were established rules and procedures for conducting the business of peacekeeping; because there was a way to finance peacekeeping missions; and because members made available personnel and equipment and transport and other goods and services.

But the machinery of peace is much more than keeping an uneasy truce: it is the Security Council and the General Assembly and the Secretariat; it is conference machinery and voting procedures and Resolutions and assessments; it is a mission of inquiry or observation -- and a single civilian moving anonymously from private meeting to private meeting on a conciliation assignment.

Peacekeeping machinery is organization -- plus people and resources -- designed and operated to sustain a secure world order.

What we have so far is rudimentary -- even primitive -- machinery. It is not as extensive as it should be. It is not as versatile as it should be. It is not as reliable as it should be.

But it is machinery. It has proved to be workable in practice when enough members in practice wanted it to work.

Clearly one of the requirements of a workable peace system is to supplement and complement and improve the operational peacekeeping machinery of the United Nations.

Eventually we would hope that this machinery would be in a position to seek the peaceful resolution of disputes and incipient conflicts -- ideally by quiet conciliation -- if need be by verbal confrontation before the bar of world opinion -- and in extremis by placing whatever kind of peacekeeping force is needed in a position between antagonists -- so that no sovereignty is without potential international protection and no nation need call upon other nations to help protect them from predatory neighbors. Today we recognize that this is not possible.

In 1954 the Geneva accords were ratified guaranteeing the independent status of South Vietnam. Today in Vietnam that freedom is endangered by the systematic attempt of foreign backed subversives to win control of the country. Today peace in Southeast Asia can be obtained if the violators will cease their aggression.

Our policy is clear. We will continue to seek a return to the essentials of the Geneva accords of 1954. We will resist aggression. We will be faithful to a friend. We seek no wider war. We seek no dominion. Our goal in Southeast Asia is today what it was in 1954 -- what it was in 1962. Our goal is peace and freedom for the people of Vietnam.

An essential step for the strengthening of peacekeeping is the establishment of a flexible troop call-up system for future emergencies. The U.N. cannot do its peacekeeping job if there are long delays in getting its forces to world trouble spots.

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The Secretary General's request that members maintain special U.N. peacekeeping contingents deserves the support of all, and I rejoice that some members have already responded -- Canada, the Scandinavian countries, the Netherlands, and Iran.

The U.S. will assist in this strengthening of the peacekeeping capacity by helping to train and equip contingents of other nations earmarked for U. N. use -- by transporting these units when necessary -- and by paying their fair share of the cost of peacekeeping operations. We hope others will do the same.

It is, of course, the smaller countries which stand in the greatest need of international protection. But the great powers have an equal interest in effective peacekeeping machinery.

For a nation like the United States, the investment in U.N. peacekeeping is one of the best we can make. We do not aspire to any Pax Americana. We have no desire to play the role of global gendarme. Although we shall honor our commitments to assist friendly nations in preserving their freedom, we have no desire to interject American troops into explosive local disputes.

But disputes do occur; and if hostilities are to be ended and the peace preserved, there must be some outside force available to intervene. In many cases -- though not in all -- a stable professional U.N. force can play that role.

Therefore both the large powers and the small powers have a common interest -- if for different reasons -- in effective international peacekeeping machinery.

This is why the current impasse in the General Assembly -- and the consequent paralysis in its ability to rise to an emergency if need be -- is to be so deeply regretted.

IV

I have dwelt briefly this evening on but three of the foremost problems of peace -- nuclear competition, the gap between rich nations and poor, and the need for building a world community through the United Nations. In this Conference you will explore others.

A year ago in addressing the United Nations, President Johnson stated: "All that we have built in the wealth of nations, and all that we plan to do toward a better life for all, will be in vain if our feet should slip, or our vision falter, and our hopes ended in another world-wide war. If there is one commitment more than any other that I would like to leave with you today, it is my unswerving commitment to the keeping and to the strengthening of the peace."

Our commitment to strengthening the peace has not weakened. We seek a peace that is more than a pause between wars. But our knowledge of ourselves tells us that we can expect no sudden epidemic of peace, that we have far to go before as President Johnson says the "greatness of our institutions" matches the "grandeur of our intentions". The pursuit of peace is a gradual process.

Peace is too important to be the exclusive concern of the great powers. It requires the attention of all -- small nations and large, old nations and new.

The pursuit of peace resembles the building of a great cathedral. It is the work of generations. In concept it requires a master architect; in execution, the labors of many.

The pursuit of peace requires time -- but we must use time as a tool and not as a couch. We must be prepared to profit from the vision of peace left by great men who came our way.

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We honor Pope John XXIII on this occasion not because he demonstrated that perfect peace can be achieved in a short time. We honor him because he raised our hopes and exalted our vision.

He realized that the hopes and expectations aroused could not all be satisfied in the immediate future. What can be accomplished in a limited time will always fall short of expectations.

This should not discourage us. What is important is that we be prepared to give some evidence that progress toward peace is being made, that some of the unsolved problems of peace can be met in the future.

This is the vision which Pope John left us in his encyclical Pacem in Terris.

"Without vision the people perish," says the Scripture.

It is the duty of our generation to convert this vision of peace into reality.

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An Address by

The Honorable
HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

at the

General Membership Meeting

of the

Investment Company Institute

HOTEL BILTMORE

New York City

April 29, 1965

I come here today to talk to you about our country. Where it's going, what its burdens are, and how we are going to shoulder those burdens. I come here also to pay honor to you and to pay thanks to you. Because I happen to believe that our great mutual funds represent a source of political stability and economic progress second to none in this nation.

When people have a share, when people feel a sense of ownership, they have a greater sense of order and responsibility. Those of us that are in politics have often said, "Look, if we can just get somebody to contribute a dollar we have them." You'd be surprised how important that is—just to become more than a verbal participant, or a verbal follower, to become an active participant, to become a shareholder in a political campaign makes the person a harder worker and to become a shareholder, to become an owner in a stock company or in a mutual fund, I think gives that individual a greater sense of responsibility as a citizen and a greater sense of love and respect for his country.

So there are many ways that we build an orderly society; there are many ways that we promote economic progress; there are many ways that we engender patriotism.

Many people have tried to describe our economy. I remember when I had a rather extended visit with that leader then, now deposed, of the Communist

world, Mr. Khrushchev. We had some arguments about our respective systems and I explained to him our system as best I could and I regret to tell you that it's very difficult to explain our system in short simple words or sentences.

Because the American system is rather unique, it has many variations, it has corporate structure, partnerships, individual ownerships, cooperatives, some public sector; it has a variety that's almost like a garden of varied flowers. But the important key to the whole system is the reliance upon individual initiative and the respect for private property and for private and free enterprise, and when you forget that, then you have lost the way and the means to describe it.

So I want to talk to you about that system as I see it, and what we are going to do with it, and what we are doing with it. When I say we, I mean all of us.

First of all, for the foreseeable future, my fellow Americans, there is no escaping our responsibilities as a world leader. Last evening, I was in the cabinet room with some of the leaders of Congress, with the President of the United States, and we were going over some very serious matters. Decisions had to be taken yesterday afternoon and last evening to protect the lives of American nationals and indeed, to protect the security of the Caribbean.

Every day it's another problem, every day it's another crisis, and it isn't going to be any different for the foreseeable future. Anyone who thinks we are going to have an easy life from here on out is deluding himself. But this is the exciting period of human history and I think the most promising, and it belongs to people of vitality and people of confidence and people of optimism.

Those who are worn out, tired, those who think negatively, those who have no confidence betray our destiny, but those who believe in what we stand for and really understand the power and dynamism of this country and also appreciate our role and leadership and responsibility, they are true patriots of the day.

Leadership does not give you the privilege of just "goofing off" as they say. It doesn't permit you

the luxury of being unconcerned about matters at home or abroad. Leadership means just one thing —responsibility—and responsibility means sacrifice, and sacrifice requires character. If we are going to have this role of leadership which has been thrust upon us, not by our desire, but by the development of the world in which we live, then, we must have the substance to maintain that leadership.

That means the development of our human resources, the development of the character of the American people, their abilities. We are expected to do things, to think and produce, to distribute and govern, and it also means we must have a strong economy.

Now there are many things that build the spectrum of what we call strength and time forbids us today to discuss all of these many facets or factors. But, surely, one of the items, one of the factors in what we call our national strength is the structure and the functioning of our economic system. It's this economic system that is the tough blade of the sharp edge of our national security. What we consider to be our defense structure is no stronger than the backing that it has in the economic and social structure of the nation.

And, therefore, when we improve our economy, when it expands, and when it grows, in depth as well as on the surface, we are a stronger people and we are more capable of enduring the responsibilities that are ours.

Let me repeat just this once more, if we are going to lead in this world and lead effectively, and have goals and common purposes that we seek to achieve—we must do it, or someone else will. And, if we are unable to defend the cause of freedom, who do you think can? If we're unwilling to set the example for the world of how people should live together and work together, and the respect they should have for one another, who do you think will set that example? If we're going to run away from responsibilities at home and abroad, who do you expect then will fulfill those responsibilities?

I guess what I'm saying is to be a leader in the

second half of the 20th century, in business, in government or to be a leading nation, imposes incredibly difficult assignments. But those assignments are challenging, exciting; they are rewarding in terms of your values; that is, if your value is one of service, and one of love of country and love of principle.

Having said that, I am happy to report to you that the state of the nation is relatively good. The best part about America is that it's always restless. We do not need to recite the achievements of today, or even our weaknesses, because what is important is now and tomorrow and the day after tomorrow.

It's good to know history; it is better to make it. And we ought to be in the business of making history that is worthy of our heritage. History that we can point to with great pride.

Well, we have been making some history. We have been making history in recent days of a new attitude between government and industry, or government and business.

President Johnson has his way of doing things as other Presidents have had theirs. I know, however, that this particular President believes that the best way to get things done is to talk things out. He often quotes the Prophet Isaiah, who said, "Come let us reason together." And that's exactly the spirit that motivates this government.

He believes in consensus. Consensus involves seeking agreement through constructive analysis and dialogue, with mutual respect and understanding.

Let me give you a number of examples. First, balance of payments. This administration, undoubtedly had enough votes in Congress, had it been willing to do it and wanted to do it, to jam through a program of compulsory controls. But the President talked to businessmen individually—and said "What are we going to do? We have a critical situation that has been developing for years. The soundness of the dollar is at stake, the integrity of the American financial structure is at stake, our position in world finance is at stake. We ought to make the dollar sound and keep it sound. What is your suggestion?"

Hundreds of hours were expended in consultation. Larger groups were brought together and finally a large group of the most prominent financiers and businessmen in America was brought into the White House and the President, Secretary of the Treasury, Secretary of Commerce, and the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors all sat down with this group of businessmen. They came to an agreement that voluntarily, government and business working as partners, would ask the financial institutions and corporate businesses of America to slow down the rate of investment and bank loans abroad, and try to slow down the out-flow of gold and dollars.

What is the result? Well, this morning, the *Washington Post* had a lead story saying that it appears that for the second quarter of 1965 we will have a surplus in our balance of payments rather than the deficit which was running at the rate of almost $5 billion in the last quarter.

Ladies and gentlemen, it's good news for the whole free world and for the rest of the world, too, that a free government working with free enterprise, working in the spirit of voluntarism, working in the spirit of cooperation, can accomplish what some people thought was impossible—to reverse the outflow of necessary capital and gold, or at least to put it in manageable proportions, and, at the same time, to see our exports expand and keep our commitments abroad, and defend the ramparts of freedom wherever they are attacked.

This isn't done by being antagonists or enemies. It is done through respect, consultation, cooperation and that is the spirit that motivates us. If that spirit does not prevail in this economy today and in the channels of government and industry, then there is little hope for the continuity of the prosperity and the progress that we have thus far witnessed.

I am here to testify that that spirit will be maintained. We seek not to dominate in government, we seek to cooperate. Government is only a part of the structure of this country, and never forget it. And those of us in government must never forget it.

Even in our foreign aid program, it isn't just government. Most of the foreign aid from America is private. The more that we can make the world understand the nature of our economy, its dynamism, its essential decency, its essential progressivism, the stronger we will be.

The Communists have perpetrated the greatest fraud that mankind has ever known. They parade around as revolutionaries and progressivists; they are the worst reactionists that have ever been known or conceived. Because their system is one of absolute control, outside control—and management—with little or no opportunity for the great well-spring of private initiative or private ideas.

We represent the future, and may I say, we represent it rather well. We have had fifty-one consecutive months of increased prosperity in this country. May I just say, without being boastful, but being reverently and humbly grateful, fifty-one months this coming Saturday, of continued economic expansion. This is the longest period of economic growth and expansion that America has ever known, and that any country in the world has ever known, since the time of recorded history.

Price stability, good! In the wholesale price index. We have been able to have continued economic growth with relatively good price stability and the rate of price fluctuation and inflation in our economy is lower by far than any other nation on the face of the earth; expansion every place you go; growth; rebuilding cities, whole new communities being established; industry flourishing. We can make it last.

I won't say there won't be a bump or two, but in the period from 1950-1960, my fellow Americans, we had four serious recessions in two administrations; one Democratic and one Republican. Why did we have those recessions? I think because our economic thinking was never as forward looking and progressive as it is today.

Today, our rate of unemployment is lower than it has been since the early 1950's, despite the impact of automation. Today, private investment is 12% higher this year than it was last year and 45% higher than it was in 1960. I read the morning papers. General Motors has broken all profit

figures, and yesterday it was Ford, and two weeks ago it was A.T. & T., and the Dow Jones Index seems to be rather encouraging, and mutual funds today have approximately $30 billion of investments and about 5 million customers.

We're just beginning to scratch the surface, my dear friends, of the possibilities that are ours, if we're wise, if we're careful, and yet at the same time forward-looking.

Now, how did this all happen? Well, I think I have given you a key. Mainly it happened because we started to remove, to the best of our ability, what were commonly called the natural antagonisms. You know, and I know that you know, that you're as welcome today in the councils of government as you are in your own home. You know that your word is listened to, not always accepted, but we do have the dialogue and we do have this exchange of views. There is an open-mindedness today.

There is no dogma. There is no doctrine. We're not dogmatic people. We believe in a profit system, and I can't help but recall what Samuel Gompers said, once. He said that the greatest crime against the working people is a company that fails to make a profit. Profit is an honorable attribute and people in government are being taught it, just like people in industry are being encouraged to make it. We are doing things. This attitude, now I say, the environmental attitude had a good, a great deal to do with it, but there was something else that happened, too.

I remember, for example, when we proposed the investor's tax credit, some of you here talked to me about it. We advanced a program in 1961, and passed it in 1962, an investment tax credit of 7%. I supported that. Why, some of my more ideologically liberal friends thought that was heresy. But they're learning, and so am I. It was necessary. If you want to improve production, if you want to improve technology, if you want to have jobs, you must have investment, and we encouraged it.

And then there was a new program of accelerated depreciation allowances, of a whole new depreciation schedule that was devised. In order to even further improve the capital structure of the American productive plant.

And then, you recall, the income tax reduction and the corporation tax reduction. Now, my friends, this violated every tradition. We had a national budget deficit of over $8½—about 9 billion, and when somebody suggested that you have a tax reduction with a deficit like that, they said, well this is just absolutely madness. They dragged out Ben Franklin and his Almanac, they got together all of the old sages, and said that this just violates all tradition. It even violates the Constitution, according to some people.

But I am happy to tell you that better minds prevailed and we proceeded to do something about it. We cut taxes $11½ billion, the largest corporate and income tax reduction in the history of the United States.

And yesterday your President was able to announce that the deficit for this year would be about $1½ billion less than it had been originally projected. Why? Not just because people in government are better. You can debate that. But I'll tell you why. Because the economy was better. And the economy produces the revenues and those revenues are now being put to constructive use. I analysed this the other night and found, if you put together the investment tax credit, the depreciation allowances, the new schedule and the corporate tax reduction, you will find that these measures created an increase in the rate of return on investment, a rate comparable to the increase which would have resulted from cutting the maximum corporate tax rate from 52% to approximately 30%. That was a substantial reduction when you put the package together. These measures sent investment skyrocketing.

I had a group of business men visiting me one day and when they got there, they said: "What we need is confidence—we need to engender confidence" and I said "This is a two-way street. We must have confidence in you and you must have confidence in us, and the only way that we can have it is when we sit down together and understand exactly what we are trying to do."

Now figures can be somewhat deceiving, and somewhat useful and tricky, and I can say to you that everything is relative, as you well know. The public debt is only 48% of our gross national product; 15 years ago it was 98%; 5 years ago it was 58%, and it is a matter of relativity—our capacity to finance it, as you good people here well know. Now there is more yet to be done, and we have a program ahead, and I want just to take a few minutes—a few moments—to tell you a little about it.

It is not a program for the welfare state. I had a newspaper reporter ask me last week: "Mr. Vice President, isn't it true that what you are proposing is a welfare state?" And I said as clearly as I could, "No, we are not proposing one—we are not advocating one, and we do not want one." What we are proposing, however, with your help, in cooperation with business and labor and finance, with our universities, and with all the American people—we are trying to work out a system so that there is a state of opportunity for every person that wishes to seize it and to have it.

Opportunity—that is the *key* word, and that should be the theme of our time.

Frankly, of course, we are interested in human welfare. Who is not? Your mutual funds are dedicated to human welfare; you guard the value of these funds; you wisely invest these funds; you have many retired people who give you their money to invest and they trust you. You are interested in their welfare.

Our large corporations are more generous in their fringe benefits to workers than the government is in any of its welfare programs. Welfare has always been at the top of the list for the American people, but your government does not believe in a welfare state and neither do you.

We believe in a state of activity, of opportunity. We believe in a state that is a set of conditions where people can put themselves to work to the fullest of their capacity. We also believe that you should release the energetic forces of our enterprise system.

We are going to propose in a very few days, by formal message to Congress, a sharp reduction in

excise taxes—another tax reduction, and I want to tell you, here, that it will yield benefits to the consumer, to the government and to the economy.

We are also making some other proposals which have been in the budget. We are doubling our efforts in the War on Poverty. We are investing more than $1½ billion additional funds this year in Aid to Education—elementary, secondary and higher. We are proposing and will pass within a very few weeks a program of hospital care, and some medical assistance for persons age 65 and over, and we are proposing to wage a mighty war upon the poverty-stricken areas of the Appalachia—an area in America regrettably where income is down and job opportunities are falling off. And we have a huge attack, a comprehensive attack, upon such killers as heart disease, cancer and stroke.

You say, how can you do all of this and do it without inflation, and do it without violating the guidelines that have been set down for wage, price standards. The answer is by the most careful scrutiny of the budget and a careful management of a fiscal policy.

Available for all here are the budget sheets, charts on what we have been doing in this budget process. The average increase in the budget for the past 10 years has been $3 billion per year. Not because any President wanted to spend more money, not because he cared not for the dollar, but because our population is growing. It is just a bigger country. Things cost a little more—national security requirements—but for the last two years that budget increase has been slashed to $1 billion. Out of the extras that we have—the monies that we have been able to save in closing up obsolete bases, some obsolete hospitals, some obsolete and unneeded research stations—and the struggle that we are waging in our war on waste within government itself—and with the help of the finest management consultants that this country has to offer, who have been called in to go through every department of our government—we have been able to save $1½ billion in the past year. We were able to save over $400 million in the civilian agencies alone. And we have taken that money and put it back into an effort

to do something about stroke, cancer and heart disease that cost this country, according to the Medical Association, $31 billion last year in lost income. And I say that if you can spend $1 billion trying to get at those killers, the odds are on your side.

We find something else. We find that one of the most terrible threats to our economy has been discrimination. We find that the "poor" begets the poor. We find that the illiterate become unemployed, and we know it just as surely as we know the facts of our business operation.

We know that, for example, that the non-whites have a higher rate of poverty than whites. We also know that a white man with the same college education gets paid more than a colored man. We know it—it is not just a matter of guessing any more. These are facts that are available—many of them developed by private industry itself. We also know that there is a record that you can trace in the welfare statistics and the welfare records of two or three generations where families on relief tend to stay that way, and we say this is wrong.

We say that it is wrong to have a country—to have in our country—an average expenditure of $450 a year per child for education, and $1,800 a year for a school drop-out. It costs you four times as much for a school drop-out, a kid that drops out of school after the freshman year of high school. You pay four times more per year when he drops out than if he stayed in school. He becomes a tax eater and never a taxpayer.

We know that it costs a minimum of $2,500 a year for a non-productive relief family, and we know that it costs a minimum of $3,500 a year for an inmate of a state prison and $4,400 in a federal institution.

We know that crime and disease and discrimination and poverty eat at the very fabric of our society, and, my fellow Americans, we are not going to stand by and know these things and not do something about them. And when we are doing something about them, we don't believe that the way you do it is just dish it out.

We do not believe that public works is the answer. We believe that some public works are needed as a part of the superstructure, or the basic structure, of your economy. Good roads, good sewers, good streets, yes, but we have found out that you can appropriate, my dear friends, $5 billion of public works this year and it will be two years later before it starts to take any effect. But you can have a tax cut this year and it takes effect next month.

Now, these are facts. We know these things; and that is why we are working with the facts that we know. We know, for example, that if one out of every five people in the United States is listed as poor, then 35 million people have a total income of less than $17 billion including welfare payments. This is no market. You do not sell these people much. This is a drag on the economy, and therefore any program that we can initiate that will train people for jobs—that will combat illiteracy—that will check, or at least improve, the conditions of health and check disease—that those programs are dividends and those programs are wise investments, and so, slowly, methodically, we approach it.

Now, let me just say this. I know that we are not doing all that some of you think we should do, and we are doing more than others think we should do.

Of course, we cannot cure poverty with what we are doing this year, but the longest journey is the first step, and what we are beginning to do now is attack the root causes of poverty which we know to be a fact. Just as surely as we know the sun rises in the east is the fact of illiteracy. And my fellow Americans, the rate of illiteracy in America is growing—at the time of our greatest prosperity. The most civilized, industrialized, urbanized, rich economy in the world has a higher rate of illiteracy than Japan.

We can do something about it. We know that there are technical changes—technological changes—when you take people from the rural sharecropper environment of the South and they flood into Chicago, Cleveland. They are no longer producers and they are not consumers. They become problems. But they are going to move—there is a

change. And therefore, programs must be designed to see that these people get work discipline, work habits, and are prepared for urban living and industrialized living, and industry and government are working together.

Yesterday I met with 35 of the top corporation leaders of America. Now these corporation leaders are going to Negro colleges and universities and high schools, and where there is a predominant Negro population, and they are going out to sell the story of education. They are going out to sell the opportunity that lies ahead. Many of these corporation executives, vice presidents, and sales managers are Negroes themselves. They were the one of the ten that made it—nine were casualties.

There is a new day in America, dear friends, and we have to get the message of the new day. For the next ten that try it, nine will make it, and one will fall by the wayside; if they have the will—if we have the program—if they get the message. When for 100 years they have been told to get in the back of the bus, it takes a little bit of doing. "Look, if you have enough on the ball, if you are experienced, if you are trained, if you are educated, if you prepare yourself, you can drive the bus; you can be in the front seat. We will consider you on merit."

This is the way we advance our country. This is the way we build it, and we are going to build it this way. We are going to do it because, first of all, it is morally right; secondly, it is imperative.

The government through its work with industry can help train people. Yes, but you, through your governments, must provide the structure, the employees, the people. It takes investments to make jobs, and believe me it takes a lot of them. And, I am happy to tell you, that one of the great investments in the Great Society, is the mutual fund.

My friend, Charlie Eaton, came by and said that to me a while ago, and, I said, "Gee! Isn't that interesting; you and I are both wise men. I had that same thought."

But it is a fact. The mutual fund gives millions of people a share in hundreds of companies, every time they buy a mutual stock.

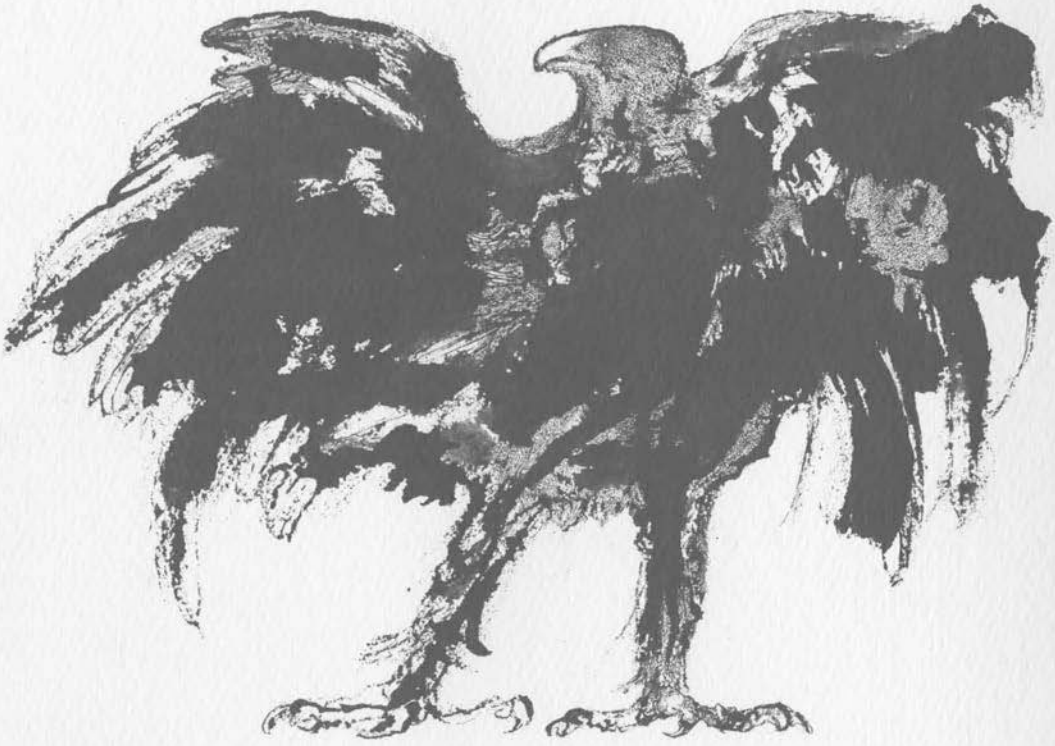
I own some, I'm happy to tell you, and so do my children. I'm happy to tell you and I didn't buy them just before I arrived here so that I would say it. I happen to believe this gives us an interest in, a concern about, and a reason to be very proud of our enterprise system.

So, I ask you to join with me, and I want you to join with me, and I want to join with you, in building this greater society that we talk about these days. It's sort of a slogan, but also a challenge to us. That Great Society isn't just more income, it isn't just an extra car, or a better house. That Great Society, above all, is one in which everybody feels that he is a participant, in which he feels that the concept of human dignity is no longer a phrase but a reality. It's a Great Society in which he knows that he can contribute something to the well-being of our nation.

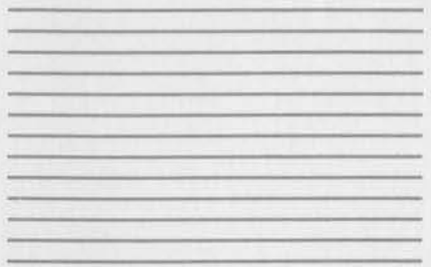
The greatness of our country is not only in its wealth, but the greatness of our country is in its basic moral and idealistic values. We are a people who share; we are a people who believe in justice; we are a people who believe in opportunity, and we are a people who are unafraid. It's the courage and the sense of justice and this willingness to try and try again, and if we fall down, get up and try again. It's these things that I think build us, and rest assured that today we have a working partnership the likes of which we never had before.

There is still room, yes, for partisanship, but there is no room in America for just trying to find fault with one another. What we need, more than ever before, is a willingness to work together and a recognition that through accident or design this nation has been marked for greatness and that greatness will require the best from all of us.

Investment Company Institute
61 Broadway
New York, N. Y. 10006



DRAWING BY LEONARD BASKIN, MUNSON-WILLIAMS-PROCTOR INSTITUTE, UTICA, NEW YORK, GIFT OF THE ARTIST.



ADDRESS TO THE CLASS OF 1965

CONGRESS

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President of the United States of America

SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

We're singularly honored today to have so distinguished a guest. Because students are important at Syracuse University we consult each year with the officers of the senior class and ask them their choice of a commencement speaker. And this morning, ladies and gentlemen, by the unanimous action of the senior class, the Vice President of the United States.

William P. Tolley

WILLIAM PEARSON TOLLEY
CHANCELLOR | SYRACUSE UNIVERSITY

JUNE 6 | 1965

GREAT SEAL OF UNITED STATES OF AMERICA | COPY OF ORIGINAL DESIGN

SUNDAY JUNE 6, 1965

Thank you, thank you, Chancellor Tolley. My thanks to you, Chancellor Tolley, deans of the many schools, colleges of this great university, members of the Board of Trustees, my colleagues in government who share this platform with me today, Secretary Connor, a graduate of this splendid university, and Secretary Harlan Cleveland, a former professor and head of the Maxwell School of this great university, Congressman Hanley, the graduates of this class of nineteen hundred and sixty-five, the parents who are here in pride and honor, and my fellow Americans, and guests:

This is, as I've been reminded once again, as you have, the one hundred and eleventh commencement ceremony, not for me but for this great university. I was saying to Chancellor Tolley how difficult it is these days to be the commencement speaker and try to find a topic that is worthy of the attention and the thoughtful consideration of the graduates. I suppose I should be concerned about the faculty, but in this instance I address myself primarily to the graduates.

The honor that you have done to me today is one that is deeply appreciated, particularly in light of the announcement that has just been made as to how I was selected. I'm especially delighted that the Chancellor and the Board of Trustees extended their invitation to me as a result of the vote of the senior class. You see, I've always been friendly to votes. And I'm particularly pleased when the votes and the voters are friendly to me. And

what a refreshing experience, and what a way to renew the spirit of a public official, to be selected once again by votes. I might say to my friends of the graduating class, I have been on both ends of the voting spectrum, and the best end is the winning one. Now I of course have no way of knowing against whom I was running in this contest. But I trust that it was some worthy Republican, of which this state has all too many. I hope that I didn't inspire any fear or trepidation in the heart of the Congressman.

I do want to take just for this moment the opportunity to express, a little bit prematurely, but this is one way of assuring that the ceremony comes off, my thanks for the honor that will be bestowed upon several of us here today, the honorary degrees. Now having made the announcement, there is no way that anything can go wrong.

My presence here today is particularly satisfying to me because this year marks the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the Maxwell School. Syracuse University has made many contributions to scholarship and to professional excellence in a wide variety of fields. I know that this great university encompasses most all of the disciplines of intellectual life. I'm well aware of the achievements and the high standards of your college of engineering, and I well recall that only last year the President of the United States was with you on the occasion of the dedication of your new communications building. I know the outstanding endeavors of this university in the field of social work and social welfare. These are but a few of your achievements in the field of scholarship and professional excellence.

But as one who has by purpose and design devoted his life to the public service, I want to express my personal thanks and gratitude of the United States government for the work of the Maxwell School. Yes, I've mentioned already the Assistant Secretary of State for International Organization Affairs, a distinguished former dean of the Maxwell School, Harlan Cleveland, who serves his country well and faithfully and with brilliance, and the graduate of this great university, the Secretary of Commerce, who has brought new life to that department and a new sense of purpose and direction. In addition to the outstanding contributions of the Maxwell School to social science scholarship and the upgrading of public service, its undergraduate course in public affairs and citizenship is world famous. And I would recommend it to every great university in our land. Your Chancellor has told me that more than 20,000 Syracuse undergraduates have taken this course over the past generation. Think of it, 20,000 citizens who have been educated in their continuing personal responsibilities for the preservation and the extension of human freedom —and if ever there was a time that this nation needed men and women who understand their personal responsibilities to the cause of freedom and social justice, it is now.

Our nation, as never before, bears the mantle of leadership, and that mantle is not a luxury, but rather a responsibility, a burden and a duty. All the more reason then that citizens, not just the

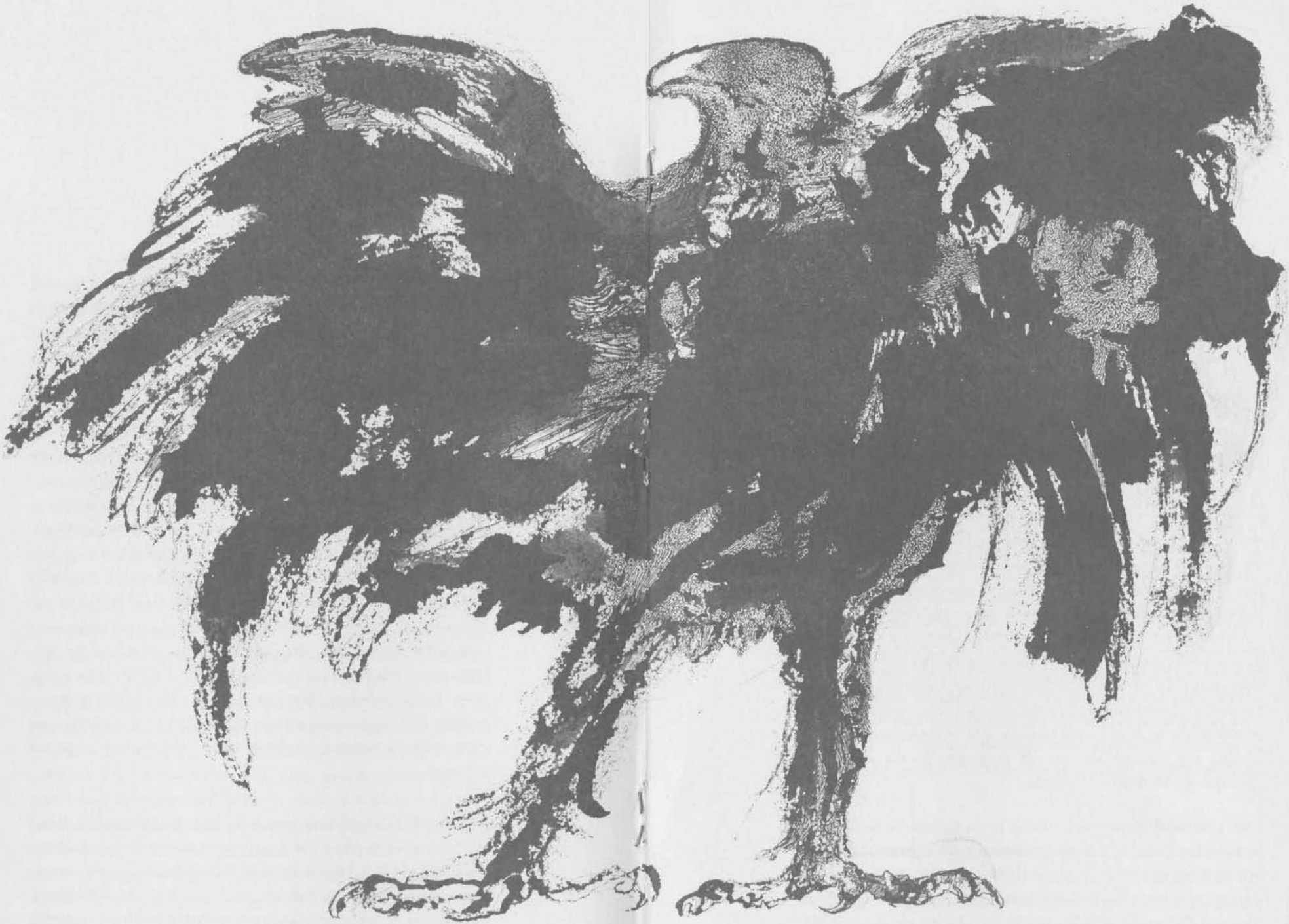
leaders, but citizens all be educated in their continuing personal responsibilities for the stewardship of human freedom. It is difficult to think of a more fundamental contribution which a university can make to free society. So my congratulations to this school. I know that it will continue to flourish and accomplish much in the years ahead.

Now, I am also a refugee from the classroom, a former university teacher. Because of the precarious nature of elective life, I like to mention this in the presence of trustees and deans of faculty. And I would care not to be judged entirely on the singular performance of today, but rather on a longer exposition by the applicant at a later time.

I am well aware, as a former teacher, of the pitfalls of commencement speeches. It's so easy to follow the time-worn formula, the world is in a mess (when wasn't it, by the way?), the older generation has failed (it generally has), and it's up to you of the graduating class to put things right, at least for a day or two. And then some day you'll be the older generation and you too can have the dubious honors that other commencement speakers would heap upon you. But platitudes rarely change attitudes. And baneful criticism and vapid exhortations are cheap substitutes for hard thought and analysis. I prefer, therefore, to take my stand on the proposition that the American people working through democratic institutions, changing institutions, have met, are meeting, and will continue to meet the most complex problems of our age. If we still have a long way to go, and we have in achieving human equality, in securing international and domestic tranquility, in extending the benefits of our technical genius to all citizens in the American republic and to all of mankind, let us at least glory in and be inspired by the magnitude of the unfinished agenda. Let us glory in the fact that we still possess the wit and the wisdom to continue making our American democratic system responsive to the terribly difficult and complex problems of this turbulent and rapidly changing age.

Winston Churchill once was reported to have said that democracy is the worst form of government, except all others. And I suppose there is more truth than humor in that analysis of the social structure. But it is our democracy that we mold and design to our purpose. And the glory of the democracy and of the democratic faith is the courage of it, the experimentation of it, and the willingness to try to begin anew, if we should fail, to rise once again, if we should falter, to try once again, remembering with the prophet that the longest journey is the first step, and the first steps towards freedom we have taken, and further steps we will take.

I want to discuss with this graduating class the importance of one of the great constitutional instruments at the disposal of the American people in the business of making this democracy work. I want to discuss with you an institution that is frequently referred to with cynicism, all too often, may I say, by the media,



and all too often held in disrepute by people who know all too little about it. I refer to the institution of the Congress of the United States. What I have to say I think needs saying, because too many of our citizens take an indifferent, cynical and even hostile view toward the legislative branch. No one branch has a monopoly on wisdom or virtue, but surely each can make a contribution to the common good. This is not, when I speak of the Congress, to underestimate the need for strong and able presidential leadership, or for wise and humane judicial decisions. It is, however, once again to reaffirm the vital role of representative government, the vital role of the Congress in our constitutional system. Few persons can deal directly with either the President or the Supreme Court. But any person, personally or by mail or phone, can communicate with his elected representatives in Washington. The members of the Congress, the people's representatives, provide a direct link between the national government, this huge structure that shows no signs of becoming smaller or less complicated, this huge structure and the almost one hundred and ninety-five million persons who comprise this Republic, and a growing population it is. Surely, this contact, this connection, is vital in keeping our national government responsive to the needs and opinions of the American people.

I have found Congressional service to be a remarkable form of higher education. It's a super graduate school in every discipline. My teachers have been presidents and department heads, constituents, press, radio, and television, and above all a group of wise and distinguished colleagues in both houses. I cannot in the few minutes that I have convey to you all that I have learned from these teachers, but it is a rich and a rewarding experience.

Perhaps I can suggest some lessons in democratic theory and practice which I've gained from my collegial experiences in the Congress. The first lesson has to do with the creative and constructive dimension to the process of compromise—compromise without the loss of principle or honor. There are one hundred members of the United States Senate and 435 members of the House. They come from states and districts as diverse as Nevada and New York, Alaska and Alabama. No two states or regions of the United States have identical needs, backgrounds, interests or even prejudices. And one of the jobs of the Congress is to reconcile such differences through the process of compromise and accommodation. What sometimes seem to the naive and untutored eye to be legislative obstructionisms, often are no more than the honest expressions of dedicated representatives trying to make clear the attitudes and the interests of their states and regions, sometimes trying to gain time for public understanding of vital issues. As Sir Richard Grenfell once observed: "Mankind is slowly learning that because two men differ neither need be wicked."

From the earliest days of this Republic—at the Constitutional Convention—the leaders of this nation have maintained an unswerving commitment to moderation. Now, if our founding fathers had not understood the need to overcome extremes in

drafting our Constitution, this noble experiment of ours in the art of self-government would surely have foundered years ago on the rocks of dissension and discord.

As in the deliberations of the Constitutional Convention, the heart of Congressional activity are skills of negotiation, of honest bargaining among equals. My willingness to compromise, and I have done so more times that I can count, is the respect that I pay to the dignity of those with whom I disagree. Yes, I have come to the conclusion that possibly all of my original suggestions may not have been right. There may be others, you know, who have solid and constructive views. Dogma and doctrine have little place in a society in which there is respect for the attitude and the opinion of others.

Through reasonable discussion, through taking into account the view of many, Congress amends and refines the legislative proposals so that once a law is passed it reflects the collective judgment of a diverse people. This is consensus, the word that is used so much in these days. Consensus is nothing but agreement, obtained by a constructive dialogue between persons of different points of view, based upon mutual respect and understanding. Surely this is a remarkable service for a people that aspire to orderly progress. Surely the habits of accommodation and compromise are of universal consequence. These are the very skills and attitudes so desperately needed on the larger stage of world conflict, and possibly our difficulties on that world stage can be better understood when we recognize that where there are despotic forms of government or dictatorships, the art of negotiation and compromise has been sacrificed to power, to arrogance, and to the strong will of the man who knows he is right. We possibly have some teaching to do before the processes of peace may reach a maturity and an achievement.

World order and the rule of law will be secure on this earth only when men have learned to cope with the continuing conflicts of peoples and nations through the peaceful processes of bargaining and negotiation. And might I admonish my fellow Americans that we too need to be cognizant of the differences in other lands, that we seek no pax Americana, we seek no trademark Made in the USA, we seek above all to negotiate, to accommodate, to adjust so that peoples realize their hopes in their way.

A second lesson that I have learned from my Congressional teachers is the importance of the Congressional role of responsible surveillance. There are roughly seventy separate departments and agencies in the Federal government. Now if you should notice two cabinet officers wince a bit, as I speak of Congressional surveillance, may I say that I have not been long from the chambers of the Congress. I am not fully purified as yet in the executive climate. There are roughly seventy departments, some are small, some are large. All are engaged, however, in doing what they believe is carrying out the will of the people as expressed by the Congress.

In the interest of efficiency, economy, and responsiveness, these departments and agencies need, even if they don't want it, a continuing critical review, constructively critical it is to be hoped, by the committees and the houses of Congress. The genius of our founding fathers is nowhere more in evidence than in that section or those sections of the Constitution which provide for checks and balances. Uncomfortable as those checks and balances may be sometimes to those who seek to administer, through its review of the executive budget, in the appropriations process, yes, through committee and subcommittee investigations, through advice and consent on appointments and treaties, and through informal discussion, Congress seeks to improve and to support the executive branch of our government. My fellow Americans, I know that this cross-examination can be interpreted in other lands as division in our ranks, but it appears to me that it is more important that the American people know what is being done in their country, that they have the opportunity to reflect upon the policies and the decisions that are to be made, than it is that we should always have the image abroad of having a sort of monolith mind. I am not that worried. Let those who feel that we may discuss too often and that we may argue too much, let them remember that freedom is hammered out on the anvil of discussion, dissent, and debate, which ultimately yields to a decision that can be supported by the public.

This exercise in Congressional freedom protects and extends personal freedom. And that is our goal. If legislative voices are occasionally strident, and they are, citizens should take stock of what their world would be like if no legislative voices were heard at all.

We know what happens in countries without independent and constructively analytical legislatures. Mankind invented a word for such systems centuries ago, and the word is as old as its practice—tyranny.

There's one other lesson that I've learned from my Congressional teachers: the creative joy of politics. I can say in personal testimonial that I would not give my life to it unless I found in it a sense of fulfillment and joy. Each Congress is devoted in substantial measure to the development of new public policies designed, as our Constitution says, to promote the general welfare and provide for the common defense, the national security of this nation.

Congress is not a battlefield for blind armies that clash by night; it is a public forum operating in the light of day for men of reason. It is a place where national objectives are sought, where presidential programs are reviewed, where great societies are endlessly debated and implemented. Oh yes, I know at times the Congressional process exasperates and confounds us, it's clumsy, sometimes it's slow and unresponsive to what some of us believe is urgent need. Its strength and its weakness is the fact that it is representative of our country, of our human institutions. It reveals

in its conduct and makup all of the cross-current of social, economic, and political forces. It is like a huge mirror suspended over the nation, reflecting and revealing us for what we are, dirty face and all at times, our prejudices as well as our ideals, our fears and our hopes, our poverty and our wealth. There it is in the Congress representative of the people. Oh, to be sure, we should seek to constantly improve its rules and its institutions of operating machinery, but ultimately, my fellow Americans, the Congress will behave as the nation behaves, the Congress will represent the spirit of the American people.

It was Emerson who once wrote that Congress is a "standing insurrection." You don't need a revolution here; you have one built in. It is a standing insurrection against the ancient enemies of mankind: war, and poverty, and ignorance, and injustice, and sickness, environmental ugliness, and economic and personal insecurity.

Now, graduates of this class, few careers offer such remarkable opportunities for translating dreams into reality. Congressman Hanley, I am not seeking opposition to you, I am merely encouraging this group of fine graduates to take a new interest in the affairs of state, in government, in public life. A new bill, a creative amendment, a wise appropriation, may mean the difference to this generation and generations ahead, between health and sickness, jobs and idleness, peace and war for millions of human beings.

And stemming from ancient parliamentary origins, the main job of Congress is to redress the grievances, to right the wrongs, to make freedom and justice living realities for all. What higher calling, I ask you, exists than this? This is the essence of politics: to translate the concerns and the creative responses of a vast citizenry into effective and humane laws. And, I submit, no country does it better than ours. Our competence in the field of self-government is the envy of mankind.

I cannot conclude without a personal note. For almost twenty years, Congress has been my home. As Vice President, my relationships with my former colleagues are inevitably a bit more formal and more intermittent than in past years. Yet I can say unashamedly that I cherish them dearly. I have seen their weakness and they have seen mine.

I have been on occasion restive of delays and procedural anachronisms—and so have they. But I have seen in the Halls of Congress more idealism, more humaneness, more compassion, more profiles of courage than in any other institution that I have ever known. And like many of you today, I find in my heart to praise and to thank my teachers.

Perhaps some of these words of tribute to the institution of freedom known as the United States Congress may stay with you. I hope so; I know it well; I respect it greatly. As long as the Congress of the United States continues to function as a

responsible and viable element in our Constitutional system, the promise of American democracy will forever endure—the torch of freedom will forever light the path of our future.

Each of you, however, must also assume a personal responsibility for preserving freedom in these perilous times. This is not the business of someone else, it is your business. Freedom is the personal commitment and responsibility of each and every one. And the nature of this responsibility, I think, is best illustrated by John Adams' notion of the spirit of public happiness.

It was this spirit, said John Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the revolution even before it was fought—a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action. It is a sense of joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control, in self-discipline, and in whole-hearted dedication.

An important part of the mission of this great university has been to instill in each of you this spirit of public happiness. And it will be this dedication to the public service—found in the hearts of Americans alive today and the generations yet unborn —that will insure the ultimate victory of free men in their struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression.

Your work is ahead of you. The time awaits no man. Seize this opportunity to serve the cause of mankind.

Orig. pamphlet
Sent to
Edith Green
Feb 73

Address of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

COMMENCEMENT EXERCISES

Fordham University

NEW YORK, NEW YORK

June 9, 1965

The student . . . a man of his nation . . . a man of his time

Woodrow Wilson once said that "every man sent out of a university should be a man of his nation as well as a man of his time."

A university graduate today who would be both a man of his nation and a man of his time must understand that the moral unity and interdependence of mankind, which has for centuries been the basis of Western civilization, has now become a physical fact of our lives.

We have long understood that the brotherhood of all human beings implies responsibility for our neighbor. But today, in an age where science and technology have shrunk our physical neighborhood, no crisis is wholly foreign to us, no curse or blessing is received in isolation. In this world, responsibility for our fellow man is inescapable.

In this contemporary era—where technology has led to a rapid multiplication of social relationships —interdependence has replaced solitary individualism as the central fact of our lives.

INSTITUTIONALIZE MORAL NEEDS

As Barbara Ward has noted: "In a world society in which hate is institutionalized in war and self-interest in our web of economic relations, we can hardly survive unless we also institutionalize the moral needs of man for community, for compassion, for dedication, and, let us not fear the word, for love."

Because the "greatness of our institutions" has not matched "the grandeur of our intentions," we are witnessing both in our nation and in our world a revolution of peoples against what Emmanuel Mounier called the "established disorder." Everywhere we see populations caught between soaring hopes and immovable traditions.

In our nation this has produced the Negro revolution, a revolution against centuries of indifference and neglect, of oppression and exploitation. It is a revolution that is not over — indeed it has only begun.

But it is a revolution that we know now is destined to succeed.

Its success is assured because the people of this nation have realized that the perpetuation of a separate Negro nation in our midst, a nation whose people have been "deprived of freedom, crippled by hatred" in President Johnson's phrase—is morally intolerable.

While peaceful protest and legal redress of grievances have been important, in the end moral indignation has been decisive in bringing recognition of

the validity of the Negro revolution in the United States.

Pursuit of justice has triumphed over narrow self-interest. Justice has triumphed because modern prophets—from John LaFarge to Martin Luther King—have aroused our consciences and incited our action against an "established disorder" based on racism, the most pernicious form of injustice to arise in our time.

VIRTUE IN POLITICAL ORDER

In pursuing justice—the supreme virtue in the political order—an equally important challenge for a man of our time is that posed by the growing disparity between rich nations and poor, the widen-

ing gap between the affluent minority and the impoverished masses of the human race.

A central fact of this decade—which will loom larger and larger for graduates of the class of 1965—is that Western societies are exceedingly rich—and almost all others are exceedingly poor.

A small fraction of the human race living around the North Atlantic enjoys per capita incomes of 1,000 to 2,800 dollars per year. Two-thirds of humanity subsists on a per capita income of less than 200 dollars per year.

It may be accidental—but it is surely not irrelevant—that most of the first group are white and most of the second are colored.

Since 1960, the gap between the two groups has accelerated. To understand why it has been growing, one need only recall that in 1964 the United States added 30 billion dollars to its gross national

product—the equivalent of 50 percent of the total national income of Latin America and 100 percent of the income of Africa.

The relevance of this problem to the university graduate of today, and the obligation of nations that are rich and advanced toward those that are poor and undeveloped, was spelled out in bold language by Pope John XXIII in his encyclical *Mater et Magistra.* He stated:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger, and who lack even the elementary rights of the human person.

This is particularly true since, given the growing interdependence among the peoples of the earth, it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

He concluded: "We are all equally responsible for the undernourished peoples. Therefore, it is necessary to educate one's conscience to the sense of responsibility which weighs upon each and everyone, especially upon those who are more blessed with this world's goods."

Just as our generation has inherited the responsibility for bringing to fulfillment the Negro revolution at home, it lies with your generation to insure the triumph of the revolution against crushing poverty around the world.

We who live in the Western world have a special responsibility, for it was we who launched the technological revolution that has produced dazzling wealth in the midst of squalor.

We not only initiated the technological revolution but we have spread it to the world at large. And today we tolerate—by limited exertion if not by inaction—inconceivable disparities of wealth and destitution.

REDUCTION OF INEQUITIES

As we in the United States are among those "more blessed with this world's goods," to use the Pope's phrase, we have a special obligation to take the lead in reducing these inequities.

It is obvious that problems of poor nations will not be solved by external efforts alone. No transfer of resources from the rich nations to the poor will alone be sufficient.

It requires a massive effort by local leaders in a country to end the shocking inequality between privileged and impoverished, between glittering capitals and festering slums, between privileged urban enclaves and neglected rural areas.

It requires not only the availability of technical resources—but vision and will and determination on the part of those who would break the tyranny of poverty and bring to their peoples the wonders of the modern world.

But our recognition of this fact should not blind us to the compelling truth that nations that are poor

and undeveloped stand little chance of success without the help of those which are rich.

It is not necessary here to engage in a detailed analysis of the process of development in undeveloped nations. Once we recognize the existence of a universal common good and of international social justice—and show a willingness to commit ourselves to it—the technical problems of assistance can be solved. Not without difficulty—but they can be solved.

Trade, aid and private investment all will be needed to meet the requirements of developing nations—that is, if the poor nations of the world are to have a chance of breaking the ancient cycle.

Despite our efforts since World War II to accelerate economic and social development, we are just standing still.

During the past three years we have failed to progress at all: indeed we are slowing down.

Yet each day we learn anew that the disorder which persists cannot be ended by political maneuver or military power, alone.

We learn anew of outbreaks of violence and turbulence, of peaceful revolutions turned into violent ones. We learn anew of disorder which invites Communism—which so often comes as the scavenger of ruined revolutions.

We now know that peace can be threatened by other forces than armies crossing borders and bombs and missiles falling from the sky. Peace can be threatened by social and economic deprivation, by

destitution and hunger. If we are concerned about "peace-keeping" in all its aspects, then we dare not ignore this explosive threat which can erupt at any time.

And it is time we learn that peace-keeping pertains not only to military forces and United Nations machinery. Peace-keeping pertains to every force that disturbs or threatens to disturb the peace of mankind.

We must strengthen every economic institution we have—and develop new ones if need be. If our existing financial and development institutions—all formed two decades ago with the establishment of the United Nations—need to be supplemented or modified, we should not hesitate to do so.

THE FATE OF ALL

In our interdependent world, disorder due to economic deprivation and underdevelopment is the concern of all—the rich nations and the poor. When a crisis erupts—whether in the Congo or in Santo Domingo—the fate of all is affected.

Only by a massive assault—carefully planned and superbly orchestrated—can social and economic progress be made. Only by a massive assault can the burden of hunger and disease which brings disorder later be lifted from the peoples of mankind.

Congress must be convinced of this. The doubts about the foreign aid program in recent years must be replaced by a new insight into our obligation, a new resolution to do the job that needs to be done.

Our European friends—though they have expanded their programs during the past decade—still do far less than their capacity allows.

Similarly, unless we and the other wealthy nations of the northern hemisphere are willing to do our part to revise world trading patterns to take into account the problems of new developing nations, they stand no chance of achieving economic viability through peaceful means. And as we know better each day, if peaceful revolution is impossible, violent revolution is inevitable.

Once we recognize the dimensions of the problems, we must then resolve to do the job that needs to be done—to expend the resources necessary. And we need to do this—not just because it is in our own interest, not just because of the Communist challenge—but as President Kennedy said in his Inaugural message—"because it is right."

When one looks back on the landmarks of the Negro revolution in our time—such as the Civil

Rights Act of 1964—some of the causes can now be clearly delineated. There can be no doubt that justice triumphed over injustice . . . the conscience of the present over the memory of the past because men and women with consciences formed by a Judeo-Christian tradition took their convictions seriously and translated them into action. This in the end was the difference between failure and success.

If a peaceful revolution against world poverty and the chaos that follows from it is to be won, it will require the same aroused action from men and women of religious inspiration—and all developed countries. It will require men and women who are determined to lead the rich peoples of the world to fulfill their obligations to the poor.

It is the task of both the graduation class of 1965 and of our generation to convince the legislatures and the executives—not only of the United States but of Europe as well—that moral imperatives as well as physical security require a substantial commitment to long range economic and technical assistance to the developing nations of the world.

We must do this out of compassion—for we *are* our brother's keeper. And we also do it out of self-interest as well—for our lot is their lot, our future their future, our peace their peace.

In pursuing the global war on poverty, we must remember that it is not just a matter of satisfying physical needs and raising material standards of living. What is equally important is to inspire hope

among both the leaders and the mass of the people, hope of a better day to come.

In approaching the problem of poverty and chaos in an interdependent world, we should be guided by the vision of a great man who died here in New York ten years ago, Pierre Teilhard de Chardin.

Through this vision we can come to understand that the growing interdependence of mankind caused by the technological revolution can lead to a world civilization in which both persons and nations find their individuality enhanced, find their mutual dependence and mutual fate a condition to be welcomed rather than a threat to be feared.

Our concern about economic chaos and disorder, about world poverty and deprivation is a part of our

larger concern about world peace. All men profess to seek peace. But peace is like a flower—it needs fertile soil to grow. It cannot grow in the rocks of bitterness and poverty, in the dry sands of backwardness and despair. It needs the fertile soil of education and food, of health and hope.

PEACE, THE WORK OF GENERATIONS

Peace is too important to be the exclusive concern of the great powers. It requires the attention of all —small nations and large, old nations and new.

The pursuit of peace resembles the building of a great cathedral. It is the work of generations. In concept it requires a master architect; in execution, the labors of many.

The pursuit of peace requires time—but we must use time as a tool and not as a crutch.

We realize that the hopes and expectations which may be aroused can not all be satisfied in the immediate future. What can be accomplished in a limited time will always fall short of expectations.

This should not discourage us. What is important is that we be prepared to give some evidence that progress toward peace—progress in the global war on poverty—is being made, that some of the unsolved problems of peace can be met in the future.

It is the challenge to your generation to convert the hopes for peace, the hopes for progress, the hopes for social justice for all into reality. With the benefit of four years in a great university, I am confident you will succeed.

Address by

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

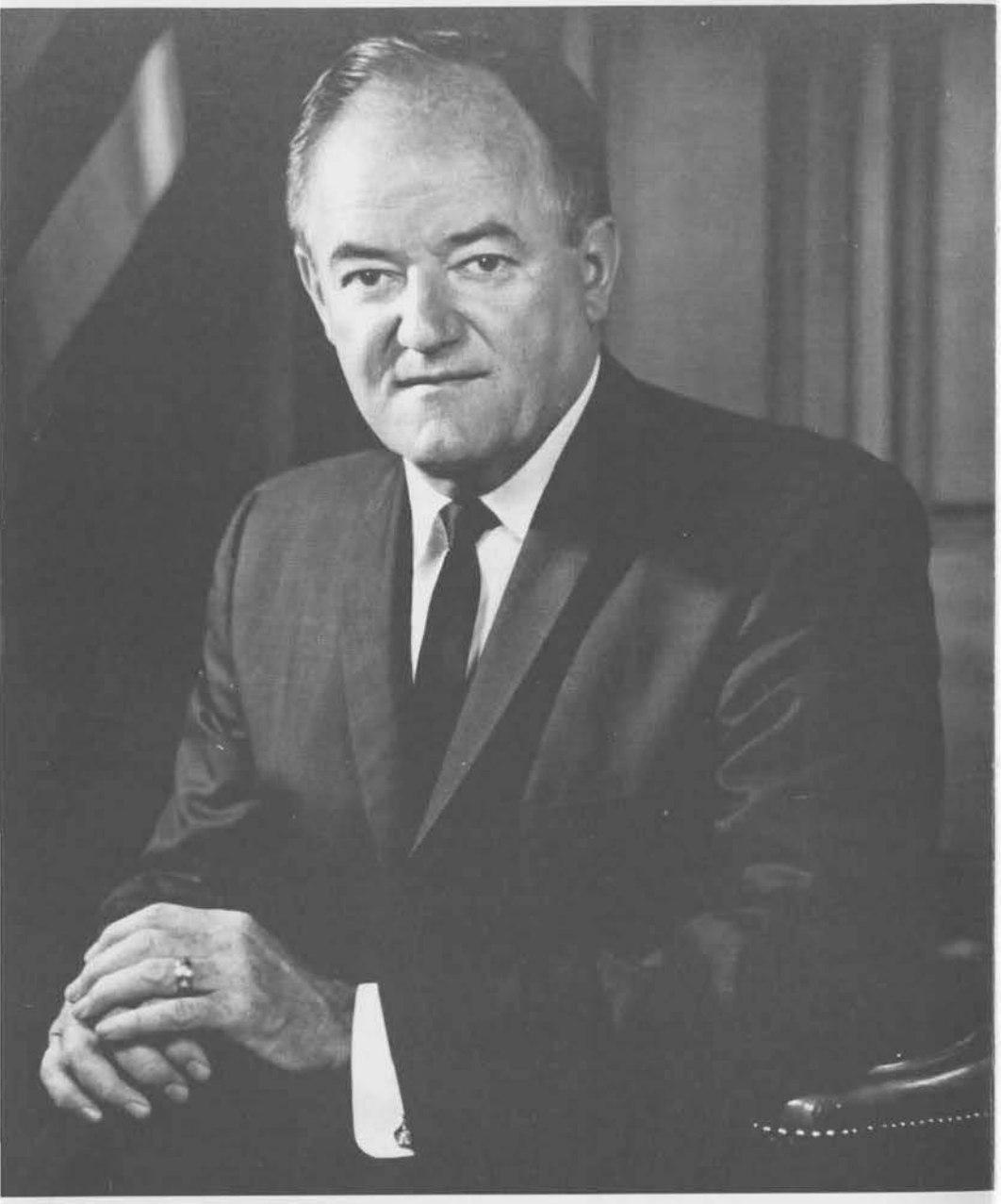
Before

Southern Conference on Education

Richmond, Virginia

December 2, 1965

"The American people have always believed in education and have seen in it the hope of a new day. This has been particularly true of the South."



Let me open with a prediction: This conference will be remembered in the history of Southern education and of Southern progress.

There are two reasons.

First, the far-reaching legislation passed in the last session of Congress clearly marks 1965 as the threshold of a new era for all American education.

And second, the South itself is clearly in the opening phases of a new cycle of productive development—a new development which will in large measure be fostered and sustained by its educational resources.

The American people have always believed in education and have seen in it the hope of a new day. This has been particularly true of the South.

But while there has been great ambition for good education in the South, the economic realities have limited educational opportunity.

This no longer must be so.

Great Progress in the South

During the last three years the per capita income for the South has risen to almost 2,000 dollars—20 per cent below the national level, but a far higher figure than ever before for the South.

The transition from an agricultural to the urban economy is rapidly changing the South, and the gap is closing between the region and the nation.

The economic gap is closing. There must be, too, a closing of the educational gap.

The "Education Congress"

The last Congress has been called the Education Congress because of its many major new programs of federal assistance to education. We have all been staggered by President Johnson's tremendous accomplishment in breaking logjams accumulated for twenty-five years and longer.

Taken together, these new laws will make for profound changes, not only in the educational world, but in the nature of our future economic and social life. New programs will offer tremendous stimulus to people and communities previously left behind.

The Strength of Education

Under these new circumstances you, as leaders in education, will occupy pivotal roles in your communities. Education's financial worries are not over—they never will be—but for the first time many of you will be able to "think big."

You will find that, in the councils of government, the educator will no longer be sitting below the salt. His chair will be moving closer to the head of the table.

The educator will cease to be regarded as the humble mendicant in the state house. Tomorrow the educator will be seen as the man who brings wealth into the community—and not just federal money for aid to education. For education attracts and holds business and industry, and creates new resources.

The voice of education will carry new weight in your communities and in your states.

I am here today to congratulate you upon it. And if I were to offer one word of advice I would say this: Let no false modesty dissuade you from pressing your advantage.

Youth's Opportunity and Challenge

The young people in your care are in some respects the luckiest generation in American history. Across the board, rich and poor, they will have opportunities for life preparation and self-development such as no previous generation ever enjoyed.

But if these young people are blessed with advantages, we should remember that in the years ahead they will also be confronted with challenges which will test every ounce of their new-found strength. For every Theseus that we raise up there will certainly be a Minotaur to slay.

Let us look at some of the challenges which face this new generation:

World Realities and Need

We are challenged first and foremost by the need to insure that history's mightiest instruments of destruction will never be used. We are challenged to pursue the cause of a just and enduring peace.

We are challenged by our need to comprehend and to master the wonders of science and technology. Of all the scientists who ever lived in all the history of mankind, 95 per cent are now alive and working. We must channel scientific revolution toward the creation of a better life for ourselves and for our children.

We are challenged to lift the yoke of poverty from almost one-fifth of our fellow American citizens . . . to reverse that tragic equation which has too often decreed that poor shall beget poor and ignorance shall beget misery.

We are challenged to make our cities decent places in which to live and learn, to work and play. A vast sprawling motorized population—living impersonally with computerized institutions—must somehow again become a community.

People must know each other by name, respect each other and care for each other, as people, as neighbors.

The alternative is mechanized, dehumanized chaos.

We have not yet begun to scratch the surface of this problem of retraining essential humanity in a vast new cybernetic wonderland of efficiency.

The American Promise

And, finally, we are challenged to make good the promise of our Constitution—to insure that all Americans shall, as citizens, have equal opportunity to enjoy the blessings of our Republic.

Education will help us broaden our productivity, should give the rising generation the tools to achieve a better life and should free it from burdens which have oppressed its parents: Burdens of social disability and poverty and of self-defeating prejudice.

To meet these great challenges of our time, the Congress has laid the foundations of magnificent new educational programs. Members of Congress from the Southern states have played a leading role in the struggle to enact this legislation. Under the formulas which Congress has promulgated, the Southern states will, as a group, gain most from this legislation.

The New Education Law

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act will help approximately 5 million educationally deprived children from low-income families. It authorizes grants to school districts in approximately 95 per cent of the nation's counties.

As you know, this act includes several important programs. It provides aid to low income districts—that is, districts with a substantial number of families with incomes of less than 2 thousand dollars. Some 775 million dollars this first year is earmarked for this type of grant.

Then there is an item of 100 million dollars for school libraries and textbooks.

Another program provides for grants for supplementary education.

There is a program for regional education libraries, and there is a program for grants to strengthen state departments of education.

Taken together, we expect the programs in the Elementary and Secondary Education Act to bring 1.3 billion dollars to education throughout the nation during the first year of its operation.

Roughly a half billion dollars will be channeled into the elementary and secondary educational systems of the states represented at this conference.

Your states will benefit handsomely from this act. You will receive more than your proportionate income tax contributions.

This is as it should be.

It is our national goal to achieve a general and even prosperity. And I think we should pay tribute here to legislators from high-income states who have consistently, over the last twenty-five years, worked to enact programs based on this kind of formula, even though they knew that it would cost their taxpayers more than the programs would bring into their states.

The South's Share of Federal Funds

Now let us look at the sums which Congress has made available for higher education. The United States government will make about a half-billion dollars in grants during Fiscal Year 1966—the present fiscal year—under the Higher Education Act, 1965.

Under this Act, the South will receive a total of almost 115 million dollars out of a national total of 501 million.

Other federal programs directly related to education will bring a total of almost 1.2 billion dollars to education during the present fiscal year.

And more than a third of that total will come to your states.

Given this new assistance—and this new momentum—how can your educational institutions better discharge their responsibilities?

I have some strong opinions on that subject.

The School's Role in the Community

I think that the educational institution must move back into the community. It must abandon some of its aspirations for isolation. It must be not a tower of ivory, but a tower of strength in the daily life of the people.

We must go back to the early European ideas of the university as part of the city, and away from the English idea—so prevalent here in the 1800's—that the institution of higher learning must be isolated from life by acres and acres of well-tended lawn.

You have a great deal to give to your cities, and your cities have a great deal to give you.

There are many community problems which would benefit more from research than from argument, and the university should be in the midst of all of them.

The learning of its faculty should always be at the service of the community. University expertise is urgently

needed for the solution of dozens of complex problems—problems of transportation, of housing, of management, of law enforcement, of urban and area planning, of public welfare—yes, and of human relations. (The Higher Education Act, I might add, authorizes aid to colleges and universities entering into community service programs).

The college or university can become an integral, catalytic part of the growing partnership for constructive action increasingly seen today in America among government, business, labor, finance.

And, in participating in community affairs, the faculty will broaden its viewpoint and its sense of responsibility.

Technical Service to Business

We have learned a great deal from our agricultural colleges, which have been closely related to the work-a-day needs of rural America for many years. We now have a State Technical Services Act which points toward greater usefulness to all parts of the community.

President Johnson has called it the "sleeper" of the 89th Congress.

Under this act, government will put into the hands of private enterprise the latest fruits of research and development.

This new information will be made available to private business through 250 colleges and technical schools throughout the country.

This program will be administered by state and local officials close to the problems of their own areas.

As the President has said, if we had passed this legislation 25 or 30 years ago, we might have prevented the economic problems of Appalachia today.

Here certainly is a creative opportunity for American education.

This is the direction in which we must continue to move.

Innovations for the Poor

We need infusion, too, of more and more talented professors and teachers into schools where they are most needed. And this year's education legislation provides assistance toward this end.

For those in our society who most need education are too often today those least likely to receive it. Students whose home environment is drab and dulling are, most likely than not, in educational environments equally drab and dulling. What hope for them in a world demanding excellence?

The Elementary and Secondary Education Act provides grants for innovations in our school system, for new and effective teaching techniques which can lift these children . . . challenge them . . . stimulate them, before it is too late in their lives to do so.

In addition, the adventure of learning itself should be more broadly shared. The concept of clearly demarked school years—with the gates tightly shut after the graduate receives his diploma and returns his rented robes—is long outmoded. It does not fit into a way of life in which so many people have so much leisure, and so much interest in learning.

It does not fit in an era when so much of the subject matter of learning is also the subject matter of life. The relationship of the school to the individual must be a continuing one.

Education for Every Age Bracket

And this is true at the low end of the educational scale as well as the post-graduate end. The doors of the elementary schools, too, should always be open to everyone who can benefit by educational opportunity.

We are helping older people who want to achieve literacy and improve their job skills.

We are helping pre-school youngsters from deprived homes to receive additional training so they can start their school years on the same level as children from more prosperous homes.

Project Head Start, in fact, will go down as one of the most successful educational programs ever undertaken in this country. For experience shows that children coming from homes of poverty and illiteracy are often too far behind to catch up in life even *before* they enter school. Intensive pre-school programs can at least give them a more equal start.

People who, for one reason or another, have dropped out of school are encouraged to come back and resume their education.

And let me say that both President Johnson and I have very special feelings about programs of this kind, because both of us as young men found it necessary to drop out of school, to later return.

So let us stop thinking of schooling as a product packaged in tidy little three- or four-year cellophane-wrapped packages. Education is experience and experience is life. The school that lives in isolation is doomed to sterility and irrelevance.

Southern Contributions of the Past and Future

Finally, may I say this: In the past and present, the South has given to America, and to the world, men and women of leadership. We must see to it that *all* the people of the South have a chance to obtain education that will allow them to develop their potentials for leadership.

There is a tremendous transition taking place in the South today. No other region of America has a greater opportunity.

The South has long led the nation in a regional approach to graduate education. Is this not the time when a regional approach in *all* Southern education might literally lift your states by their bootstraps?

We would welcome proposals or initiatives toward greater use of regional efforts in education, working with federal programs.

We would welcome, in fact, any initiatives you might undertake for better education.

State and Local Responsibility

The great new federal education programs enacted by the Congress do not mean federal control of education. In fact, each act and title was written with the objective of stimulating state and local responsibility in education. For this is where it must come—locally and in the states.

Know the new laws. Then use them so that they best may fit the needs of your own schools, your own children.

Constructive Change

Let us heed President Franklin Roosevelt who 32 years ago, in Savannah, Georgia, quoted the words of John Stuart Mill:

"The unwise are those who bring nothing constructive to the process, and who greatly imperil the future of mankind, by leaving great questions to be fought out between ignorant change on one hand, and ignorant opposition to change, on the other."

Today all of us have the chance to be constructive. We have the chance to make change a force for good and enlightenment.

Let us recognize that the true source of our national power is our power of intellect . . . of our wealth, our wealth of ideas . . . of our resources, our resources of human skill and energy.

Let us accept the challenge of the time and prove ourselves to be among the wise people.

Address by

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

Before

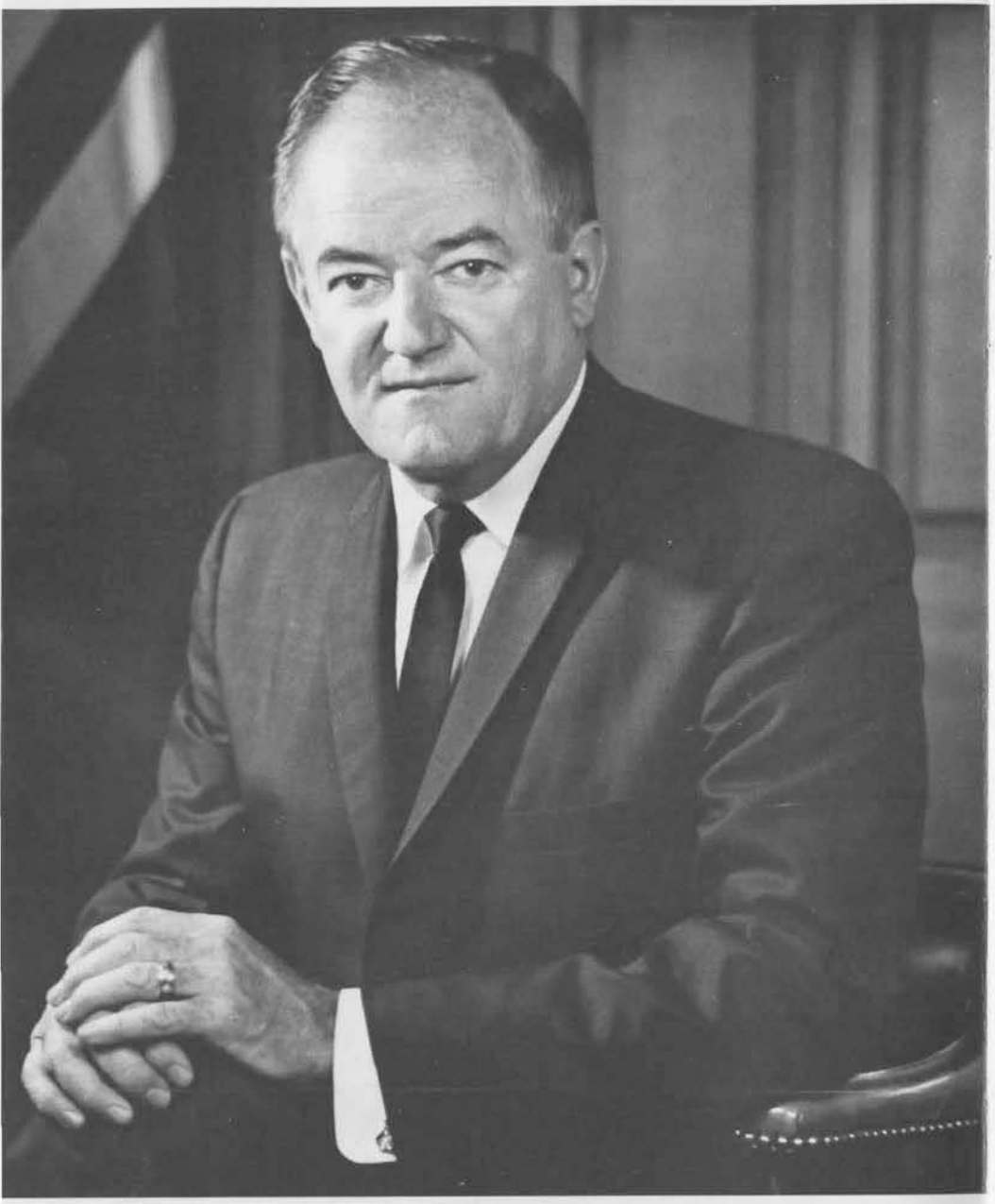
Edward R. Murrow

Center of Public Diplomacy

Medford, Massachusetts

December 6, 1965

"Ed Murrow understood, as well as any man in our century, the responsibility—and the power for good—of modern mass communication. He understood the relationship of that power to our open society."



When President Johnson awarded Ed Murrow the Medal of Freedom—the highest civilian decoration this nation has to bestow—the President's words summed up his career:

"A pioneer in education through mass communications, he has brought to all his endeavors the conviction that truth and personal integrity are the ultimate persuaders of men and nations."

Truth . . . and personal integrity.

That was the legacy of Edward R. Murrow.

The man whom we honor today would approve of the educational innovation we inaugurate here: The Center of Public Diplomacy.

The Center's Purpose

He would approve of the concept of the Center: to bring together professors, foreign correspondents, government officials, and graduate students for a probing exchange of views on the uses of public diplomacy.

He would approve of the Center being located amidst the great universities of the Boston area.

He would approve of the Center being here at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy—the first graduate school of international relations established in the United States.

His only objection would be to the fact that the Center has been named after himself.

For Ed Murrow was one of the most selfless celebrities of our generation. In both broadcasting and government—two public professions in which there is no surplus of modesty—he remained to the end a totally unpretentious person, modest, and even shy.

He was idolized by his fellow broadcasters and at one point something close to a Murrow cult began to emerge. When a network official felt it was going a bit too far, and announced that he was forming a "Murrow Isn't God Club," Ed promptly wrote to him, and applied for a charter membership.

Courage and Principle

Edward R. Murrow was a man, too, of courage and principle.

On one occasion, when a fellow broadcaster was attacked by a group of super-patriots, the man suddenly found himself on one of TV's infamous blacklists. Murrow promptly gave the man 7,500 dollars to hire attorney Louis Nizer and initiate the libel suit that eventually cleared his name. "I'm not making a personal loan to you," said Murrow. "I am investing this money in America."

Great Reporter

But if there is any special way that Ed Murrow would want to be remembered it would be expressed by the simple word: reporter.

Though he never would have admitted it, he virtually created radio and television reporting as we know it today.

Who can forget the drama of that solemn dateline: "This . . . is London?"

For when he said: "This . . . is London"—it suddenly *was* London.

It was the real London—and he had suddenly taken us there . . . out into the noisy terror of the streets, and down into the quiet fear of the bomb shelters.

We no longer simply *heard* about the war from our radios. We were made spectators at the scene. When he stood on a London rooftop during a Nazi raid, and said: "The English die with great dignity," it became more than merely news. We stood there on that rooftop with him, and we sensed that dignity.

Ed Murrow's war-time broadcasts were a whole new dimension in news reporting.

It was a dimension he was to broaden all during the rest of his life.

The Scene of the Action

He often said in later years that broadcasting—both in radio and television—was essentially a *transportation* medium. It was not meant merely to inform. It was meant to carry the audience to the scene itself.

That is why Ed Murrow risked his life in 25 bombing missions over Germany. That is why he sailed up the English Channel in a minesweeper. That is why he stood in the horror of Buchenwald on the very day it was liberated.

For to Ed Murrow, to *report* . . . meant to be *there*.

To us now in 1965—all this may seem routine and obvious.

But Edward R. Murrow, as much as any single man in his time, made it all possible. As a mourning colleague put it at the time of his death, "He was an original and we shall not see his like again."

Communicator to the World

President Kennedy's appointment of Ed Murrow as director of the United States Information Agency was widely applauded.

A few people were surprised that Edward R. Murrow should turn his back on all the gold and glamour of Madison Avenue and take on the headaches of a much maligned and misunderstood government agency. But they did not know Ed Murrow.

He had been asked by the President to serve—and believing that the public interest must come first, he was ready to serve. "Besides," as he told a friend later. "I had been criticizing bureaucrats all my adult life, and it was my turn to try."

The fact is that he had been in public life ever since he was graduated from college, as a pioneer in that new and powerful establishment that has been aptly called "the fourth branch of government"—the American press.

The appointment was a brilliant one. Ed Murrow understood, as well as any man in our century, the responsibility —and the power for good—of modern mass communication. He understood the relationship of that power to our open society.

The Open Society

He knew that the United States, as any open society, is a house with transparent walls. He knew that people who live in an open society should tell the truth about themselves.

In an open society as ours, the first principle of our public morality is that truth should be told.

As Lincoln once said:

" . . . falsehood, especially if you have got a poor memory, is the worst enemy a fellow can have."

Propaganda, to be effective, must be believed. To be believed, it must be credible. To be credible, it must be true. If it is not, in the end it will not stand up.

The evil genius Joseph Goebbels taught us unfounded propaganda can be effective only if the big lie is so bold and monstrous as to appear uninventable. In an open socie-

"When President Johnson awarded Ed Murrow the Medal of Freedom—the highest civilian decoration this nation has to bestow—the President's words summed up his career:

" 'A pioneer in education through mass communications, he has brought to all his endeavors the conviction that truth and personal integrity are the ultimate persuaders of men and nations.' "

ty, people are incapable of believing that anyone could be capable of such perversity. A propagandist such as Goebbels can enjoy temporary triumphs—in a totalitarian society. In a free society, the shallowness of his creed will be exposed.

Today, the whole world can see what is going on in this global goldfish bowl that is the United States. We have a candid free press. And American magazines, films, and television shows, for better or worse, go virtually everywhere overseas.

In this kind of open society, it is futile for a government to put out false propaganda. There are too many nongovernmental sources of information available to refute it.

The public official's words, as well as his actions, are inescapably subject to the searing scrutiny of the reporter, the pundit and the scholar.

An Age of Travel

This includes the scrutiny of hundreds of foreign correspondents who are reporting back to their own nations every day. It includes the scrutiny of 80,000 foreign students, all of whom are writing home and most of whom will eventually be going home, to tell family and friends what America is really like.

Three and a half million American tourists go abroad every year. A million American military personnel and their dependents are stationed around the world. Over 30,000 American missionaries are scattered around the globe.

The Chorus of American Voices

Each of these Americans becomes a kind of individual USIA to every person he meets overseas.

There is, then, not just one official Voice of America coming out of Washington. There is a whole, gigantic Chorus of Voices of America—a chorus of literally millions—who carry the story of the United States abroad. But this chorus is not under the baton of any minister of propaganda. Each American tells his own story—reflecting his own understanding of America.

The diversity of American life is represented in the picture presented to the world.

Citizen Diplomats

But in an era where diplomacy is practiced by private individuals as well as government officials, new responsibilities arise for all.

For the businessman who conducts negotiations abroad with foreign governments; for the scholar or writer lecturing in foreign lands; for the artist or scientist attending international festivals or conferences, there is an obligation to know one's country, to give an objective analysis, to be an effective advocate. (And, might I add, to do this, we must know major languages of the world, which our educational system must be equipped to teach).

Ed Murrow excelled as a reporter because he knew the world which he was reporting. If the citizen diplomat is to excel he must know his country and the world he is addressing.

As one who understood the effect of the communications revolution on diplomacy in our time, Edward R. Murrow would rejoice that "public diplomacy" will now be the object of continuing study and reflection by serious students and scholars.

If four decades of public diplomacy have disappointed those who saw in Woodrow Wilson's "open diplomacy" the solution to all international disputes, it remains today—far more so than in Wilson's time—an important part of international relations.

America's Responsibilities

In the United States two decades of world leadership have enhanced its importance. The exposure of Americans to foreign affairs has multiplied dramatically. Our military and political commitments around the world, our participation in hundreds of international organizations, the expansion of the Foreign Service, the development of the foreign aid agency and the Peace Corps have placed more Americans in a diplomatic role than was conceivable twenty years ago.

The enlargement of our foreign affairs machinery has been accompanied by a vastly enlarged public market for information on foreign affairs.

The result is that scholars and businessmen, labor leaders and foundation executives—and the average American citizen, too—are more deeply concerned and more vocal on international affairs than ever before.

Advocacy or Dissent

As recent events have shown, American citizens today do not restrict their foreign affairs concerns to detached criticism of governmental action. They initiate public programs and public protests favoring one course of action or deriding another. They advocate freely and they dissent freely.

For those of us in government, John Stuart Mill's advice is as valid today as when uttered a century ago:

"We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavoring to stifle is a false opinion; and if we were sure, stifling it would be an evil still."

And, thus, we must prize both advocacy and dissent.

Without the right of dissent, the free debate essential to an enlightened consensus is impossible.

Congress' Participation

Oftentimes the views of the American people will be expressed through the Congress, which can exercise great influence on the conduct of foreign relations—through resolutions and speeches as well as through the power of confirmation and of controlling expenditures. In conducting affairs of state at an important international conference, an American Secretary of State may find that a Congressional resolution or a Senate committee investigation may determine the setting for action far more than any decision taken by the President of the United States. Congressional participation in diplomacy is now well-accepted. But what precise role it is best suited to play remains a disputed issue —one which will merit the attention of scholars of this center of public diplomacy.

For my part, I do not fear the encroachments of Congress on the conduct of diplomacy. It is possible that during the first half of the century there did occur in Western societies a "functional derangement between the governed and the governors," an assumption by popular legislatures of powers they were ill-equipped to exercise in the field of international affairs.

Today under our Presidential system an American President has the authority and the power he needs to determine the course of foreign policy.

Modern communications technology has aided what the Constitution intended—that the President take the lead in formulating and executing foreign policy. Strong Presidential leadership—combined with independent Congressional initiatives—is what is needed in the age of public diplomacy.

When this is present—as it is today—there need be little fear of excessive Congressional intervention.

And public diplomacy, however important it is destined to become, is not likely to supersede private diplomacy.

The Communications Revolution

But the importance of public diplomacy has been enhanced by the communications revolution of our time. This has provided us with an electronic means of multiplying the human mind. We can today literally reach out and communicate—simultaneously—with millions of other minds.

One simple invention—the transistor radio—may have had more psychological impact on the world than any other single invention in the past century.

For the transistor radio—which in this country we still regard as a kind of toy—has suddenly become an immensely significant political instrument.

People everywhere today—on the plains and paddies of Asia; on the rolling grasslands of Africa; on the high slopes of the Andes—everywhere in our shrunken world, people are now within earshot of a transistor radio.

What is more, most of these people today, in the nearly 50 new nations that have erupted onto the political scene since the end of World War II, have the franchise. Their village views are backed up by their village votes.

These people in the remote villages of the world may not be literate in the traditional sense. But they *are* politically conscious. They are in touch. They know what is going on. And they will help shape the future of mankind.

Through their village radios, they can now pick and choose from the world's political opinions.

What is true of the village transistor radio of today will be true of the village television set of tomorrow. Television is already in more than 90 countries of the world. It is now the fastest growing medium of communication on earth.

What does all this really mean?

It means that the communications explosion has vastly enlarged the role of public diplomacy. This is the instrument the Edward R. Murrow Center is going to study.

Fulfilling Great Dreams

May it always be an instrument, in our country, for truth. May it always be an instrument used for man's betterment and emancipation.

In the words of Ed Murrow:

"If truth must be our guide then dreams must be our goal. To the hunger of those masses yearning to be free and to learn, to this sleeping giant now stirring, that is so much of the world, we shall say: We share your dreams."

Address by

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

at a Banquet

Honoring the 25th Anniversary of

Christianity and Crisis

New York, New York

February 25, 1966

". . . our task (in Vietnam and elsewhere) is to help create the external conditions for social justice and for human dignity and for freedom"

Vice President Humphrey and Dr. John C. Bennett, Chairman of the Editorial Board, *Christianity and Crisis*, President of Union Theological Seminary.

This has been a night of good humor. I notice that all those who publish other fine magazines have sent their telegrams along with appropriate citations. I'm very pleased to know that my friends from the *New Republic* and the *Nation* and others have taken the time to seek a subscription or two on an occasion like this.

I don't recall any time that I've been at a dinner with such a serious purpose where I've heard such good humor—and I'm glad I heard it early.

I do feel that I at least have a protector here. He is a dear friend of a boyhood friend who was the Methodist minister's son in Doland, South Dakota where I grew up, Dr. Julian Hart of Yale University. John McGuire is a friend and student of his and John came up here not long ago and said, "If it gets too rough, Mr. Vice President, I'll rescue you."

But after I listened to John Brademas and then recalled that he was of Greek extraction, I have no fear at all. I remember the story of those Spartans at the Pass of Thermopylae. So if any of you Persians decide to attack, I'll call on John.

Now, since I can't talk in the Senate, I've searched out for audiences like this just to keep in practice. And tonight, I might add, it is not only the joy of being able to speak to you but the particular joy of being able to be included in this important colloquium on "The Crisis Character of Modern Society" and this 25th anniversary celebration of *Christianity and Crisis*.

When you think back over a quarter of a century it doesn't seem too long and yet a great deal has happened in that quarter of a century. Since the founding of *Christianity and Crisis*, this quarter of a century has been one of the most extraordinary in the history of mankind. It has been a period of great crisis—of great triumphs and great events. It surely has tested every spiritual tenet of our faith.

If we look back to the pages of the journal we honor—and Dr. Bennett has helped us do that—we can find a wisdom and vision about these events that other journals and perhaps our public policies have not always reflected. There are journals of huge circulation that we all simply must read just in order to know what is going on. But there are other journals that we want to read and should read in order to get some perspective, some insight, some guidance and reflection about what is going on. For me, *Christianity and Crisis* is foremost among the journals of the latter type. The quality of its words, its philosophy, its thought, has been a sustaining force in the intellectual, spiritual, and political life of this country.

The Great Work of Dr. Reinhold Niebuhr

With all respect to the many fine contributors and editors throughout the years—to Dr. John Bennett and to Wayne Cowan and all the others—I think we all know that to speak of *Christianity and Crisis* is to speak of Reinhold Niebuhr—our dear and valued friend. It is with a deep sense of privilege and humility that I join this very distinguished assemblage tonight in honoring one of America's and, I think, one of the world's most profound political philosophers, scholars, theologians, and prophets. And thank goodness he has given us the gift of his friendship.

The 1920's and the early '30's were empty years in American intellectual and political life. And it was in this moral vacuum that a new voice was heard. It was the voice of an unknown preacher serving a working class community in Detroit. And ever since that time Reinhold Niebuhr has been taming the cynics and pulling utopians back to earth.

No preacher or teacher, at least in my time, has had a greater impact on the secular world. No American has made a greater contribution to political wisdom and moral responsibility.

Reinhold Niebuhr, like Abraham Lincoln or Mark Twain, came out of that great Middlewestern river valley and he brought East with him his realism and his humor and his energy and a brooding thoughtfulness.

Like Lincoln and Mark Twain, Dr. Niebuhr brought a mixture of profundity and practicality. Like Lincoln, who I am sure has always been his favorite statesman, Dr. Niebuhr showed how to combine decisive action with a sensitive knowledge of the complexity of life, including politics.

Social Justice and Democracy

Now that combination is what Dr. Niebuhr taught to a whole generation of us as we came out of the great Depression. We knew there were urgent demands of social justice that required direct action and idealism. At the same time, we had to learn that politics was complicated and many-sided—that life wasn't simple. Dr. Niebuhr was the man more than any other, at least in my time, who put these two things together and showed how they are connected with our religious faith.

Yes—Dr. Niebuhr helped us to see that politicians and theologians had a mutual interest in sin and evil of the world. Martin Luther, I believe, once noted that the state was ordained by God because of man's sin—and the function of a state was to restrain evildoers.

Now if these words sound a bit old-fashioned and fundamentalist, I can assure you that when I was the mayor of the city of Minneapolis, one of my main jobs was to do just that—restrain evildoers. And I suspect that Mayor Lindsay is not wholly free of this burden in New York City.

James Madison expressed the same proposition in somewhat different and possibly more refined words in the *Federalist.* He said, "If men were angels, no government would be necessary." Well, the vocation of the politician includes the task of dealing with the fallen angels—of restraining evildoers—and of mitigating man's inhumanity to man.

In positive terms, our task is to help create the external conditions for social justice and for human dignity and for freedom. But we must be willing to accept man as he is—not as we want him to be, but as he is—and we must be willing to work with the material at hand. This is surely at the core of our democratic faith and democratic institutions. I guess this is what Lincoln meant when he talked about government of the people, by the people, and for the people.

Man, Righteousness, and Freedom

In a score of books and hundreds of articles, and thousands of lectures—in classroom and seminar, here and abroad, Reinie—yes, Dr. Niebuhr—has hammered away at this basic theme. These are his own words: "Man's capacity for justice makes democracy possible, but man's inclination to injustice makes democracy necessary."

By affirming man's capacity for justice and the possibility of a democratic society, Dr. Niebuhr has asserted his belief in the upper reaches of human nature. He has believed in what he has called "original righteousness"—that man is made in the image of God and that, at his best, man is capable of justice. That's my religion. This is why I love this man.

Man is capable of granting to other men their due. The achievement of democratic government, the most difficult and the least tried form of government, is not wholly beyond human attainment. I guess it was Winston Churchill who once said that democracy is the worst possible form of government except all others. It is fair to say that it is the most difficult to attain and to sustain.

Now, at the same time, Dr. Niebuhr has affirmed what we all know—that all men, including good men, have a tendency to pursue their private ambitions and interests, often to the detriment of the rights and interests of their fellow men. This he has called "man's inclination to injustice."

After the rhetoric is over, the case for democracy must rest on its realism. Democracy takes into account the full range of human nature, not the perfect man, not the imperfect man, but man. It is the only form of government that can guarantee both justice and freedom because it is the only one that seeks to recognize and respect the legitimate claims of all conflicting interests. With these insights into human nature and the human condition, our friend, Dr. Niebuhr, helped many of us understand our obligation to work for social justice without falling into soft utopian nonsense.

These were the essential truths that my generation of Americans had to hear and Reinhold Niebuhr spoke to us clearly and courageously. Yes—Dr. Niebuhr was not only a man of thought but of action and, in the realm of human affairs, a man of political action. It was this commitment to philosophy and action that led Dr. Niebuhr to spearhead, along with some of the rest of us, the formation of the American for Democratic Action. Yes—and the Liberal Party too.

In sum, then, Reinhold Niebuhr has contributed to American life and thought because he has been a realist without despair—and an idealist without illusion.

Social Idealism of the Young

But I believe that Dr. Niebuhr's wisdom should be heard by other generations as well—by the social activists of today—by the young left—the students—and the clergy and the civil rights workers who are speaking out with such conviction and courage. I for one applaud much of what they are doing. I am never happier than when I speak to a group of students and I might say I've never been more challenged either. The revival of social idealism among the young is one of the most heartening developments of the 1960's.

How well I remember the early 1950's. I'd be invited to speak to a college audience and the first thing the president of the college would say was, "Now I hope you're not going to speak on anything controversial." And this just sort of aroused glands inside of me and I said, "Well, I'll tell you, I don't even agree with the weather. I most likely will speak on something very controversial."

Those were the days when you played it safe—at least some people did. Those were the days when you got tagged if you didn't play it safe. Going through the great Depression is one way to develop a social conscience. I had that—I wouldn't say good fortune—but experience. But apparently it's not the only way. And thank goodness for that.

I know there has been a new burst of social idealism among the clergy and the laymen, as well as among students, even in this time of affluence and abundance. And one of the many side benefits of the civil rights movement is this new social conscience. It is, in fact, a testimonial to this nation that at the moment of its greatest wealth it is concerned about the poor and about poverty. But sometimes it occurs to me that the new generation of students and clergy might also need to sit at the feet of Reinhold Niebuhr, as many of us certainly did in the '30's and the '40's and '50's.

The Social Protest Movement —Some Failings

Now the great tradition of social protest in America—and a noble tradition it is—and I come from a land of it—of the Non-Partisan League—the Farmer Labor Party—the Populist movement—that tradition of social protest has failings that crop up regularly. And I think we ought to talk about them since we are among friends.

One failing is over-simplification and another is self-righteousness. Another is political naivete. Another is sweeping impatience with everybody in authority—the Establishment and the Power Structure is what they are now called. We had other names in my younger days but it meant the same. I think we talked about The System. Now if you'll go back to the abolitionists—and I've just been reading about the abolitionists—you would find along with their great contribution and moral idealism every one of these faults in capital letters. But they did some mighty good work too.

Reinhold Niebuhr demonstrated for us, as he demonstrates for the young social reformer today, the vital need for self-criticism—self-analysis—criticism of humane movements by those who believe in their purpose.

One aspect of this liberal self-criticism is to understand the limits of politics. Many idealists just picture what ought to be without enough attention to what can be. I would hope that every person who has a noble thought of humanitarianism would read the words of Abraham Lincoln, a man who is revered today for his idealism and his humanitarianism and yet was one of the most prudent and able politicians in American history.

Many idealists do not put themselves in the place of responsible officials. They seldom try to imagine what is possible and what isn't possible. I think it was Franklin Roosevelt who once said that he made little compromises in order to be in a position to make great decisions.

On one occasion Dr. Niebuhr illustrated this point by quoting the passage that Stephen Vincent Benet gives to Abraham Lincoln:

> "They talk to me about God's will
> In righteous deputations and platoons,
> Day after day, laymen and ministers.
> They write me Prayers from Twenty Million Souls
> Defining me God's will and Horace Greeley's.
> God's will in General This and Senator That;
> God's will in this poor colored fellow's will.
> It is the will of the Chicago churches;
> It is this man's and his worst enemy's.
> But all of them are sure they know God's will.
> I am the only man who does not know it."

Now one thing about our good friend, Reinhold Niebuhr, he has never claimed to know God's will. But he has understood the importance of preserving in America the great liberal and humanitarian objectives we derive from our Anglo-Saxon heritage—the rule of law, consent of the governed, and fair play. And he has understood why this nation must be committed to the great Judeo-Christian values of human dignity and equality of opportunity and the dream of a better and more just society.

No Easy Way Out of Difficult Problems

He has been both a reformer and a prophet but has not been a crusader. He has steadfastly warned against the nostrum peddler, the salesmen of simple solutions, and the fixer, all of whom promise easy answers at bargain counter prices.

Yes, Dr. Niebuhr has always understood there is no easy way out of difficult dilemmas because there is no escape from the human situation. There is no painless remedy for racial prejudice and injustice which still exist in America. There is no quick or easy victory in war on poverty. And there is no simple solution to the complex, tragic situation facing America in Southeast Asia.

These are all complex matters and none of them is solved by emotion or even demonstration. The challenge is to recognize and to accept the complexity and difficulties of these tasks, yet, nevertheless, to face them in the knowledge that they cannot be evaded. In the words of Keats, "to bear all naked truths and to envisage all circumstances—all calm." And to do it with reasoned dialogue, conversation, and with conviction.

The Moral Issue of Human Misery

Yes, I agree with Dr. Morgenthau and with Dr. Bennett and others, there is a great moral issue at stake, not only here in America but in Southeast Asia and I suppose in many other areas.

In Southeast Asia, for instance, there is ample evidence of man's inclination to injustice. I have seen first hand in these past few days the desperate poverty—the unbelievable indescribable poverty of the ordinary people of that part of the world.

I have seen the tremendous gaps between the rich and the poor. We see the gaps between the rich and the poor nations widen too. I've seen the hungry in India and the poverty in Pakistan and I say tonight there may be more people dying from

starvation in India and Pakistan this next year than the total population of North and South Vietnam, unless nations more affluent and more fortunate are able to help these countries in their food emergency.

These are great moral issues. I wish that people would become as excited about the issue of starvation in a world that could have plenty as they are about how we adjust ourselves to Hanoi. I have seen young children undernourished—many without even the hope of education or without the hope of ever reaching adulthood.

And I have seen fields across which the soldiers of many nationalities and allegiances over the course of many years have fought, to the pain and misery of the peasants who ask just one thing—the chance to cultivate their fields in peace. Yes, there is a great moral issue at stake.

I have seen in Vietnam the marks left by terrorists and assassins who would subvert the strivings of nationalism for the purposes of totalitarianism. I remember a village where there were students from the University of Saigon who decided that rather than parade in the streets they'd work in the fields. And one night as they were working—building hospitals, schoolrooms, working in the fields, they were assassinated—decapitated—all of them. They were doing God's work—man's work. They were trying to help innocent people. I think there is quite a moral issue at stake.

But I have also seen in these past days ample evidence of something else—man's capacity for justice. I've seen national leaders who have literally, at the risk of life, devoted themselves to the betterment of their people when it would have been far easier for them to follow the paths of self-service and self-gain. We see this, thank goodness, so many times.

And I have seen men and women from more comfortable places, without direct obligation to those they help, working on the streets and farms so that their brothers in mankind might have some eventual share of abundance and well-being.

I have visited the International Voluntary Service headquarters outside of Saigon—young men and women giving of their lives —some of them who have been assassinated in cold blood because they tried to help plant a field or build a community.

I have seen human beings casting their lot with free institutions when those institutions offer little immediate material benefit and when their abandonment would, at least, today seem to be the easy course.

Achievements of American Armed Forces and Civilians

And, above all, I have seen Americans of every race, color and national origin waging their struggle with pride, honor and conscience. I have seen them in hospitals—I have seen them in their camps—I have talked to them personally and I've seen them waging their struggles not only with arms.

Yes, American troops in Vietnam are setting a good example for the rest of the world. They are participating in countless projects of community assistance and restoration—healing the sick—teaching the illiterate—building schools and hospitals and demonstrating in village and hamlet their courage and their compassion. And they are training others to do the same. We can be justly proud of the sacrifices which these young Americans are making in our behalf and they are a very good image of America, if that's the word people like to use these days. I think they represent the spirit and the soul of this nation.

And there are American civilians of equal courage, skill and determination fighting the battle against man's ancient enemies—disease, ignorance, hunger and poverty. I met one man—a doctor—who had a little mobile surgical unit that was taking cataracts from the eyes of the blind as his contribution to the betterment of mankind. A great physician—an American—who had given up his practice to give his life to the poor.

Yes, I've seen the forces of freedom and decency waging two battles: one to prevent the success of aggression—and there is aggression—and the other to build a new society of promise and of hope. And from all I've seen I've come away convinced that as we must continue to work here at home—often with imperfect means and insufficient understanding toward social justice, self-determination and human dignity—so also must we continue to strive in Southeast Asia, in Latin America, in the Indian subcontinent, in Africa—even with the same imperfect means and insufficient understanding—even as violence is the pattern of the day.

The Menace of Totalitarian Aggression

I happen to be one who believes in and respects not only the right of dissent but also the right of advocacy. I believe that today in Vietnam our liberal means and objectives are being tested by totalitarians who have never had anything but contempt

for those means and objectives. I believe that a liberal and a progressive can never find himself in philosophical and spiritual harmony with a totalitarian.

We are being tested in a struggle which demands both courage and conscience—both determination and dedication—in which the answers are hard to find and in which the truth is not easy to locate.

I have come away from Asia and the Pacific convinced that the spiritual and material resources of America are essential ingredients in winning this struggle. And I have come away convinced that whatever our contribution may be—and it is substantial—it will be surpassed by the peoples themselves of those embattled nations. But, I might add, other nations can contribute a great deal more in this struggle for a better life. And I'm not asking for military forces now—I'm speaking of the struggle for social betterment.

With a deep sense of self-respect and self-achievement, the free peoples of Asia and the Pacific look to America for understanding and assistance—just exactly as the peoples of Europe looked to America twenty years ago, in their fight against the injustices of the past and the threat of aggression and subversion—just exactly as the people of Berlin look to America for their very safety today.

And that is why in these past days I have reemphasized America's commitment to preventing the success of aggression and assuring the triumph of self-government and economic development, social progress, and peace. A big order—not the work of a generation but possibly of decades and centuries. But a beginning must be made.

The Danger to Vietnam, Laos, India, Thailand

May I say most respectfully—there is international aggression in Vietnam and Southeast Asia. Less than a week ago I visited with Souvanna Phouma, the neutralist in Laos. His first words to me were, "Mr. Vice President, I shall fight to the death the Communist aggressor in my country." And he told me, "I apologize, Mr. Vice President, for the fact that there are not many groups here to meet you. They're in the battlefield."

And there has been international aggression in India. Why does India today have to spend the lion's share of its budget in a poverty-stricken country for divisions on the frontier between China and India? Is it because India is the aggressor? Is it because she wishes conquest?

And in Thailand, only within the past month—50 village chiefs in Northeast Thailand—killed. Teachers kidnapped—young people abducted and taken back into Communist China. I think that's aggression.

And I saw the Dalai Lama at the late Prime Minister Shastri's funeral in Tibet—he thought it was aggression and he thanked the people of the United States for their understanding—for their help. And I think that was aggression—a moral issue.

I am one who believes that lawlessness does not provide the proper environment for social betterment. Of course, trying to stop aggression and hoping to assure the triumph of self-government, economic development, social progress, and peace is a far more difficult course to pursue than the course of withdrawal. It's a far more difficult course than that of unlimited violence and massive escalation. We want neither.

A Social Revolution for Human Dignity

Ours is the course which faces with realism and responsibility the complex and difficult business of fostering the conditions conducive to the expansion of social justice, yes, social revolution and human dignity and the hope of freedom. And this is the course which we seek to pursue—the course which President Johnson and the American people are determined to pursue—a course fully consistent with our own social and ethical values.

With full knowledge of the difficulties ahead—and there are dangerous days ahead and great difficulties—we reaffirm our intention to sustain the struggle against the forces of Communist expansion and against the forces of poverty and illiteracy, famine, disease for as long as the cause of freedom and human decency requires it. We can do no less. Never has a nation been so blessed as America. Never has a people been given so much. And the honor of leadership gives you no privileges and few luxuries. What it does is to impose burdens and responsibilities.

Limited Use of Military Power

We affirm our intention of using military power of almost limitless quantity in a measured and limited degree. This is an act of national self-discipline. This will be the most difficult act

of self-discipline that this nation has ever had to face. Whenever I hear about the doves and the hawks I'm reminded of what Senator George Aiken said: "We ought to be like an owl—with a sense of judgment—with one eye open all the time and two most of the time, day and night."

Our Sole Military Objective in Vietnam

In Vietnam we have one and only one military objective—the halting of forceful conquest of South Vietnam—the prevention of the success of aggression.

We contributed to that objective in Greece—in the Eastern Mediterranean. We've made contributions in the past to preventing the success of aggression time after time. Today in Western Europe 250,000 Americans stand guard at great cost to you because there is a belief in the American nation and among allies that this is necessary for peace.

I would ask this audience: what do you think would happen in Western Europe tonight if we were to say that no longer would we keep our commitments—no longer would we be interested in Berlin? Whatever may be your views as to whether or not we should be there, just imagine the consequences.

But as we pursue the peace and this defense of freedom, let us do so with the same wisdom and faith which prompted Reinhold Niebuhr to write these words in *Christianity and Crisis* almost twenty years ago: ". . . We recognize the tragic character of the human drama, including the particular drama of our own day, and we call upon the mercy of God to redeem us, not from the contemporary predicament of democracy but from the perennial human predicament."

Now may I be permitted this final observation on this 25th anniversary of *Christianity and Crisis?*

These have been 25 productive years and challenging years. I wouldn't have missed them for the world nor would have you. They have been years true to the original vision and purpose of Reinhold Niebuhr and the other founders of this Christian journal of opinion.

The Challenging Future

Now what of the future? Well, I hope that *Christianty and Crisis* will continue publishing for another quarter of a century—and for many more quarters of a century beyond that. I hope to be around to read it and to show you of my interest. We are going to need *Christianity and Crisis* because two things are not going to go away: the claims of social justice and the complexity of politics. Yes, we need in these times journals like *Christianity and Crisis* to stimulate the critical faculties of both our leaders and our citizens.

I understand in the words of your Managing Editor that *Christianity and Crisis* has now been "surrounded by the establishment." I listened to the list of achievements that Dr. John Bennett gave here tonight. You're one of the "ins." You're really a part of the establishment. And I guess that has certain disadvantages as well as advantages. But I have every confidence that your unwavering commitment to social justice—to honest and perceptive controversy and your profound understanding of the intricacies of the democratic process—will provide ample copy for months and years ahead. I think there are enough potential contributors right here tonight to keep your publication going for quite a period of time.

Christianity and Crisis as a Christian journal must by definition have a perspective as wide as humankind and one eye on eternity. It cannot afford to reflect parochial nationalism or a short-run outlook. A journal like that—a perspective like that is the requirement of our time.

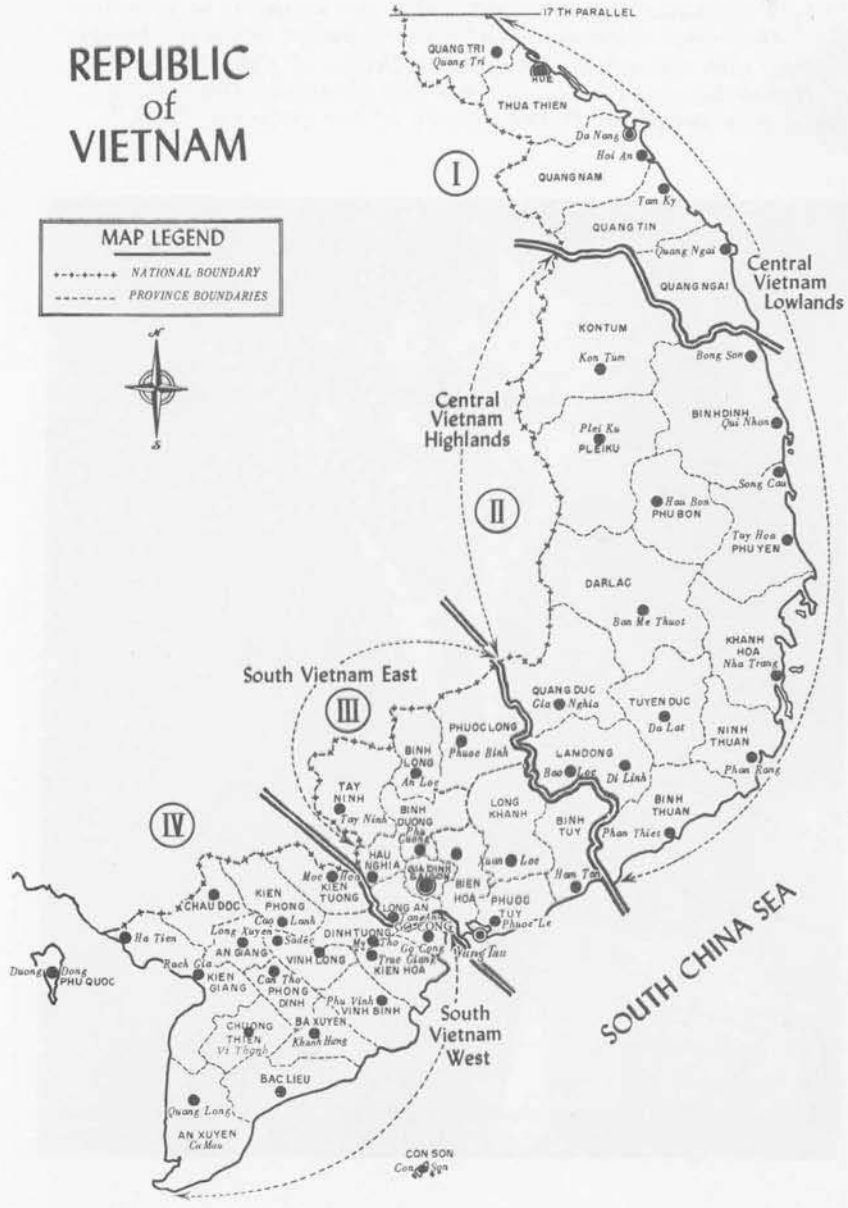
Borrowing from the pages of the current issue of another publication, one that has a little larger circulation—Time Magazine—Longtime Reader Hubert Humphrey, as I was termed, as well as the many others who honor you on this important birthday, are expecting you to live up to your reputation.

And your reputation is that of a publication which seeks not to tell men what to think but, above all, tries to rouse in them their desire to think—to think profoundly—to think not only of the present but of the tomorrows—and to sense the great social values not only of contemporary civilization but of that great continuity of civilization. This view of life has made possible what we are and what we hope to be. This has been the greatness of *Christianity and Crisis*. Thank you.

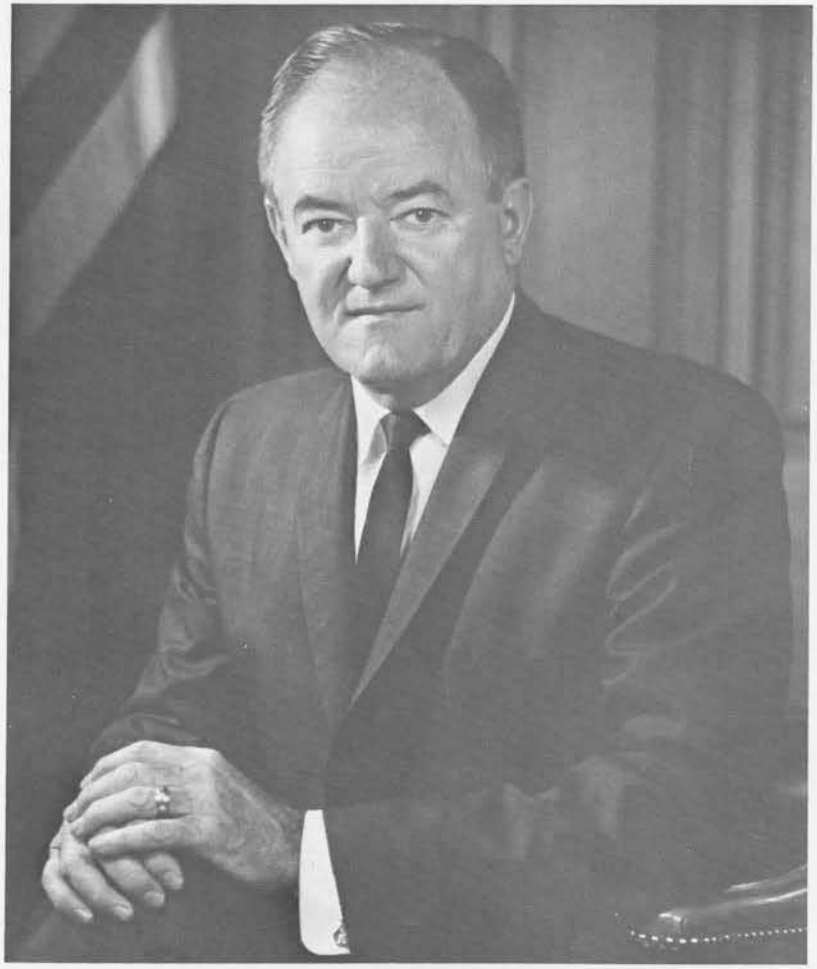
MEETING THE CHALLENGE OF VIET NAM

Address
By
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President Of The United States
To National Press Club
Washington, D. C.
March 11, 1966

"Ten or twenty years hence, historians will mark Vietnam as a place where our nation—and free peoples—were faced with a challenge by totalitarianism . . . and where they met the challenge."



"The Vietnamese government, with our support, is pressing the 'other war' with vigor—the war against poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. This is the theme of the 'Declaration of Honolulu'—and I believe that the Honolulu Declaration could be a milestone in the history of our policy in Asia."



As you know, I returned a few days ago from a mission on behalf of the President to nine Asian and Pacific nations. Today I would like to share with you some of my conclusions about what is happening in that part of the world and about our policy there.

I will begin with words from Confucius: "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."

The war in Vietnam is far more than Neville Chamberlain's "quarrel in a remote country among people of whom we know nothing."

It is the focus of a broader conflict which involves the whole Asian continent. It also involves basic principles of international conduct.

I will return to this later.

OUR PURPOSES IN VIETNAM

Why are we in South Vietnam?

We are in South Vietnam to repel and prevent the success of aggression against the government and the people of that country.

We are there to help assure the South Vietnamese people the basic right to decide their own futures, freely and without intimidation.

We are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

We are there to help establish the principle that—in this nuclear age—aggression cannot be an acceptable means either of settling international disputes or of realizing national objectives. If aggression is permitted to go unchecked, we cannot in good faith hold out much hope for the future of small nations or of world peace.

This is why we are in Vietnam.

We are not there to build an empire . . . to exercise domination over that part of the world . . . to establish military bases. We are *not* there to impose a government or way of life on other peoples.

THE NATIONAL LIBERATION "FRONT"

The last point is worth dwelling on. The National Liberation Front claims to be an authentic nationalist movement, representing the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people.

I agree with only one part of the NLF's contention:

That it is a *front.*

There was a time, in the colonial days, when the old Viet Minh movement contained authentic nationalists. (Many of them are now, I might add, members of the South Vietnamese government.)

Today there are a few non-Communists in figurehead Viet Cong posts. The nominal leader of the NFL, for example, is not known as a Communist. But most of the Viet Cong soldiers —at least those defecting or captured—don't even know his name. (It is Nguyen Huu Tho.) But they all know Ho Chi Minh.

There are in the NLF leaders of alleged non-Communist parties. But they are parties without any apparent membership.

ALL LEADING NATIONALISTS OPPOSED TO VIET CONG

There are a good many well-known and recognized nationalists in South Vietnam outside the present government. Quite a few of them opposed the late President Diem and suffered in prison for their opposition.

To this day not one of these people has identified himself with the National Liberation Front. Yet it would be easy for any one of them to slip into Viet Cong territory and do so.

None has. And you can be sure the National Liberation Front would tell the world if any one of them did.

The same is true of religious leaders, Buddhist and Catholic alike . . . of trade union officials . . . of student leaders. They differ widely among themselves—the Vietnamese are an articulate and argumentative people. But on one thing at least they are agreed: They don't want to live under Communist rule.

Contrary to what many people believe, you do not have to have overwhelming, or even majority, support to wage a guerrilla war. A determined, highly disciplined, trained and well-organized minority can do that.

PREVIOUS TRIUMPHS OF MILITARY AID AGAINST COMMUNISM

Without massive American aid to the Greek government after the war, Communists would have taken over that country. Yet subsequent elections have shown them to be a small minority.

Without the aid of British and Gurkha troops over a period of many years, Communists would have won in Malaya. But subsequent elections have shown them to be an even smaller minority than their Greek comrades.

Without outside aid, the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people would not have hope of self-determination. They would be ruled by force and coercion, as they are today in areas under Viet Cong control. We are giving aid: military aid and political/economic/social aid.

RECENT VIETNAMESE MILITARY ACHIEVEMENTS

On the military front, the Vietnamese, together with American and allied troops, have made substantial progress in the past few months.

A series of defeats have been inflicted on main force units of the Viet Cong and North Vietnamese soldiers.

Allied forces have been able to move in on Viet Cong strongholds which had previously been immune to attack.

We have been able to open up stretches of highway and

railroad which the Viet Cong had long controlled.

Mobility and firepower of allied forces is impressive. Coordination among allied forces has markedly improved.

Viet Cong and North Vietnamese casualties are difficult to determine. But the best available figures show that they have doubled over 1964 and are now running several times current allied casualties.

INCREASE IN VIET CONG DEFECTORS

The defection rate for Viet Cong has also increased—partly because of a special South Vietnamese program to encourage defection. Defectors were being received at a rate of about 2,000 per month while I was in Saigon.

Defectors report shortages of food and low morale.

They report that the accuracy and impact of our artillery and bombing have been devastating.

"There is no substitute for the use of power in the face of determined attack.

But we don't have to rely on the word of defectors alone.

An article published in the January issue of the Viet Cong theoretical journal and broadcast over its radio complains of difficulty and confusion in the ranks.

It says that Viet Cong agents, having organized a protest movement in the villages, sometimes lose control of it, and even allow it to be transformed into an anti-Communist demonstration.

It warns that, although its agitators must use all sorts of people "partially and temporarily" in carrying out the struggle, they must wipe out the "influence of reactionary elements belonging to various religious organizations" and "beware of trade union leaders."

VIET CONG FEAR OF "DEFEATISM"

A number of articles and broadcasts warn against defeatism and "pacifism" in the ranks.

General Giap has publicly complained from Hanoi that the American commitment to Vietnam has given rise to "an extremely serious situation."

And an article recently published in Hanoi denounces "a small number of comrades . . . (who) see only difficulties and not opportunities (and) display pessimism, perplexity, and a reluctance to protracted resistance . . ."

Peking, in more general terms, has acknowledged that "in some lands, revolutionary struggles have temporarily suffered reverses, and in others the political situation has taken an adverse turn."

It blames these setbacks on "imperialists, colonialists, and neo-colonialists, headed by the United States."

We have been subject to some harsh words by Asian Communists. But, as President Johnson has said:

"We can live with anger in word as long as it is matched by caution in deed."

Things are better in Vietnam, militarily, than even a few months ago. Though we must be prepared for military setbacks and disappointments ahead, I believe we have reason for measured encouragement.

There is no substitute for the use of power in the face of determined attack. There are times when it must be used.

A BETTER LIFE FOR THE PEOPLE

But the use of power, necessary as it is, can be counter-productive without accompanying political effort and the credible promise to people of a better life.

The peasants of Vietnam—and, indeed, of all Asia—are rebelling against the kind of life they have led for ages past. They want security, But they also want, dignity and self-respect, justice and the hope of something better in the future.

The Communists—in their drive for power—seek to use and subvert the hopes of these people. If they succeed, we could win many battles and yet lose the war.

The struggle will be won or lost in rural areas.

We have said this so often it has become a cliche. But it must now be proved by programs of actions.

The Chinese have a saying "Lots of noise on the stairs, but nobody enters the room."

There have been, as I am fully aware, many promises made to the peasants over many years—but painfully little performance.

THE DECLARATION OF HONOLULU

The hour is late. The need for deeds as well as words is urgent. That is why the Vietnamese government, with our support, is pressing the "other war" with vigor—the war against poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. This is the theme of the "Declaration of Honolulu"—and I believe that the Honolulu Declaration could be a milestone in the history of our policy in Asia.

They are beginning in earnest the struggle to win and hold the allegiance of the people who live in rural South Vietnam, in more than 2,600 villages and approximately 11,000 hamlets —subject to years of Viet Cong subversion and terror.

This is hard and dangerous work. In 1965 alone, 354 of the people engaged in it were assassinated, and something like 500 wounded. I do not for a moment minimize the practical difficulties of carrying out the social revolution to which the Republic of Vietnam is now committed.

Vietnam has experienced a quarter of a century of almost constant warfare, generations of colonial domination, and a millenium of Mandarin rule.

History has endowed it with no full and ready-made administrative apparatus to undertake such a monumental task. It will have to be carefully built. But there are a number of well-trained and educated high and middle-level officials to form the nucleus for this effort.

NUMEROUS IMPROVEMENTS IN VIETNAM

The important thing is to begin, and this the present government has done. Responsibility has been fixed, a spirited attack upon inertia and corruption has begun. There is determination that the whole chain of social and political action will be conceived and administered with hard-headedness and efficiency—beginning in the ministries in Saigon and going right down to the village and hamlet level. High standards of performance have been set and are expected. And we are work-

"In the countryside, schools and hospitals are being built."

ing with the South Vietnamese government at each level to help see that the product matches the expectation.

South Vietnamese cadres in hamlets and villages will be doubled to more than 45,000 by the end of this year. Today, they are still outnumbered by Viet Cong activists. But the gap is steadily closing.

Today the South Vietnamese government—late in the day, it is true—is trying to meet the pressing needs of the country. Prime Minister Ky was candid with me when he said, "Our social revolution is 12 years late—but not too late."

Some 800,000 people have fled to government-controlled areas in South Vietnam during the past year-and-a-half. Almost 300,000 have already been resettled. The South Vietnamese government, with allied help, is working to house, feed and clothe these refugees.

In the countryside, schools and hospitals are being built.

In Saigon, a new constitution is being framed and the government is working toward a goal of national elections by the end of the year.

In short, a forced-draft effort is being made to create a new society to replace the old. It deserves and requires our support.

MANY ECONOMIC PROBLEMS AND OPPORTUNITIES

Meanwhile, the country faces staggering economic problems—the most severe of which is the problem of inflation.

Despite today's inflation, the long-term economic prospect is good. There is new business investment in new industries. South Vietnamese land is rich and productive. The people are industrious, ambitious, and quick to learn new skills—and they are learning. Communications, port facilities, and transportation are being expanded.

But full economic development certainly will not take place until an environment of violence and conflict is replaced by one of stability and peace.

NO INSTANT SOLUTIONS TO COMPLEX PROBLEMS

My observations of Vietnam are not the product of a weekend visit to Saigon.

To be sure, my visit there was informative. It gave meaning to what I had read and to the deliberations of government in which I had participated.

As student, professor, Senator and Vice President, I have been intellectually and directly involved in matters of national security and foreign policy. I have read too many books, attended too many hearings and meetings, and participated in too many discussions at the highest levels of government to arrive at any instant solutions to complex problems or to be naively optimistic about a troubled world.

Having said this, I have reason to bring home a message of encouragement about Vietnam.

I know that our opponents are diligent and determined. They are well-organized, and in many areas have a long head start on us.

MANY PEACE APPEALS TO HANOI

Thus far they have not responded to our unconditional offer of negotiation—an offer which still stands—nor have they responded to the good offices of other nations, of the United Nations, of the Pope and other religious leaders who seek to bring the conflict to the conference table.

And they have not responded, I am sure, because they still believe that time is on their side . . . that we will ultimately tire and withdraw, either abandoning South Vietnam *or* accepting a settlement which will give the Viet Cong an open road on one of its three publicly declared routes to victory.

The first two routes—a general uprising and the famous Mao-Giap three-stage guerrilla war—have been stymied by resistance of the South Vietnamese government and her allies.

WE SEEK GENUINE FREE ELECTIONS

The third declared route to power is through a coalition government.

Should there be any doubt in Hanoi, let me make it once more clear: We will neither tire nor withdraw.

We will remain in Vietnam until genuinely free elections can be held.

If the Viet Cong, in those elections, gain honestly a voice in the government, so be it. But prior to elections, this government will not be a party to any settlement which amounts

to a pre-election victory for Communists which cannot be won at the ballot box.

I, for one, doubt that the South Vietnamese people will give that victory to the Communists. No Communist government has ever come to power through free election, and I doubt that one ever will.

We will pursue, with patience and persistence, the difficult course we have set for ourselves—the course neither of withdrawal nor of massive escalation, but of measured use of strength and perseverance in defense both of ally and principle.

As the President has said: ". . . the pledge of Honolulu will be kept, and the pledge of Baltimore stands open—to help the men of Hanoi when they have the wisdom to be ready."

ASIAN NATIONS' CONCERN OVER COMMUNISM

At the beginning today I said the confiict in Vietnam was the focus of a wider struggle taking place in Asia.

During my recent mission I was struck by the depth of feeling, among almost all Asian leaders, that Asian communism had direct design on their national integrity and independence.

Almost all cited examples of subversion, and in many cases direct military involvement by Communist troops, within their countries.

And none—without any exception—questioned our involvement in Vietnam. There were questions about aspects of our policy there, but none concerning the fact of our presence there and our resistance to aggression.

THE RIGHT OF DISSENT

Among the leaders with whom I spoke, there was repeatedly expressed a deep concern as to whether our American purpose, tenacity and will were strong enough to persevere in Southeast Asia. Public debate in America was sometimes interpreted as a weakening of purpose. I emphasized the firmness of our resolve but also our dedication to the rights of free discussion and dissent.

For we know that John Stuart Mill's advice remains valid: "We can never be sure that the opinion we are endeavoring to stifle is a false opinion; and if we were sure, stifling it would be an evil still."

ASIAN COMMUNISM: A CLEAR AND PRESENT DANGER

Asian communism may be a subject for discussion here. In Asia, it s a clear and present danger.

No single, independent nation in Asia has the strength to stand alone against that danger.

I believe that the time may come when Asian communism may lose its fervor . . . when it may lose some of its neuroses . . . when it may realize that its objectives cannot be gained by aggression.

But, until that time, I believe we have no choice but to help the nations of Southeast Asia strengthen themselves for the long road ahead.

I also said, at the beginning today, that some very basic principles of international conduct were under test in Vietnam. Some people think not.

Of them, I ask this: Were we to withdraw from Vietnam under any conditions short of peace, security and the right of self-determination for the South Vietnamese people . . . what conclusions would be drawn in the independent nations of Asia? In Western Europe? In the young, struggling countries of Africa? In the nations of Latin America beset by subversion and unrest? What conclusions would be drawn in Hanoi and Peking?

AMERICAN NATIONAL INTERESTS

I have heard it said that our vital national interests are not involved in South Vietnam as they are in Europe.

I heard it said 30 years ago that our vital national interests were not involved in *Europe* as they were in the Western Hemisphere.

This time we cannot afford to learn the hard way. No continent on this earth is any longer remote from any other.

And, may I add, the principles of national independence and self-determination should be no less dear to us in Asia than they are in Europe.

MAN'S HISTORIC CHOICES

We live in a time when man has finally achieved the ultimate in technological progress: Man today possesses the means to totally destroy himself.

Yet our time also offers man the possibility, for the first time in human history, of achieving well-being and social justice for hundreds of millions of people who literally live on the outside of civilization.

Being an optimist, I have some faith in the ability of man to see this safely through.

And I, for one, believe that it will not be seen safely through if those who seek power by brute force have reason to believe that brute force pays.

Finally, may I add two additional observations.

ASIAN DESIRE FOR SELF-DETERMINATION

First, Asia is astir with a consciousness of the need for Asian initiatives in the solution of Asia's problems. Regional development and planning are increasingly being recognized as necessary for political and economic progress. The power of nationalism is now tempered by a growing realization of the need for cooperation among nations. Asians seek to preserve their national identity. They want gradually to create new international structures. But they want to pursue such aims themselves. They want foreign assistance when necessary, but without foreign domination.

WE MUST LEARN MORE ABOUT COMMUNIST CHINA

Second, the American people, as well as their leaders, need to know more about Asia in general and Communist China in particular; the relationship of that nation with her neighbors in Asia and the Pacific; the nature of Chinese Communist ideology and behavior; and the operational apparatus of Communist parties under Peking leadership or influence. The intellectual and political resources not only of the United States, but of the entire free world, should be mobilized for this effort.

In this regard, I want to commend the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for its hearings on China.

OUR TASKS AHEAD

We have not set ourselves any easy tasks. But the tasks, and responsibilities, of the most powerful nation in the history of the earth are not . . . cannot be . . . will not be easy.

Let me close by making this prediction: Ten or twenty years hence, historians will mark Vietnam as a place where our nation—and free peoples—were faced with a challenge by totalitarianism . . . and where they met the challenge.

AMERICAN YOUTH AND VIETNAM

Address by

HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President of the United States

To the Columbia Scholastic
Press Association

New York, N. Y.
March 12, 1966

"We are in South Vietnam to repel and prevent the success of aggression against the government and the people of that country."

"Your generation will have a large part to play in determining whether man destroys himself or whether he moves forward into a new age of peace and understanding."

The Vice President with a group of visiting high school students on an earlier occasion

I am sorry that I am not able to be with you in person today. The business of government keeps me in Washington. But I am happy at least to have the chance to visit with you by telephone.

I have spent much of my time in public life in the company of the press. But never have I been exposed to so many journalists at one time.

If it were possible, I would prefer to convert this telephone message into a press conference, and respond to your questions.

I know that they would be probing and pointed. And I know that most of them would focus on Vietnam.

I would like to address myself briefly to some of the questions I am sure you would ask.

OUR PURPOSES IN VIETNAM

I am sure you would begin by asking: Why are we in Vietnam?

We are in South Vietnam to repel and prevent the success of aggression against the government and the people of that country.

We are there to help assure the South Vietnamese people the basic right to decide their own futures, freely and without intimidation.

We are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

We are there to help establish the principle that—in this nuclear age—aggression cannot be an acceptable means either of settling international disputes or of realizing national objectives. If aggression is permitted to go unchecked, we cannot in good faith hold out much hope for the future of small nations or of world peace.

This is why we are in Vietnam.

We are not there to build an empire . . . to exercise domination over that part of the world . . . to establish military bases. We are *not* there to impose a government or way of life on other peoples.

BUILDING A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

The Government of South Vietnam faces a massive task in building a democratic society while meeting determined force and terror.

For many centuries, the Vietnamese people lived under mandarin rule. Then came two generations of colonial domination, followed by 25 years of almost constant warfare. This is stony soil for democracy to grow in.

Moreover, illiteracy has been high, corruption all too common and public spirit all too rare, and the number of well-trained educated people all too small.

THE WAR AGAINST MISERY

The peasants of Vietnam—and, indeed, of all Asia—are rebelling against the kind of life they have led for ages. They want security. But they also want dignity and self-respect, justice and the hope of something better in the future.

The Communists—in their drive for power—seek to use and subvert the hopes of these people. If they succeed, we could win many battles and yet lose the war.

That is why the Vietnamese government, with our support, is pressing the "other war" with vigor—the war against poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. This is the theme of the "Declaration of Honolulu"—and I believe that the

"We are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their children."

At the village of Phu Tho Hao,
outside Saigon, February 11, 1966

Honolulu Declaration could be a milestone in the history of our policy in Asia.

The Government of South Vietnam is beginning in earnest the struggle to win and hold the allegiance of the people who live in rural South Vietnam, in more than 2600 villages and approximately 11,000 hamlets.

Efforts are being made to give South Vietnam firm social and economic footing—and a sound democratic political system as well.

An Advisory Council for the Building of Democracy (including representatives of all the nationalist political tendencies) will be appointed. It will draft a constitution, an election law, and regulations concerning political parties and the press. It will hold broad-scale consultations in formulating these documents and regulations.

Premier Ky has publicly committed himself to steps leading to free elections before the end of next year. As I left Saigon, a few days ago, Premier Ky told me: "We have begun 12 years too late. But it is not *too* late."

YOUTH IN THE PEOPLE'S SERVICE

Are these mere words, or will they be backed up by genuine commitment and participation by the people in translating them into deeds?

I think the most encouraging answer to that question is being given by the students of South Vietnam. They are young men and women who, for the most part, come from the more comfortable and privileged groups in the country, based largely in the cities.

Last summer some 5000 young people voluntarily enrolled in the Summer Youth Program. They went out to all portions of the country which are not under Communist control. They rolled up their sleeves and set to work with purpose and dedication. They helped erect schools, dug wells, built homes for the refugees, and carried out many other useful projects.

That program was scheduled for the two months of the school vacation. But it has been widely continued since.

When I was in South Vietnam, I visited a demonstration project staffed by teenagers in the Eight District of Saigon—a badly rundown slum, the worst in the city. Under the leadership of the students, a group of refugees there had converted an abandoned and water-filled graveyard into an attractive, orderly neighborhood of new homes. A community center and a school were being built, and local officials had been elected.

Some thirty Vietnamese teachers of English have launched what they call a "New School' movement. They are seeking to stimulate a richer and more democratic extra-curricular life for high school students. They are helping them to develop student government, debating societies, sports, clubs, and—this will please you, I'm sure—student newspapers.

A number of youth organizations—Catholic, Buddhist, and others—are undertaking work and training projects throughout South Vietnam. Some are being assisted by the government, some are working with the fine group of men and women in Vietnam for the International Voluntary Service, and others are acting on their own initiative.

Young people like these offer the best hope for the future of a free Vietnam. Indeed, one of the tests of whether its government is making progress towards its goals in the social revolution will be the degree to which it can attract and hold their allegiance and support.

Let me add a few words directed to you young people listening today.

THE NEED TO KNOW MORE OF ASIA

We know much too little about Asia, and we need to know much more.

I hope that many of you will take the opportunity in college to learn more about Asia. For those of you who will continue as journalists, this knowledge will be essential. It will be important also to those of you who elect other walks of life—perhaps in your work, certainly as responsible citizens. Some of you may devote your careers to Asia—as diplomats, as businessmen, or as scholars.

We need to do our level best to stimulate wider American interest in Asia—including Communist China. I am delighted that President Johnson has opened the way for our scholars to travel there. The Chinese leaders speak harshly of us but, as President Johnson has said:

"We can live with anger in words as long as it is matched by caution in deed."

THE AMERICAN AND CHINESE PEOPLES

I am convinced that—despite the shrill anti-American propaganda which is carried on by the Chinese Communists—there is still much friendship there for us among the Chinese people from our many previous years of fruitful and constructive work together.

We must be firm in resisting the expansionist designs of the present rulers of China. But we must take every opportunity to show our friendship for the Chinese people. We respect and value their learning, their skills, their arts, and their many contributions to civilization.

With the other peoples of Asia, I anticipate steadily growing friendship and cooperation. They are already an important part of the world of my generation. They are certain to be an even more significant part of yours.

MANKIND'S OPPORTUNITY

Finally, may I say this: The next few years of human history will be dangerous ones. But they will also be years of opportunity.

For never has mankind possessed such power for good and for making the world safer and happier for hundreds of millions of people who have never had their share of anything but hunger, ignorance and misery.

Your generation will have a large part to play in determining whether man destroys himself or whether he moves forward into a new age of peace and understanding.

The future is in your hands. I hope you will make the most of it.

BETTER LIVING IN GREAT CITIES

Excerpts from an address by

HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

The objective of HUD programs is to achieve the "Better Living In Great Cities" the Vice President discusses in this address. We are grateful that Mr. Humphrey continues to spotlight the domestic crisis which faces urban America today. The Vice President's address should be read by everyone concerned with better living conditions.

ROBERT C. WEAVER
Secretary
Department of Housing and Urban Development

Excerpts from the Vice President's address at the Secretary of Labor's Conference of Labor Editors in Washington, D.C., May 24, 1966, published by the Department of Housing and Urban Development.

I am very pleased to be with my friends, the labor press, the editors of our labor publications. I have read with great interest what the President had to say to you. He emphasized what this Administration seeks to do for the American people and for people everywhere.

I want to continue that discussion, emphasizing domestic challenges.

Achievements of the 89th Congress

We all agree that the challenge in America is in urban areas. I think you can tell the great cities of today—and tomorrow—by analyzing what they are doing. Great cities are involved in building; but not just structures, they are building a better quality of citizenship and this Administration is helping them to do this. The 89th Congress in concert with the Democratic leadership can best be characterized as one that has achieved great breakthroughs. Many, many long-time barriers have been pierced.

The 89th Congress has a record second to none in achievement of the positive social goals of the Government and the Nation. You have heard many people say of late, "What is there left to be done by a liberal in politics? Haven't we just about achieved all of our goals?"

The fact is that we have made a beginning, yes, but we have years and years to go before we accomplish the realities. You might say that Step Number One, Stage Number One, has been accomplished in trying to make life better here on earth.

Benefits From Space Program

I am Chairman of the Space Council, and I am familiar with the terminology which is used by our space scientists. We spend a great deal of our national resources in trying to explore the mysteries of outer space. It is estimated that we may spend anywhere from $25 to $30 billion to accomplish the moon mission. Let me make it quite clear, that mission has much more to it than merely getting a man to the moon and returning him to earth. The space program has had a tremendous effect upon our economy, a plus effect. It has elevated the quality of education; it has surely improved the competence of industry. It has placed new demands on the professional community and the skill of labor.

Breakthrough for People on Earth

But, I feel that any nation that can justly afford to invest billions of dollars to put a man on the moon, also ought to be willing to make a commensurate investment in helping put a

man on his feet right here on earth. So we are now in this civilian program relating to our economy and our social structure at Stage Number One, as I see it. The breakthroughs that we are making are just what I say—breakthroughs—and from here on we perfect, we create, we embellish, we enhance these breakthroughs.

Health Progress

We have made breakthroughs in health. I introduced the very first bill on medical, hospital, and nursing home care for persons aged 65 and over under the terms of Social Security. That was in May 1949. It wasn't as much of a beginning as some had hoped for, but it was a beginning. And 16 years later it became a fact. We fought for it every single year. We planted the seed; there were many periods of drought, and finally came the harvest; and we have what we call Medicare—a breakthrough, but not the final answer—just a breakthrough.

This has led to some unanswered questions. Do we have adequate hospital space? Are our hospitals as modern as they ought to be? Are there not improvements in the structural organization of a hospital and the administration of a hospital that can give better service at more reasonable rates? What about all the medical technicians we are going to need 10 years from now, 15 years from now? If we are going to need more, the decision must be made now because that's how long it takes to train them.

We are going to have community mental health centers all over America in the next few years. The terrible sickness that grips millions of our people, emotional instability, will be brought in due time under control and we will find how to heal these people. We are making a breakthrough. I think that's important, but now must come the followthrough, and that's where we come in.

Education Advances

We are making a breakthrough in education. For years we fought for Federal aid to education. The very first bill that I voted upon when I came to Congress in 1949 was a bill for Federal aid to education. We passed it in the Senate, but it died in the House. It either died on the issue of church and state or on racism. They never got around to talking about education.

Finally we said: We are talking about the child and not about institutions; and we ought not to be talking about prejudices. So let us try to conceive a program of Federal assistance to the education of the child. So, at last, it was enacted.

The greatest educational effort that the world has ever known is underway now. Who does this benefit? Everybody; the sons and daughters of working people, of farm people, of the yeoman and the mechanics and the farmers.

Well, we have made a fantastic breakthrough and now we are beginning not only to get the money, but we are beginning to experiment in educational techniques. We are learning how to use closed-circuit television, audiovisual aids, improving library facilities, increasing teaching capacities, and many, many other things.

Enjoyment of the Arts

And I am not just talking about manpower training, vocational education, more dormitories, or science buildings. I am talking about what goes on, for example, in the little country area in South Carolina, where, under the Federal aid to education, they now have a festival of the arts. What makes one think that ordinary people, sometimes people poor of purse, do not have a richness of soul and spirit that loves the arts?

Philip Murray used to talk about that—he wanted the picture on the wall and the rug on the floor, not just a wage. He made his point; he wanted to upgrade the values of all human beings, so that they might appreciate the finer things in life.

I will never forget the testimony of a lady that came in when we were arguing about the minimum wage law in 1949. She said that it meant so much to her just to have a little increase. She was a textile worker. Why did she want that little increase? So she could pay for piano lessons for her daughter. "Working people like piano lessons for their daughters too," she said.

IMPROVING OUR PERSONAL ENVIRONMENT

So much for the important breakthrough in education, but just as important is the breakthrough in improving the environment.

The air that we breathe today is polluted. The water that we drink has to be treated chemically. Our rivers and lakes are the victims of man's misuse. Yet these are the greatest resources. We have an obligation to keep these resources usable and even to keep them beautiful. So, we are working on improving man's environment.

Beautifying People's Lives

Much has been said about beautification. What I say is not to diminish the beautification which means flowers in city squares, or shrubbery, all of which is so very, very fine and we ought to push it, and you ought to help us with it. But, if beautification is to be a lasting thing, we must concentrate on the beautification of the mind; the beautification that comes through enlightenment, the opportunity to study, to read good books, establishment of community colleges, expansion of facilities for higher education, and improvement of elementary and secondary education. This is the beautification that Project Headstart brings to the minds of little ones who are the victims of an environment that has left them—and their parents—with a sense of despair and hopelessness.

There is an uplifting of the spirit emanating from Headstart which gives a real beauty to our country. What is more beautiful than the smile of a child? What is more beautiful than the laughter of a child? What is more beautiful than the enlightenment of a child? This is what we are beginning to do in America.

Battling Slumism

We are faced abroad with communism; I do not mean to minimize this threat, because it is a powerful force. But we have just as powerful and as sinister a force on the loose here at home. I call it "slumism," and I define it not only as the physical slums of our cities, but the psychological and physical deprivation of the people who live in those slums.

To find it, all you need to do is go to any city and see what is happening in the core of that city. You will find poverty of the physical structures, inadequacies of transportation, accumulated debris and garbage. These are constant reminders that we have failed to make our cities beautiful.

Slumism, the enemy within. Slumism like an insidious virus consuming city after city where people live. Some people have tried to escape by going to the suburbs. But, there is no escape; slumism pursues us and soon Suburb Number One becomes Slum A. This is no answer. It must be fought now.

Goals for Our Cities

Our people deserve cities which are the most beautiful institutions man can create. It is in the city where there are the possibilities of cultural development. It is in the city where there are jobs and industry and the scientists and technicians. It is in the city where you find the big hospitals that can give you the best of medical care. It is in the city where you have the large financial institutions, the great universities, and supposedly the better schools.

And having said all that, it is also in the city where you have the gnawing, penetrating, insidious virus called slumism that spreads and encompasses, in fact imprisons, more and more people. To me slumism is more than just the dilapidated buildings, the inadequate structures in which people live, the overcrowding which is a relevant and prevalent fact. It is more than rat-infested tenements, and that is a fact too, in this richest of all countries. Slumism is personal poverty. Slumism is discrimination and segregation, de facto or not de facto. Slumism is hopelessness, despair, and cynicism. It is frustration and bitterness, anger and hate, and these are facts today that we face.

Slumism is deprivation of education. Regrettably, in our America, the best schools are in the upper income neighborhoods of the city. The poorer schools are in the lower income areas of the city. *It is education upside down.* I am not asking that the better schools be downgraded. I am asking that the poorer schools be upgraded. I am asking that the best teachers be sent in where the people need them the most. I am asking that the latest schoolteaching techniques be applied where catching up is the great need.

Make Our Cities Livable

So I say to my friends of the labor movement and in the labor press, let's join here in a struggle now; let us launch a new effort in America to make our cities livable, to make them institutions of creative living. Let's make our cities what they were intended to be—wholesome environment for man and his family. Not the ghettos that we speak of today, the urban ghettos of brick and concrete and filth and disease and crime. If there ever were a task that the labor movement ought to set itself to, it is to rehabilitate, redesign, recreate the American city. It can be done.

The Good Life for All Our People

Any nation that can put a man on the Moon and contemplates putting a manned station on the Moon to penetrate and to probe outer space to Mars and Jupiter, that nation ought to be able to improve the transportation of a worker from his home to a job.

That nation ought to be able to do something about opening up spaces in a crowded city, so there can be grass and trees and parks and shrubbery. The nation that can provide a perfect environment in a capsule for astronauts who can orbit in outer space for weeks and who can walk out of the capsule healthy, that nation ought to be able to provide an attractive environment and some sort of decent air that men can breathe here on earth. And a nation that can do what we have done—split the atom, penetrate outer space, transplant human organs from one body to another, literally "create" living matter—that nation ought to be able to do something about the inner environment in which man lives.

QUESTIONS WE MUST ANSWER

So I come to you this morning with an appeal. People ask, "What is there left for us to do?"

The answer is: "We haven't really had a good start. We have just broken through. We are only in Stage One of trying to build a community that is worthy of America." When I hear the song, "America, the Beautiful", I think of where Americans are going to live. Are they all going to live in the forests, in the wilderness area that is so beautiful? No, they are going to visit there, so we should protect and guard that wilderness.

But they are going to live where you live. They are going to live where I live. They are going to live in the great metropolitan centers. The question is, "What kind of life will they have?" Not, "What kind of life will you have?" But, "What kind of life will all Americans have? What kind of schools will their children attend? What kind of city will be their home? What kind of streets will they walk on? How much open space and fresh air will they have? What will be the condition of the environment in which your children grow?"

These are questions that I think are before every American, and I think no one has a greater stake in the answer than the labor movement.

Thank you.

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Address By

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

United States Military Academy

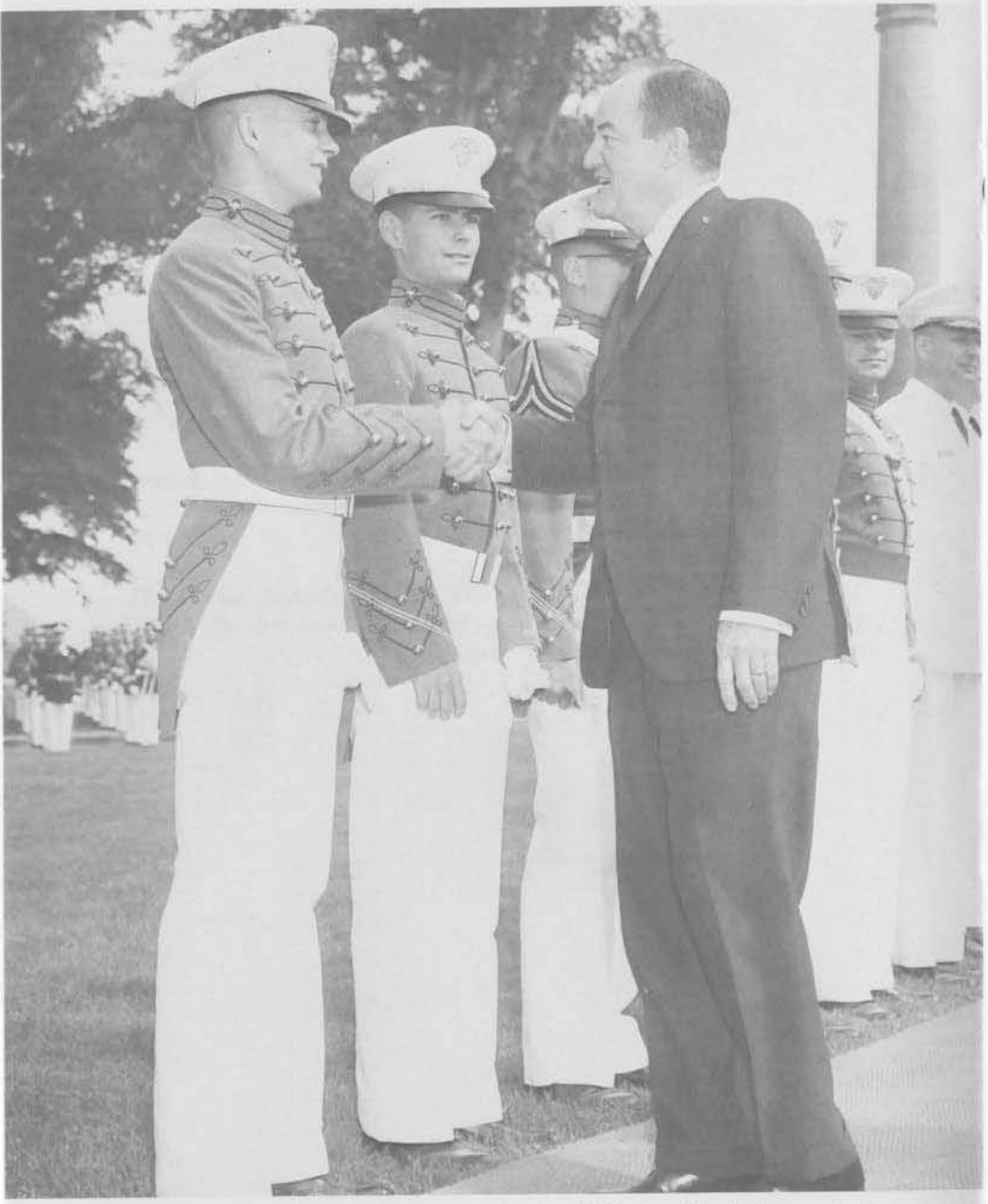
West Point, New York

June 8, 1966

". . . in the years ahead, the peace and security of the human family will be threatened by aggressions far more subtle than those of armed regiments moving across national frontiers.

"World peace and security will be threatened by propaganda, subversion and agitation . . . by economic warfare . . . by assassination of honest and able leaders . . . as well as by the naked use of armed force.

"World peace and security will be threatened, above all, by the very existence, for two-thirds of mankind, of conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance."



"Let us pursue those courses of which, in the judgment of history, it can be said: 'These were the paths taken by wise men.'"

Gentlemen, I salute you. You have completed four years of rigorous training—of mind, of body, and of spirit. You have done well.

But I congratulate you even more on what lies ahead—for the lives of service to your country and to your fellowmen which you begin here today.

The demands on you will be great—greater than on any previous generation of the "Long Gray Line" that has passed proudly through this great institution.

Never before has your country been so deeply linked with every part of a rapidly shrinking and changing world.

Never before has the power available to men been so awesome.

Yet never before have men everywhere been so aware that power alone cannot solve their most urgent problems nor satisfy their deepest needs.

You are soldiers. There will be times when your courage, your coolness, and your command of the military arts will be required in full measure.

But you will have to be more—much more—than fighting men.

You will have to be builders.

You will have to be diplomats and psychologists, engineers and politicians, advisers, educators, and friends.

For in the years ahead, the peace and security of the human family will be threatened by aggressions far more subtle than those of armed regiments moving across national frontiers.

Threats to Peace and Security

World peace and security will be threatened by propaganda, subversion and agitation . . . by economic warfare . . . by assassination of honest and able leaders . . . as well as by the naked use of armed force.

World peace and security will be threatened, above all, by the very existence, for two-thirds of mankind, of conditions of hunger, disease and ignorance.

We must learn that the simple solutions of times past will not meet the present-day challenges, and new forms of aggression, we face.

Our "doves" must learn that there are times when power must be used. They must learn that there is no substitute for force in the face of a determined enemy who resorts to terror, subversion and aggression, whether concealed or open.

Our "hawks" must learn that military power is not enough. They must learn, indeed, that it can be wholly unavailing if not accompanied by political effort and by the credible promise to ordinary people of a better life.

And all of us must learn to adapt our military planning and actions to the new conditions of subversive warfare—the so-called wars of national liberation.

We must learn to meet and defeat our enemy on all, not just one, of the battlefields. We must use the techniques of politics, of economic development, of information and social advancement—and of coordinating all these efforts in a rational and effective total effort.

Need for Perspective on Asia

We are linked to all parts of a complex and changing world. I want to turn now to one part—but a most important part—of that world. It is a part of the world that I know is much on your minds. I speak of Asia, and of America's role there.

In this Spring of 1966, we urgently need perspective on Asia—on its history and the history of our relationship. That perspective can give us guidelines for wise choices—and a solid base for realistic hopes.

I believe the ingredients of perspective can be found in the answers to three questions: Who and what is Asia? How did we get involved with Asia? And, finally, can we achieve sensible goals in Asia?

* * *

Who and what is Asia?

Asia means people—more than half of mankind.

Asia means civilizations—venerable, inventive, artistic, and deeply rooted cultures.

Asia means religions—the great compassionate religious and ethical systems of Hinduism, Confucianism, Buddhism, Islam, and Christianity.

Asia means problems—the age-old afflictions of poverty, illiteracy, disease, exploitation, and oppression.

And in the modern era—the past hundred years or so—Asia means revolution.

It was a revolution that was long in coming but inevitable once West met East with full force.

Revolution is seldom peaceful, never easy. For Asia the period of Western impact—and the transformation it produced—has been often turbulent, bitter, and humiliating.

Take three major ingredients of modern Western history—the spectacular rise of nationalism, capitalism, and science. Bring them to bear on proud older cultures, either through direct colonial rule—as in India, in Indonesia, or Indo-China—or through enclaves and spheres of influence—as in China.

Little wonder the effect would be disruptive on Asian societies, as well as sometimes constructive. Little wonder that the results would engender resistance and resentment among Asian peoples toward the Westerner, as well as curiosity and sometimes friendship.

The Unfolding Struggles

And little wonder that the history of Asia in the modern era is the history of Asia's response to the West, an unfolding revolutionary process of which the end is by no means in sight.

It is a process that seeks first to expel the foreign colonial master, and has largely succeeded in doing so.

But independence is only a fragile beginning, not an end.

With independence comes the struggle for nationhood in the full sense of the word—the struggle to create national unity out of religious and linguistic and even geographic fragmentation . . . the struggle to create national power, in order to maintain stability within and to deter and resist any would-be aggressors without . . . and the struggle to create both wealth and justice, to create a society of expanding opportunities and hope.

The revolutionary process is turbulent and fraught with dangers: It contains the danger of unbridled competing nationalisms; the lure of false prophets and demagogues; the temptation of illusory short-cuts that lead to new tyranny; the passions aroused by unfulfilled expectations.

Tragic Results of Communism

Nearly fifty years ago a new specific danger was first added to this process: The doctrines of Marx and Lenin—offered as an explanation of Asia's past, a plan of action for Asia's present, and a blueprint for Asia's future.

Though always a tiny minority, the agents of Marxism-Leninism were able in parts of wartime and post-war Asia to ride the tide of nationalism and anti-colonialism.

With perseverance and discipline, they produced an impact far beyond their numbers.

Today we see in mainland China the tragic result of one Asian revolution that lost its way—a revolution captured by a disciplined Communist minority.

The high price of that tragedy is, for the people of China, a life of isolation in the world's most rigidly totalitarian state, and, for the people of Asia, a profoundly disturbing neighbor.

Today we see in the Indo-China peninsula the tragic result of another Asian revolution that lost its way. The people of Vietnam, who have lived with violence for a quarter of a century, not only find half their country ceded to a Communist minority regime in Hanoi. At the same time they also face a

The demands on you will be great—greater than on any previous generation of the Long Gray Line that has passed proudly through this great institution.

determined effort by that regime to force South Vietnam under Communist rule.

* * *

Origins of Our Role in Asia

I come to my second question: How did we get involved with Asia?

The question may sound naive. Yet I frequently hear the statement from those who should know better that "America has no business in Asia."

In part this view stems from frustration in the face of Asia's complexity. How much easier to withdraw and let nature take its course.

But in part this view also stems from a misreading of history.

We are all in some degree both heirs and captives of history. And our involvement in Asia is no recent abberration but rather a rooted fact of history.

In one sense, of course, America is simply a something funny that happened to Columbus on his way to Asia.

In a deeper sense, we are and have been a Pacific power from the days of New England's clipper ships in the late 18th century.

Our traders and entrepreneurs soon were joined by our missionaries—not simply evangelists, but doctors and nurses, teachers, engineers and agricultural specialists. By the mid-19th century American ships had opened up Japan, and American citizens were leading participants in what became the greatest export of people and technology ever attempted from one civilization to another—much of it focused on China.

In the process, we became catalytic agents of transformation. In the process, too, we became unwitting participants in Asian history, and in revolution.

America's role in Asia today is a direct product of the century that preceded World War II and of the war itself.

For with the end of that war, the responsibilities of victory imposed on us a stabilizing role in Japan and Korea.

And with the beginning of the Cold War, the Communist victory in China, and the outbreak of the Korean War, American power was the only shield available to fragile and newly independent nations in non-Communist Asia.

This was not a role we had sought. This was not the peace for which we yearned.

Nor is it a role we seek to perpetuate today. But the peace still eludes us. For there are those in Asia who still pursue their objectives by aggression and subversion. And there are others who ask our help in meeting this threat.

* * *

Our Goals in Asia

I come to my final question: Can we achieve sensible goals in Asia?

What, in simplest form are those goals?

First, we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in their deterrence of and resistance to all forms of aggression.

Second, we seek to assist free nations, willing to help themselves, in the great tasks of nation-building. We must lead other rich nations in the war on poverty, ignorance and disease in Asia.

Third, we seek to strengthen the forces of regional cooperation on the basis of Asian initiatives.

And finally, we seek and will continue to seek to build bridges, to keep open the doors of communication, to the Communist states of Asia, and in particular Communist China—just as we have to the Soviet Union and the Communist states of Eastern Europe.

The isolation of the Asian Communist states—however caused—breeds unreality, delusion, and miscalculation.

Efforts to break that isolation may, for the time being, provoke denunciation and hostility. But we shall persevere and explore means of communication and exchange, looking to the day when the leaders of Asian communism—as their former colleagues in Europe—will come to recognize the self-destructiveness and wastefulness of their present bellicose policies.

Prudence and reason, not the slogans of the past, will guide us as we try to reduce the unacceptable risks of ignorance and misunderstanding in a thermonuclear age.

Let me underline what we do *not* seek:

We do not seek alignment, except from those who choose it. We do not seek economic privilege. We do not seek territory or military bases. We do not seek to dominate or conquer.

Our objectives are best served by one result in Asia:

The emergence of nations dedicated to their own national independence, to the well-being of their people, and to the pursuit of peace.

I return now to my question: Can these objectives be achieved?

My answer is yes. But much depends on our actions as a nation, and on the understanding that prompts those actions.

Assets of Freedom

In the struggle for a peaceful, strong, and developing free Asia, our assets in the region are great.

In Japan, at one end of Asia's arc, we have a staunch friend, a highly developed nation, our second trading partner, an immense potential force for the development of Asia.

On the South Asian subcontinent, at the other end, we have close friends in India, the world's largest democracy, and in Pakistan. Both nations are dedicated to independence and bravely embarked on programs of development.

And in the Southwest Pacific, completing the triangle, are our friends in Australia and New Zealand who share our commitment to the future of Asia.

Elsewhere—in Korea, Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, Burma, Malaysia, Singapore, and Indonesia—we find nations committed in differing fashions to independence and development. We respect their commitment, and we respect their differences. We applaud their leadership.

The Challenge in Vietnam

But what of the states of former French Indo-China?

There, of course, is the present focal point of war and revolution in Asia. And there we are tested as never before. We face a situation of external aggression and subversion against a post-colonial nation that has never had the breathing space to develop its politics or its economy.

In South Vietnam, both defense and development—the war against the aggressor and the war against despair—are fused as never before. Vietnam challenges our courage, our ingenuity, and our ability to persevere.

If we can succeed there—if we can help sustain an independent South Vietnam, free to determine its own future—then our prospects, and the prospects for free men throughout Asia, will be bright indeed.

We know this. Our friends and allies know it. And our adversaries know it. That is why one small country looms so large today on everyone's map of Asia.

But Asia will not disappear with a Vietnam settlement. Nor will our objectives and responsibilities in Asia disappear.

The peace and development of Asia will be high on our national agenda for the rest of this century.

So will our relations with the nations of Asia—including our relations with mainland China.

President Johnson's address at Johns Hopkins University last year was an historic formulation of American purposes in Asia.

In that speech he said that our commitment to South Vietnam was firm, that our quest for peace would be unremitting, and that our continuing concern with the welfare of the peoples of Southeast Asia could be tested by Asians ready to initiate cooperative ventures of peaceful development. The President pledged one billion dollars to projects that might be developed.

In that speech, too, President Johnson envisaged participation by North Vietnam in constructive social and economic arrangements once Hanoi had decided to stop the shooting. And last February, he again appealed to the "men of the north" to stop aggression and to join in helping fulfill the unsatisfied wants of the people of the region.

Termination of war alone would be a major contribution to the process of accelerated social and economic development in Asia.

Basic Needs in Asia

But there are other basic problems which face most of the countries in the area.

In Asia, incomes are low. Population growth is high. There is a shortage of capital. The need for investment is almost limitless. There is excessive dependence on a limited number of products for foreign exchange earnings.

These problems demand the attention of countries in the area as well as countries outside which are able to help.

But there is promising ferment in free Asia today—ferment that can lead to higher standards of performance on the part of individual countries and a greater sense of community among them.

War is always cruel. But the war in Vietnam should not obscure for us the fact that behind the smoke and uproar is the testing of an issue vital to all of Asia, and indeed the world.

Can independent, non-Communist states not only survive, but grow and flourish in face of Communist pressure?

In that confrontation, a review of free Asia's achievements should give us solid ground for hope.

Consider South Korea, where exports have increased by 500 per cent in the past three years. Consider Taiwan, which has been transformed from an aid-receiving to an aid-giving country and enjoys a rate of economic growth higher than even that of Japan. Consider Malaysia and Thailand, where ambitious development plans are being launched. Yes, consider Indonesia, where new leaders are determined to see that potentially rich country resume a responsible place in the world community.

All of these developments are striking evidence that, notwithstanding Communist boasts that they represent the wave of the future, the real achievements taking place within Asia have occurred in areas that rely upon independence, competition, and respect for national integrity as the bases for genuine and enduring social and economic progress.

Attitudes for America

As we Americans strive to deal with the immense problems —and the promise—of a vibrant, modernizing interdependent Asia in the years ahead, we will be called upon to show special qualities of mind and spirit and understanding as a nation.

We will have to learn far more about Asian history and Asian cultures than any of us now know. We need more than nodding acquaintance with the key critical issues that absorb the attention of Asians.

We will have to learn to speak and read Asian languages.

We will have to become more sensitive to the differences among Asian nations as well as their similarities.

We should also be sensitive to the pride, dignity and nationalism of Asian peoples and nations. Like most people, Asians prefer to rule themselves badly than to be well ruled by some foreigner. The same goes for advice and initiatives. Otherwise good ideas inevitably lose some of their appeal if carried through Asia in clearly foreign wrappings.

Asians prefer Asian initiatives, proposed by Asians. So do we.

No Quick Solutions

Finally, we must learn to suppress our national enthusiasm for quick solutions.

Asia's problems are extraordinarily complex and intractable; they will be with us for a long time to come, and we should force ourselves to practice some traditional Asian patience. It is patience—and perspective—that we will need in the years ahead.

For I have no doubt that we will meet, in Asia as in the rest of the world, time and again with disappointment, disillusionment, ingratitude and frustration.

Yet we must not be deterred.

It is our good fortune to be free citizens of the most prosperous and powerful nation in the history of the earth.

It is the prosperous who can most afford compassion and humility.

It is the powerful who can most afford patience and perspective.

Let us, then, not pursue policies—or judge ourselves—in consonance with the passion of the moment.

Let us pursue those courses of which, in the judgment of history, it can be said: "These were the paths taken by wise men."

Address by
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
to
University of Minnesota
Duluth, Minnesota
June 10, 1966

"This will indeed be an age of scientific and technological miracles. But will it be an age fit for—or even safe for—human beings to live in? That depends largely upon what we make it."

As recently as 1930, even so towering a genius as Albert Einstein could say about the future: "I never think of it. It comes soon enough."

Today the future rushes toward us far too quickly for comfort. We can no longer "Seize the day!" as the poet Horace counseled, for today has become little more than a faint blur between yesterday and tomorrow.

It took mankind 200,000 years to emerge from the Stone Age. It took another 10,000 years from the first use of metal tools to the Industrial Revolution, now hardly a century old.

Two key exhibits in our Smithsonian Institution vividly illustrate the dramatic acceleration in the tempo of progress. One is the first commercial computer, only 17 years old. The other is astronaut John Glenn's space capsule, only four years old, but already a museum piece.

It is no wonder that the future has ceased to be the domain of oracles and astrologers, and become a serious preoccupation of scholars, government officials, and businessmen. For, to the extent that we can foresee the future, we may be able to achieve some control over it.

Trends Which Shape The Future

The explosion of scientific knowledge is the major cause for our increased and highly practical interest in the future. But there are others as well.

First, there is the commitment to economic growth which is now accepted and, indeed, embodied in governmental institutions by every modern nation. This inevitably gives rise to the question: "Growth for what?"

Second, there is the rise of a new generation and the emergence of many new nations. These developments have created many new demands upon human society—and science and technology have inspired a new and insistent optimism about their fulfillment.

Third, there is the development of a new intellectual technology—games theory, decision theory, cybernetics, systems analysis—all of which, tooled by the computer, have allowed us to construct models of the future and assess their implications.

Looking Into Tomorrow

This new interest in the future has taken a variety of forms. The French Government, for example, has established an official "1985 Committee" to explore different choices in the use of expected increases in the French national income. The American Academy of Arts and Sciences is looking even further ahead. It is creating a Commission on the Year 2000 to anticipate social problems and to design new institutions to cope with them. At least half a dozen non-governmental organizations are seeking to forecast some aspect or another of the future, and something like two dozen serious books have been published on this theme.

Developments Up Ahead

One of the most interesting glimpses into the future was that undertaken recently by a representative panel of modern-day oracles—engineers, physical scientists, mathematicians, economists, and social scientists. Here are some of the developments they foresee within the next 20 years:

- In agriculture, the large-scale use of de-salinated sea water, making many of today's deserts blossom.
- In medicine, the routine transplantation of natural organs from one person to another and the use of artificial ones.
- In psychiatry, the widespread application of drugs that control or modify the personality.
- In education, the use of more sophisticated teaching machines and really radical teaching techniques.
- In worldwide communication, the everyday employment of translating machines.
- In industry, the extensive use of automation, up to and including some kinds of decision-making at the management level.
- In space, the establishment of a permanent manned base upon the moon.

Some of you might say that there is nothing very surprising here. And you would be right. Experience shows that it takes 10 to 30 years for a new idea to make its way from its inception in a scientist's mind to its general application in everyday life. Therefore, the world of 20 years from now already exists, in embryo, in the test-tube, in the laboratory, in the prototype.

For the year 2000 however, the experts foresee some really far-out developments:

- The virtual elimination of bacterial and viral diseases.
- The correction of hereditary defects through the modification of genetic chemistry.
- The stepping-up of our food supply through large-scale ocean-farming and the fabrication of synthetic proteins.
- Control of the weather, at least on a regional scale.
- In space, the landing of men on Mars and the establishment of a permanent unmanned research station on that planet.
- The creation, in the laboratory, of primitive forms of artificial life.

This will indeed be an age of scientific and technological miracles. But will it be an age fit for—or even safe for—human beings to live in? That depends largely upon what we make it.

Limited Research In Social Sciences

Presently, the amount of talent, effort, and money we are putting into science and technology far exceeds what we are devoting to the means of mastering them and directing them to human ends. Here in America we spent 20 billion dollars on research and development last year, but only about 500 million of this went to research in the social sciences.

I think this disproportion is not entirely unrelated to a rather disturbing consensus of the same panel of experts which looked ahead to the future of science and technology. While they foresaw staggering advances in the field of weaponry, they did not regard as probable any strengthening in our international institutions during the same period—that is, up to the year 2000.

The poet Alexander Pope declared that: "The proper study of mankind is man." I do not suggest that it should be the only study, or that we should reduce our expenditures on science and technology. I do suggest, however, that we need to step up very substantially the financial support, and even more the public esteem and attention, we devote to the

social sciences and the humanities, if we are to create human institutions to keep pace with our material advances.

The novelist George Orwell sounded a grim warning of the consequences of neglecting the human factor in his novel *1984*. He portrayed a world in which people would be reduced to mere robots, manipulated by an all-powerful, all-seeing "Big Brother." But fortunately human nature has proved tougher and more resilient than Orwell imagined and for that we may be truly thankful.

Responsible Government

Here in America some prophets of gloom and doom like to picture us in the future as faceless, voiceless subjects of "big government." I believe, as Mark Twain said of premature reports of his death, that these fears are grossly exaggerated.

Our American government will continue to fulfill its primary responsibilities and notably those of assuring every individual American, regardless of his race, creed, or color, equal rights and equal opportunity. But I believe that those responsibilities can be fulfilled without loss of individual freedom or initiative. Indeed, people whose rights are assured to them become not less free but more free.

Whether we become lost in an orgy of materialism, or use our material advances as means to greater individual expression, will depend on the wisdom of our national leadership—and the wisdom, therefore of the American people who choose that leadership. Given my present occupation, I must say I feel a certain optimism on both counts.

Excellence In Education

I do believe that the American people—and in particular, this generation of young men and women—have today reached a remarkable degree of national common sense and maturity. Not the least proof of this is the priority they attach today to excellence in education, such as you have received. It represents a real investment in the future of our nation—new wealth, new power, and new hope.

The adaptability to make continuing adjustments—in our world of dazzling change—will be required, of course, in the conduct of our national economy and in the lives and careers of individual Americans. But they are the kind of adjustments we are learning how to make, and we've been making them well.

We are learning, for instance, how to use 20th Century tools and theory in our economic affairs so as to maintain vigorous and sustained growth, and we are making steady progress in mopping up the pools of unemployment that remain.

We are learning to use the leisure and free time that labor-saving devices have made possible. Not only are we witnessing a tremendous boom in boats and bikinis, we are witnessing a boom as well in the arts—music, the theatre, painting, sculpture, the dance. We are witnessing a boom in libraries and book sales.

The Volunteer Generation

And I detect a particularly encouraging sign in your generation: a great increase in volunteer activity. This is indeed the volunteer generation. Thousands of young men and women are volunteering for work in our slums, in schools, serving less-privileged children, in VISTA, and in a host of private agencies. Thousands have entered the Peace Corps to help people in other areas of the world. Thousands have volunteered for the armed services. Thousands more are in the civil rights movement, seeking to right ancient wrongs.

One place where this volunteer impulse will be—and should be—expressed with increasing vigor is in our political life. Ever since Adlai Stevenson emerged on the national scene, a growing number of people have decided that politics is much too important to be left to professional politicians, and have jumped in with both feet. We see more and more young people at work at every level—all the way from stuffing envelopes and ringing doorbells to making their weight felt on the great issues of national and international affairs. This is a thoroughly involved and committed generation.

Avoiding Nuclear Catastrophe

In short, I think we're on the right track to a better future unless some inconceivable human error threatens to plunge us into nuclear cataclysm. I think most of you know the warning of the great English writer, H. G. Wells, that history in the future will be "a race between education and catastrophe." But few people remember how clearly, over

fifty years ago, he foresaw the actual shape of the catastrophe which now overhangs mankind. In his book, *The World Set Free*, he wrote:

"Nothing could have been more obvious . . . than the rapidity with which war was becoming impossible. . . . (But people) did not see it. They did not see it until the atomic bombs burst in their fumbling hands."

He was hopeful of humanity, nevertheless, for he also prophesied:

"The catastrophe of the atomic bombs . . . shook (men) out of their old-established habits of thought, and out of the lightly held beliefs and prejudices that came down to them from the past."

Samuel Johnson once remarked that nothing concentrates a man's thoughts so much as the imminence of hanging. And nothing has jolted people all over the world into hard, fresh, and concentrated thought as the prospect of thermonuclear annihilation. There is no longer any viable alternative to peace. Even the Soviet leaders acknowledged it when they said that communism itself could not survive an atomic holocaust. For the sake of all humanity, I hope that the leaders of Communist China will learn this same lesson in time.

Once all of us accept the plain fact that war has become much too dangerous to use as an instrument of national policy—even so-called "wars of national liberation" which the Communists still support and promote—we must draw the logical conclusions. We must think and research and work much harder to devise peaceful ways of ordering our affairs here on earth—an earth which science and technology have made virtually one great neighborhood.

The establishment of a world of freedom and justice under law—this is the great challenge, this is the great task of your generation.

Peace will not come merely because you ask for it, parade for it, or even demonstrate for it. It will come through hard work and sacrifice, through building stone upon stone, day after day and year after year.

Science for Peace

Finally, I say to this graduating class that we must deliberately direct the miraculous achievements of science and technology to the fulfillment of human needs. Only thus will man prove himself worthy of the incalculable powers for good and evil which science has placed in his hands. Science *can* destroy us—but it can also save us. The awesome force of atomic energy can mean catastrophe—or it can be a mighty force for peace and well-being. There is nothing inherently threatening in man's scientific discoveries. What counts is man's spirit—and the depth of his commitment to peace on earth.

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