Address by

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

before

ROTC Graduates

University of Minnesota

Minneapolis

June 11, 1966

"Today you begin your service in the most powerful military establishment yet known to man. You can be rightfully proud of your new responsibility. But as you serve, I ask you to know and to ponder the cause that you uphold. I ask you to remember the promise of America."

Today, you receive your commissions as officers in the service of your country. As such, you will be associated with military power far beyond that ever seen before on earth.

A little more than a year ago, at Johns Hopkins University, our President spoke of military power. "We often say how impressive power is," he said. "But I do not find it impressive at all. The guns and the bombs, the rockets and the warships, are all symbols of human failure. They are necessary symbols. They protect what we cherish. But they are witness to human folly."

I think that few Americans would disagree with what President Johnson said—few, particularly, among those who wear our nation's military uniform.

Our Military Leaders

It is to the eternal credit of this country that some of our finest military officers have been great civilians at heart. I think of General Eisenhower, General Bradley, and General Marshall, to mention just a few. No Americans have demonstrated a greater dedication to freedom and a greater respect for civilian authority than these men.

There is something else that needs to be said about our military men. They are nation-builders as well, and they are engaged in this task in many places on this earth—building schools, teaching, opening health centers, doing the works of peace as well as of war.

No Arrogance in U.S. Power

I have heard it said that our country today suffers from an "arrogance of power."

I dispute that.

If anything, our country has been—in my generation and yours—perhaps overhesitant in the necessary application of its power.

As a people, we abhor the use of force. We oppose coercion. We suspect those who give orders. We live by the creed, and rightly so, that each person and each nation should have maximum freedom to pursue individual destiny—so long as that pursuit does not trample on the rights of others.

In our time, there has been some trampling. And, because of our hesitancy in the use of power, we have sometimes waited too long to respond to it—yes, with tragic result.

And I don't mean this just in the international sense.

It took us a long time in this century to get very excited about trampling going on among our fellow citizens.

Positive Efforts for the Oppressed

But we ultimately did respond, and we are responding still.

We did not respond merely in the sense of punishing transgressors. No, we responded, and are responding, with positive laws, actions, and ideas to lift the oppressed.

There is no negative philosophy behind our efforts today to give the Negro American an unfettered chance to get an even break in life. Nor is there anything negative about our efforts, in America's urban ghettoes, to make the walls come tumbling down . . . nor in our efforts to help young children, from families bent by generations of poverty, break out of desperate spirals of despair and hopelessness.

We do, however, maintain police forces. And—unless the Great Society, this better America that we work and pray for, comes to full achievement sooner than any of us think—we'll need them for some time to come.

This does not mean that we are committed to the use of force—it is evidence, rather, that the business of democracy is still unfinished.

Reaction to Overseas Challenges

If our reaction time has been slow at home, it has been slower in the world.

Let us be frank: It took two disastrous world wars to convince us that we had better take an interest in what was happening around us.

Since the end of World War II, we *have* engaged ourselves. I will not recite today the accomplishments of the Marshall Plan, of Point Four, of Food for Peace. Nor will I speculate about what might have happened in the world had we not stood firm in Berlin, in Korea, or in the Cuban missile crisis.

Each one of these decisions carried with it the possibility of war—and in the case of Korea, the actuality of war. The role of leadership is not an easy one. It is hard and dangerous, but it is necessary.

Yet we only begin to appreciate the massive tasks which still face us ahead.

Challenge in Vietnam

Today there is a challenge from totalitarianism in Southeast Asia. There is, in Vietnam, a shooting war.

I have no doubt that there will inevitably be a settlement in Vietnam—although there may be much pain and heartbreak in between.

But, even if peace were to come tomorrow in Vietnam, we would face a world still on the verge of daily explosion.

For we live in a world where there exist ideologies openly in opposition to man's independence and self-determination.

World Nuclear Peril

We live in a world where, if a button were pushed at this moment, this city would disappear in a half-hour's time.

We live in a world—and this is the most important of all—where two-thirds of our fellow men live in such abject poverty that it is beyond our imagination.

What chance is there for the future of peace and of the human family in such an environment?

How shall we respond?

We must respond with the commitment of our power.

The Full Range of Power

I do not mean military power alone.

I mean the power of our free economic system. I mean the power of our well-trained and dedicated people. I mean the power of our compassion. I mean the power of our ideas.

More powerful than any army is an idea whose time has come.

The Revolution of Human Freedom

The idea of our time is that of our own American Revolution: That men ought to have the right to govern themselves . . . that men should be able to make their own choices, to chart their own lives.

This is the real revolution in the world. It has little to do with Karl Marx or with the racial supremacists or with the people who march in jackboots.

This is the revolution of human freedom.

And, if you put your ear to the ground, you can hear the tramping feet of that revolution from a million villages around this earth. People are on the march. They will not be denied.

Nor shall they be.

Whether oppression exists in an Asian rice field, where a man's home is burned, his crop stolen, his son kidnapped; whether it exists in a comfortable, well-lighted motel along an American highway where a Negro father, his wife and children are turned away from lodging . . . we cannot turn our eyes.

"Monuments" To Justice

Our monuments need not be, after all, a thousand lost golf balls.

Our monuments can be a nation and a world where there will be no knocks at the door at night . . . where there will be no armies of occupation . . . where there will be no breadlines, no political prisons, no swastikas and slogans of hate . . . where no man's skin, or last name, or religion will be a mark against him.

Our monuments can be a nation and world where each young man knows that, so long as he respects the rights of others, the future lies open ahead . . . that he may go where he wishes . . . say what he pleases . . . that he may be himself . . . that he may make his place in life, without any taps on the shoulder.

These are the tasks for American power.

These are the tasks to be undertaken, not with arrogance but with humility and determination.

Your New Responsibility

Today, you begin your service in the most powerful military establishment yet known to man. You can rightfully be proud of your new responsibility.

But, as you serve, I ask you to know and to ponder the cause that you uphold. I ask you to remember the promise of America. I ask you to know the precious ideal that depends upon you for its protection. It is the ideal that men were born to be free. You are the guardians of that ideal—the protectors not only of our own freedom, but the freedom of others, both those who presently have it and those who aspire to it.

Address by

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

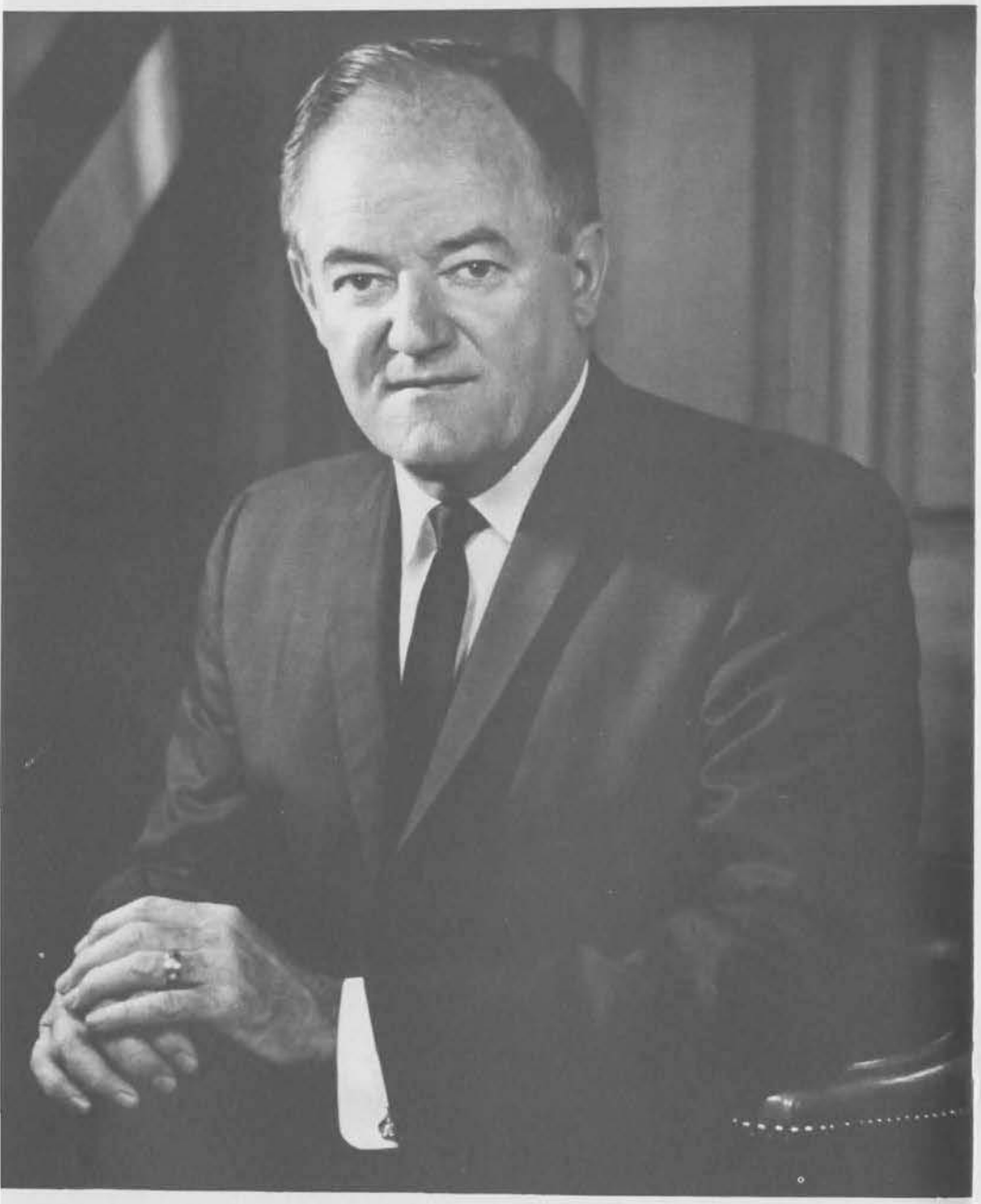
At

Michigan State University

East Lansing, Michigan

June 12, 1966

"Yours is the opportunity to prove in the world what the generation of your parents has already begun to prove in America: That the course of history is not a mindless juggernaut we are powerless to control, but a fresh challenge susceptible to courageous action in each generation."



Hubert Humphrey feels a kinship with college students.

I like to be where the action is.

I was raising Cain with the system before you were born. And as I am just beginning to get started, I don't doubt that I will be raising Cain when you are running things, too.

In fact, I wish I were being graduated today. I might have a better idea where my next job is coming from.

Today, I speak in a relatively new role. I speak for management.

As management's spokesman, I wish first to thank you for service to your nation.

The View From Management

In all these years of study, I am sure you thought you were improving your position to compete in the years ahead or to enter a profession. But you today are more than college graduates.

From management's viewpoint, you are valuable national resources.

More Americans are in college this year than all the Americans alive when our nation was founded. More Americans are in graduate schools today than all the Americans who bore arms during the Revolution. Those are lots of resources.

And we will need them all.

For, by the time one of you is likely to stand in this place at some future Commencement, the American people will number more than 300 million—and the people in the world almost too many to even think about.

And I need not recite for you the future needs and problems of those people.

You will be in charge. You will be responsible for our national security and my medicare.

You will be responsible for the education of my grandchildren and the freedom of my great-grandchildren.

So I propose to take a look at you and have a talk with you.

About Your Parents

But first, about your parents. . . .

It may be hard to believe but, in another century's history books, the very people who have been helping with your tuition may be ranked among the greatest radicals in modern history.

Some of your parents might flinch if you told them there were radicals in your family. But they have been nothing less.

Theirs is the first generation in all of history which, by its own hand, has surrendered the privilege of telling its offspring: This is how things are; this is how they always have been; this is the way the world goes.

Your fathers and mothers were born children of hills and valleys. Today, they see the galaxy itself.

They have created amazing new systems of management, science and technology.

They have fought and won wars.

They have designed and created international political and economic institutions that they hoped might help keep the peace.

They have revitalized an economy that was faltering and made it vibrant and successful.

They have found new and better systems to care for people.

Looking Backward

And I have been right in the midst of it with them, just as I am with you.

I am not going to bore you with tales of the Great Depression, or of World Wars, and of the hardships your parents faced.

Nor will I recount the struggles that took place in our country to achieve the measure of well-being and social justice we have reached today.

But I can tell you, it has been no picnic. It has been no improvised "happening."

It has taken involvement, and hard work, and study, and self-doubt, and passionate disagreement, and finally, understanding and motion.

Progress has ridden no fast express. It has been a local all the way.

Thus, as older generations welcome you aboard, I think you ought to know that they've not been cooling their heels waiting for you.

The generation of your parents has lived amid the floodwaters of history. Most of them have known genuine hardship. Many of them have lost loved ones on other continents. Their old horizons have gone far off in space, yet they have followed, cautious but willing. The world has come to their dinner table, and at times has seemed to stay a long while, yet they remain hospitable.

They have made history. Yet to many of you, I know, it seems "the heavy hand of history."

Remember this: The challenges they have faced didn't leave room for some of the niceties of today.

They have had to meet trouble in large sizes.

They have had to feed and clothe and house and transport and produce and educate and struggle in big portions, just to overcome the clear and present perils of their time.

Individualism has been the backbone and concern of their work. Yet, to serve the individual, they have had to build on a scale which has seemed at times to dwarf the individual.

By and large they have been, I believe, a resourceful and courageous generation.

Looking Forward

And now, to you, I know, it seems they have hidden their history.

Over the battlefield they have laid out the golf course.

For those of you who have grown up within putting distance of a country club or within walking distance of a second car, it is hard, I know, to recognize many vestiges of their radicalism.

But they were radicals. They broke through.

They made the beginnings, the great beginnings, of a better America.

"Where's the action now?" you ask.

And I reply: There's plenty of action. Roll up your sleeves and have some.

There's work to be done right here in Michigan—in all the 50 states of our union. And there's work to be done in the world.

Not merely to protest injustices, but to do something about them—that's where the action is.

That's why God gave youth to the young. Otherwise He might have given it to the elderly.

Your parents had to fight desperately, at your age, to stave off poverty at home and violence abroad—and they in large part succeeded.

Yet the challenges you face are far greater, and far more exciting. than those they faced. The scale of effort to be required of you will be far greater than that required of them.

A Matter of Fact

For the fact of our time is this: The poverty our nation knew in the Great Depression . . . the peril that mankind knew in World War II—these are nothing compared to the poverty and peril that surround our strong, rich America in the world today.

There are desperate conditions of injustice and hunger and disease throughout most of the human family.

There are, in human society, conditions which not only bring a sense of shame and insufficiency to those of us who live in such a blessed land . . . but conditions which can lead to the eruption of the little disorder, which can grow to the small war, which can build to the cataclysm which could destroy rich and poor, black and white, believer and non-believer—all of us alike.

That is where the action is.

This is the environment in which you will be in charge.

This is the human adventure on which you embark.

Young America's Response

I believe you sense the full measure of what you face.

I feel a sense of concern and of involvement among you.

I have seen you in the Peace Corps, helping strangers.

I have seen you marching down dusty roads on behalf of fellow Americans whose skin doesn't happen to be white.

I have seen you, in VISTA, lifting the forgotten to a place of self-respect in life.

I have seen you, standing calm, resisting the temptation of violence, for what you believe in.

I have seen you, wearing your nation's uniform, fighting bravely for a cause far more difficult to understand than any we have defended before.

I have seen you speaking out, from deep personal conscience, without thought of personal popularity.

You perform remarkably well in the system your parents built, yet I know that you are probing relentlessly to find your own personal relationship to it . . . desperately seeking identity in a society of bigness.

Labels Lack Meaning

For your generation, the old labels seem to have little meaning.

Whether you are part of the "New Left" or the "New Right" or the "Out" or the "In," your concerns are far more for basic humanity than they are political.

And I think it is a mistake to see in either your protests, your reservations, or your dissent, much that can fit into the traditional political categories.

Indeed, if much of our political history seems to have escaped you, you are not too troubled by the loss. You are deeply and personally caught up in what matters today.

You set high standards for yourselves, and you judge yourselves harshly.

And you show a remarkable degree of serious introspection for the children of prosperity.

The Search For Identity

And I sometimes fear that, in your introspection, you may come to believe you are alone.

I tell you now that when you stand alone, you are not alone.

When you speak out and act alone in America, you are more a part of this land and more a source of its strength than are all of the multitude who stand in silence, no matter how vast they may seem.

"The most dangerous enemy to truth and freedom amongst us," said Ibsen, "is the compact majority."

Oppose that compact majority, and you are sure to collect a few bruises. But I have found that the best remedy for a bruise is to collect a few more.

The more you speak out, and the more you act, the more you are going to discover that you are lending courage to a surprising number of people whose feelings will come to the surface in response to yours.

That's the meaning of leadership—to inspire others, to help them free themselves of their own needless fears.

True freedom in any land is a relentless, never ending process of self-discovery among its people.

This you will preserve, for our own land, not because it is your inheritance; nor because some destiny says you must; but because your own free search for individual identity in the living present, demands it.

The strongest bulwark of liberty is man, free and in search of himself.

Serving Those In Need

A good number of your generation have already learned this lesson, in search of themselves in places and causes far distant from East Lansing, Michigan.

It is your opportunity to carry that lesson into forgotten corners of our country—and of the world—where people have never had any reason to learn it, or believe it.

We face today the incomparable opportunity—in the red dust of South American villages, in the neon minefield that is Watts, California—to stimulate the will to seek identity and to discover one's course.

You will be tempted to chart your progress by Gross National Product or by trade indices, or by other quantitative measures, some of which you distrust today.

But may I suggest that you also measure your progress by whether those you help—those who have known in their lives nothing but despair and defeat—by whether they can begin to have faith, by whether they can begin to have hope, by whether they can begin to find themselves.

The Opportunity To Make History

Yours is the opportunity to prove in the world what the generation of your parents has already begun to prove in America: That the course of history is not a mindless juggernaut we are powerless to control, but a fresh challenge susceptible to courageous action in each generation.

It's good to study history, but it's even better to make it.

I hope you will be sensitive to that opportunity.

I hope you will waste no time in seizing it.

The story is told that Pericles of Ancient Greece in his later years came across a young lawyer of Athens who was deeply devoted to causes, who wished to change immediately what was wrong in the world.

Pericles chastized the young man for being too bold and brash—for concerning himself with things better left to older men.

The older man patronizingly said: "Of course, I understand for I, too, was over-eager in my youth. But, now that I am older, I have learned better. Take my advice and do not become so involved."

To which the young man replied: "I regret I did not have the privilege of knowing you when you were at your best."

We are at our best when we dare most. The difference between competence and greatness is the ability to do the impossible.

The American Song

Despite the fact that I represent management here today, I will tell you this: If you do not choose to follow precisely the trails that others have blazed, then I do not think we ought to count the future unsafe in your hands.

In your search for identity and self-knowledge, you will have much to discover before you determine what is worthwhile, and what is worthless.

But in a land of individuals, better the mystery of the search than some counterfeit security. In a world society desperate for change, better your dedication to it than your fear of it.

It is the special blessing of this land, that each generation of Americans has called its own cadence, and written its own music—and our greatest songs are still unsung.

BETTER CITIES FOR TOMORROW

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President of the United States

Excerpts from remarks by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey before the U.S. Conference of Mayors in Dallas, Texas, June 13, 1966, published by the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

MAYOR JONSSON, I want you to know what a special privilege it is to come to Dallas. I think that I speak for every single person in this audience today when I say that you and Dallas have really done a great job for all the mayors and the people here.

I gather that the Secretary of Housing and Urban Development brought you a message that meant a great deal to you. I want to say this, we are lucky and fortunate in this country to have a man who has devoted his life to the problems that face every one of us in our metropolitan areas, one who has been dedicated to making the American city

a better place to live. I salute Bob Weaver for giving unstintingly, unselfishly, and wholeheartedly of his talent and his life to the development and improvement of our great metropolitan areas. Secretary Weaver, every one of us is grateful to you.

We know what the problems are that face our cities and our rural areas as well. We are also quite sure of the solutions. The difficulty comes in how to apply the solutions and in what measure.

Individuality in an Urban Society

This Nation becomes more urbanized every day. But, with that knowledge comes a whole matter of evaluation and analysis of what urbanization means to the American individual. Can a person preserve his own individuality in the complex of a metropolitan urban society? Can we really maintain in our urban society the same values, the same ideas, and the same ideals that were given to us by the Founding Fathers in rural America? I think so, or I would not be here.

I think that these ideals of human liberty and freedom, of human dignity, are just as relevant and just as pertinent to the urban life as they are to a more simple and less complex life of early rural America. It is, however, a great challenge to make these ideals meaningful, practical, and realistic to the individual.

I like to speak in terms of the individual and not in terms of the mass. I like to think that our country represents personalities and not just a conglomerate, an aggregate. We are trying to build cities today that in a very real sense emancipate man from the tyranny of poor, or even hostile, environments, to give him a chance for individuality.

Needed: A National Commitment

So I say, our cities are in ferment. They are changing far more rapidly than many of us can comprehend. Another fact of modern-day life is that no single community can meet the demands made of it without some help. The local tax base is inadequate to the demands that are placed on the locality by an ever-growing population. A national effort must be made.

As a Nation, we are committed to many great causes. For example, I am Chairman of the Space Council of your Government. This Council is responsible for all of the development and research that go into the exploration of this whole new world called "outer space." I am for this effort; for it has added great things to our country by improving our industry, by advancing our educational system and research capabilities, and in general upgrading our skills. We are going to spend vast sums of money, but we must for our security, for our science, for our technology, for our education, and for the prestige of this Nation.

Breakthrough on Earth

But, any nation that can spend 25 to 35 billions of dollars to put a man on the moon also must make up its mind that it can spend what is necessary to help put a man on his feet right here on earth.

Economic Growth

This is a big country, this is a rich country, and we intend to keep it that way. We are approaching a gross national products this year of three-quarters of a trillion dollars. Our gross national product increase—just the increase this year—is greater than the total gross national product of all of South America. The increase in Federal revenues without any change in the tax schedule is about eight million dollars a year because of this GNP increase.

Our economy must continue to grow if we are to fulfill our many commitments. We have some problems. We have a rising cost of living and some indications of inflation. We must be very careful to avoid inflation. Because of certain warning signals, such as rising prices, we have asked local government officals to review capital expenditures now. We are not giving you any magic formulas; we are merely asking you to exercise your best judgment and defer for a few months any expenditures which will not put the health and welfare of your communities in jeopardy.

Patience and Experimentation

I know if I could just come here and promise you all the money you want and need, it would seem to be the solution to everything. Your Federal Government cannot furnish all the money to meet all the needs of every community in this country. I am not here to tell you that, and I don't think anybody else with any degree of responsibility is going to tell you that. We have made great progress, but accomplishing great tasks takes time. It takes time to build a business; it takes time to rear a family; it takes time to get an education; it will take time to rebuild our cities.

There is no formula for Utopia. In America, we must experiment. Our system contemplates failures and successes. History confirms our faith in this system, because no other country has been as successful.

A Voice for Our Cities

So, it took time to bring about the Department of Housing and Urban Development. But at long last, we have a representative of our cities in the President's Cabinet. It took time and it is going to take more time to get this whole establishment set. One of the things I admire Secretary Weaver most for is that he is taking the time to see that his de-

partment will be organized with the deliberateness necessary to have a good department. The mayors of the United States must surely realize this time factor. Who hasn't found that it takes months—sometimes years—to get agreement on an underpass or a redevelopment plan or other major public action?

A Great Beginning

We've been making some progress—new laws and new commitments. In education, there has been an explosion. There have been breakthroughs in health, social welfare, and we are consciously waging war on poverty. We are making great beginnings. It may take a few more years, but we are certainly closer than we were 10,000 years ago. We are turning the tide in our striving toward beauty. At least, people are conscious of the fact that when you drive along the highway you ought not to see all the refuse of humanity. There is a growing determination that the monument to this country is not going to be a gutter full of beer cans. We're making progress in cleaner air and purer water. Our search for economic growth and stability shows much progress. All of these benefit our cities and our people, but they are just beginnings.

Are we doing enough? Of course not. But we are accelerating our rate of progress—in some areas faster than it can be absorbed, I'm afraid. An example of this is aid to education. We are pouring hundreds of millions of dollars into education, and there is hardly a State in this Union that has been able to use the funds allocated to it—including my own State. If we could pass a budget tomorrow morning for 10 billion dollars more for the cities, there would still be some cities that could not gear up to put that money to work.

What is important is the steady progress and our insisting that we do more. I think we are beginning to do that; we are accomplishing that steady progress within the expansion of our economy, within our available resources. And for this progress this Nation owes a debt of gratitude to the mayors of this country. You've been there in Washington at the critical moments, you've testified, and you've proven in your cities that progress can be made and that your ideas will work both quantitatively and qualitatively.

Full Citizenship for All Americans

Now despite our prosperity there are still more than 30 million Americans who suffer degrading poverty. Our biggest task in this country is to upgrade people, to help them improve their lives by developing talent and skills so that they become more productive. When people live in despair and hopelessness bred of filth and poverty, it is difficult to motivate them toward first-class citizenship. But, to accomplish our goals in urban areas, all must be first-class citizens. We have touched the

lifeline of every culture and every civilization so we are all entitled to first-class citizenship with its privileges and responsibilities.

Battling Slumism

There is a term I have been trying to impress upon the American people. Sometimes, we try to simplify our problem. When we think about the world today and we talk about violence and terror, assassination and aggression, and all of these things, we generally say it is communism. Well, it's not all communism. I happen to believe that if there never had been a Karl Marx or Lenin or Stalin that there would still be many problems in this world that would terrify us and shake us out of our complacency. We have some Communists, not many, but they are noisy, militant, and bothersome.

But, there is another and bigger problem facing us. I call it slumism, and slumism is more than just a dirty section of an old city or even a rundown section of a relatively new city. The enemy within our gates is slumism; it is poverty; it is illiteracy; it is disease; it is discrimination; it is frustration; and it is bitterness. Slumism is ungathered garbage and dilapidated buildings.

I want to say that many of our municipal services are upside down; we have the better schools in the areas where there is higher income. It should be the other way around, or at least the schools should be equal. The garbage collection is usually much better where you and I live. The streets that get the dirtiest are in the areas where the people have never been taught self-discipline.

Slumism is a family of eight in an unheated room in the northern United States. Rat-infested tenements in the richest country on the face of the earth are unpardonable. Slumism is danger in the park at night or on your own stairway. Slumism is the pent-up anger of people living on the outside of prosperity; it is a rent so high that a man becomes desperate—moved either to tears or to crime. It is a virus that spreads, that races like a malignancy through our cities, breeding disorder, disillusionment, and hate. We simply must declare war on this evil, just as we have on Communist aggresion.

Planning for Action

Slumism is attacking our cities rapidly; it is taking over city after city.

We have the resources, we have the manpower, and we have the know-how. We can put these things to work if we have the will, the perseverance, and a plan of action.

But, we are not going to win any struggle overnight. Americans have to learn there are no instant solutions to age-old problems. We have to learn to be persevering, patient, and yet keep a sense of impatience.

Such a sense of impatience can best be put into well-thought plans of action. I learned this from General Westmoreland in Viet Nam. Some-

times, you get derailed; sometimes, things come up that you don't understand, that you did not contemplate. We need a plan of action to keep objectives and priorities in focus, and as a Nation we are developing one. We must have one if we are going to defeat slumism.

Viet Nam and Our Cities

The struggle in Southeast Asia takes a good deal of our resources. But let me point out it is not a much larger percentage of our Gross National Product than it was two years ago. The defense budget went from 7.7 percent of the GNP to 7.8 percent in that period. In the Korean conflict, that figure was almost doubled. So, it isn't as if we are draining all our resources; the figures are big, but so is the income.

That war is not going to last forever. Your Government is determined to find an honorable solution, a peace that gives the people in Viet Nam a chance for self-determination. We think that this is important for our Nation and for the world. We think it will be important in terms of our incomes and budgets for the years to come. If all of Southeast Asia goes down the Communist drain, I think we will have more to pay. The insurance we are fighting for in Viet Nam is a wise investment for security and freedom in this world. I have the same prayer that you have. No one is more unhappy about this tragic struggle than the man who is talking to you—unless it is the President.

That tragic struggle will come to an end. When it does, there will be more resources available for your cities. We have to be prepared to take advantage of that opportunity.

Tools of Opportunity: Rent Supplements

Among the programs looking toward that opportunity is rent supplements. You know what it is all about. You know how public housing works; when a family's income goes over the limit set for your community, even just a little, the family must move. Rent supplements offer the same standards of limitation with the exception that if the family can pay its own way in this housing, the supplement is withdrawn, the full rent is paid, and the family doesn't have to move. Now, public housing costs twice as much as the housing generated by rent supplements. This will be taxpaying housing. It is a better way to house families on their way up. I ask you to help us get the appropriation for fiscal year 1967 passed.

Demonstration Cities

Another tool of opportunity is the Demonstration Cities Program. Secretary Weaver has told you about it. This is an Administration bill; the President is for it; Secretary Weaver is for it; and the Vice President is for it. We are fighting for it, and we want it the way you want it. We want more than just planning money; we want planning and action money. We are committed to that.

The Demonstration Cities Program will be an increment of new money for your city. You will not lose a single program you have now. In addition to these regular, ongoing programs, special grants would be extended to demonstration cities. These grants would not be siphoned away from other Federal programs.

I want to emphasize also that the benefits of this program would be available to those cities—on a first-come, first-served basis—who have plans to show that they are ready to mount a full-scale attack on the slum problem. Get yourself organized; get your plans; and have a program that really makes your city a demonstration city.

Your Program and Your Challenge

Critics of this proposal do not attack it as a bad bill, but rather out of the fear, it seems, that it isn't big enough and that everybody can't participate immediately, or that only the big cities have a chance. Big cities need this program and can use it. But, the greatest beneficiaries will possibly be the smaller cities, because they are getting organized and this program would enable some of them virtually to eliminate slums and blight.

The ultimate size of the Demonstration Cities Program will be determined not by any figures or numbers game resulting from academic or even congressional debate, but by the cities themselves and their ability to put to work all these aids in a concentrated way. This will not be instant slum clearance. It will be a continuing program that begins with large-scale planning, continuous action, and social as well as economic rehabilitation. So my plea to you is: let's get the program started. Then, we can measure our rate of expansion by our readiness to put these demonstrations into large-scale operations.

The City Beautiful

Let me conclude with a word about committing yourselves to making the American city the city beautiful. The city should be the finest place in the world to live—with libraries, symphonies, radio and TV, cultural and recreational facilities, modern shopping areas, clean water and air, hospitals and health facilities. The city should be the finest institution of man's creation. It should be, but it isn't.

Now, if we could only have some examples of how you can build a magnificent community—not only in public structures, but in better, happier people and in removing tensions! The first American city that rehabilitates its structure and its soul, its facilities and its spirits, its buildings and its people, will ignite a flame which will attract the attention of every single citizen of this land.

That is what the Demonstration Cities Program is all about. I came down here to ask you to help create it.

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Address by

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

at Temple University

Philadelphia, Pennsylvania

June 16, 1966

"By pressing the good fight against poverty both at home and abroad, we identify ourselves with the deepest aspirations of the whole family of man."

Two years ago this nation launched a new kind of war—the war against poverty . . . not only poverty of the purse, which is bad enough, but poverty of the spirit, which is worse.

In one way or another, we Americans have been fighting poverty throughout our history. Indeed, it has always been the American dream to create a society in which each citizen would have unfettered opportunity to lift himself and his family to something better.

Yet it was not until this century that government played a real part in the struggle. Those who in the past held industrial and political power long rejected any government intervention on behalf of the poor.

Their attitude was not unlike that which Anatole France had flayed in Europe with bitter irony:

"The law, in its majestic equality, forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread."

The tide began to turn with Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, and came in strong with Franklin Delano Roosevelt and the social and economic advances of the New Deal.

It is on these beginnings that we are building today.

The Poor Now Visible

"The poor of the earth," says the Book of Job, "hide themselves together."

And, here in America, they were so well hidden in urban and rural slums that it was all too easy, even for men and women of good will, not to see them—although they make up almost one-fifth of our population.

They were not only invisible, they were largely inaudible. Except in the civil rights movement, they had no voice.

Now they are standing up and speaking for themselves. Sometimes their words may sound harsh and angry. But that is infinitely better than bitter and frustrated silence.

Yes, we can see and hear the poor nowadays.

They are very much on our minds and consciences—and this is all to the good. It's very much to the credit of this great and rich nation to remember the needy and the disadvantaged among its people.

In America's cities, poverty takes a form we know all too well. I call it slumism.

Slumism is more than old and rundown buildings.

Slumism is ungathered garbage and inadequate sanitary facilities.

Slumism is second-rate schooling for children who urgently need the best that we can give them.

Slumism is danger on the stair and violence in the street.

Slumism is the bitter feeling that nobody cares.

Slumism is the voice of a Negro mother telling why her sons went wrong:

"I wonder, do people who never have to worry about work know what happens to you when you keep knocking your head on a stone wall and there's still no work? . . . I'll tell you what happens, you just fold up and die. That's what drugs and liquor mean. They mean you've died. They mean you've hung up on the world, because you just keep calling and there just ain't no answer on the other end of the line."

The Call We Must Answer

This is the call we Americans must answer—with human kindness, with understanding, and, above all, we must answer it *now*.

We have ample reason today to heed Aristotle's grim warning that poverty is the parent of revolution and crime.

No people should know this better than we, for violence and crime are daily realities in our cities, and revolution racks the poverty-stricken two-thirds of the world.

The reason for crime and violence in our cities is all too clear—the degradation and rank injustice that pervade our urban ghettoes. And things may get worse, not better, unless we win our war against poverty.

Poverty takes many forms and arises from many causes—and we are learning that no single answer will suffice.

We are seeking the answers for every age of poverty—from our pre-school youngsters to our senior citizens. We are seeking answers for every place of poverty, from the city slums to depressed rural areas like Appalachia. Poverty is the only common denominator that binds these people together in sorrow, in resentment, and in rebellion against their lot.

Civil rights legislation is an essential part of the war on poverty.

So is aid to our elementary and secondary schools, focused particularly—as it is—on the children of the poor. So is aid to depressed areas. So is Medicare.

So are the new undertakings generally called the Poverty Program—community action, Head Start, the Job Corps, the Neighborhood Youth Corps, and others.

We are moving into new ground, and there are no blazed trails for us to follow.

Some of the approaches we try may not work out, and you may read about them in blaring headlines. This is bound to happen. Doctors have tried for years to find a cure for cancer, and we are not dismayed that they haven't; we simply ask them to try and try again.

On the other hand, some of the things we try may work out far better than we expected.

We must change or discard those programs which are not making headway, and we must expand those that are.

There can be no dogma or doctrine about this. We must find out from experience what works.

Four Ways Forward

We have already made a significant impact on poverty.

For example, Department of Labor figures show that the Great Society programs, in their totality, accounted for half the substantial reduction in unemployment in 1965.

And we have also, I think, begun to identify the major directions in which we must move forward. I would stress four in particular—education, income maintenance, job development, and the enhancement of human dignity.

The more we examine the facts and figures, the more we confirm what Americans seem always instinctively to have known—that education is, has been, and always will be our soundest and most productive investment as a nation.

And this is as true of the war on poverty as of every aspect of our life.

Perhaps the biggest gain we have scored so far against poverty has been in keeping hundreds of thousands of young Americans in high school and college, so that they can meet the stricter standards for employment in this technological age.

At the other end of the spectrum, we need to do more to assure an adequate income to those who are too old or too handicapped to work.

Just this month, the President reiterated his commitment to "the basic right of every older American to a decent income."

We should look forward to a time when these deserving people not only receive enough to live on, but share in the continuing rise of our standard of living.

We must do more, too, about jobs for the poor.

No Wasted Americans

We must regard the untrained and unemployed *not* as drags on our society, but as unused national resources.

Our nation needs and wants the services these "wasted Americans" can provide.

Today there are at least five million jobs waiting to be developed and filled in the expanding field of human services —health, education, welfare, and recreation.

That is why our government programs are training people for them. In doing this, we do three important things at once: provide jobs for the unemployed; provide essential services for all Americans; and provide the professionals in these fields the non-professional support they need.

There is opportunity, too, for the employment of the poor in the poverty program itself—and great advantage, as well. No one can understand poverty so well, or bring to people who suffer from it such intimate and sympathetic understanding, as those who have known it at first hand.

Toward Real Human Dignity

This brings me to the most intangible, but most important, direction in which we need to move—the enhancement of human dignity.

That is why community action programs are so important a part of the war on poverty. That is why the participation of the poor in the development and management of these programs is absolutely vital. For the essence of human dignity is the right of people to have a say in determining their own future. That's what the Declaration of Independence is about, and that's what the Constitution stands for.

We need to use a new kind of grammar in speaking and writing about poverty—a grammar in which the poor are the subjects, the people who act, rather than the objects, the people who are acted upon.

We need to involve the poor actively because we need to learn from them.

We need to find out why it is that our schools are not reaching many of their children, why urban renewal is not really eliminating slums, and why welfare programs are not breaking the cycle of dependency.

And I think we would do well to listen to people who have hard, practical knowledge about all this.

Moreover, we must apply the basic principle of democracy—that people, in their wisdom and even in their folly, know what is best for them. We need to bear in mind George Bernard Shaw's cautionary words:

"Do not do unto others as you would they should do unto you—their tastes may not be the same."

The Participating Poor

Today there are 8,000 new leaders in communities throughout the country—in less than two years! They are men and women from areas of poverty serving on community action boards—men and women previously unrecognized, unheard, unheeded.

Today they meet, consult, and make decisions along with their communities' bankers, labor leaders, and public officials. This is democracy at work.

And there are today over 30,000 additional men and women from the ranks of the poor serving as paid workers in community action programs.

Progress *is* being made. The poor have a major role to play in their own escape from poverty. But they cannot do it alone.

There is a place in this war for every American. There is a place, particularly, for our universities.

The American university cannot be an oasis for quiet meditation in a desert of human need.

We must go back to the early European idea 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.

The Role of the University

Universities need to be involved in everyday life. They need to be where the action is, where people live and work.

American universities have much to give to American cities, and our cities have a great deal to give in return.

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 university can—and should—become an integral, catalytic part of the community.

Indeed, the most important laboratory of today's university can be the community itself.

Temple University has recognized this responsibility for some time. And recently, as you know, Temple has received a 500,000-dollar grant from the Office of Economic Opportunity to become part of a network of seven universities that will help train both the officers and the foot soldiers in the war against poverty, many of them recruited from the ranks of the poor themselves.

The university can be even more than a center of learning and enlightenment in the community. It can be a wellspring of progressive social action.

It can be a center of ferment for good, not merely ferment for ferment's sake. And to those of you in the faculty and student body who feel deeply about man's inhumanity to man—let me say there's work to be done and a peace to be won.

This Volunteer Generation

Now, a word to you who are graduating today.

Of those to whom much is given, much is expected.

This generation of young Americans is living and acting in this fine old tradition. Many of you have already enlisted in the battle against poverty in communities throughout the country.

Almost two-thirds of all VISTA volunteers to date have been college students—or recent graduates—taking a year off for this service.

Just this week, 500 college students boarded a so-called Troop Train at Union Station in Washington. They were VISTA Associates—devoting their summer to work in the Appalachian hills and hollows.

VISTA offers great scope for service in the war on poverty. But there are other opportunities too. And there is of course the opportunity for service abroad—in the Peace Corps and in other international programs.

You have earned the right to be called the volunteer generation.

I hope that all of you will see such service as an essential part of your responsibility to your country—and to yourselves.

From Poverty to Peace

Finally, let me place this all in a wider context—an international context. As we tear down the tattered tarpaper that separates the poor from the rest of us in our own fortunate land, we must rededicate ourselves to the fight against poverty and injustice in other parts of the world.

Two-thirds of mankind—nearly all the people of Asia, Africa, and Latin America—are beset by hunger, disease, and misery every day of their lives. It is in soil like this that the seeds of violence, despair, and revolution take root.

As the late Pope John so often said, where there is constant want, there is no peace.

If we seek peace, therefore, we must fight want. To achieve peace is not easy, and it will not come merely from our wishing it. Peace is work and sacrifice. It is education, overseas aid, the Peace Corps, the United Nations. It is food and medicine and engineering work. It will not come because you ask for it, but because you live for it—and, if need be, die for it.

More than ever, what we do here at home is intimately related to what we can accomplish abroad. People everywhere urgently seek and demand human dignity.

By pressing the good fight against poverty both at home and abroad, we identify ourselves with the deepest aspirations of the whole family of man.

Therefore, let our nation be known not only for its power, but for its compassion—not only for its brave soldiers but for its creative scholars—not only for its wealth, but for its willingness to share it with those less fortunate.

Let us show, in deeds as well as in words, the warm humanity and the spirit of brotherhood which have always characterized America at its best—an America which is not a global gendarme, but a giver of life and of hope to the dispossessed of the earth.

Address by

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

at

American Agricultural Editors' Association

Washington, D. C.

June 22, 1966

Introduction by James C. Thomson, President, A.A.E.A. (Prairie Farmer, Chicago, Illinois)

We have had a wonderful four days in Washington and this is the last of our scheduled events and a very fitting climax to a highly informative and stimulating convention.

Our speaker does this organization a great honor in appearing here today, and it is a great privilege for me to introduce him to you. But before I introduce our speaker, let me introduce you to him.

Mr. Vice President, these farm paper editors represent a combined 12,000,000 circulation. They are well known, too, and speak regularly to virtually all of the farmers of the nation. I am sure you don't remember me, but I was with you and Secretary Freeman on the trip to Honolulu. We stopped in Guam, you may remember, and went on to Saigon, and the last time I saw you, you were making a speech to the Vietnamese and I must confess that I didn't hear all of your speech because I was so fascinated watching a Japanese reporter write what you were saying, with all those flourishes and a little brush. I had never seen anything quite like that.

Well, our speaker is a man of tremendous vitality and wide interests and in the recent flurry of charge and countercharge about farm and food prices, I don't think he ever lost sight of the importance of agriculture to this nation's economy. Gentlemen, Ladies, I am very happy to present to you the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey. (Applause)

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
(left) with James C. Thomson

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey:

Thank you very much for your gracious introduction, Jim. I appreciate the opportunity to speak to people who talk to farmers and those in the agri-business community.

Farm people, their problems, their defeats, their triumphs, and their basic importance to our society have been the concern of President Johnson and myself for many years. We come from rural America. We've see farm depressions, and their terrible human toll, and we never want to see another. We must not have another.

Our American farmers will enjoy one of their most prosperous years in 1966. In most commodities, we need more production. This is news, ladies and gentlemen, and it's good news.

Net income per farm and personal income per capita of farm people will be the highest on record this year. Farm prices are up. Net farm income is up. Agricultural exports are up. And farm surpluses are down.

When I first came to Washington, and indeed in the time of my service in the Senate, there was an article each day about the unbelievable tragedy of farm surpluses that was befalling this nation. Now, some of those same writers are beginning to tell us of the danger of shortages. It just proves how things do change.

Most of the credit for the achievements I have spoken of belongs to the productive energy and the competence of the American farmer. But some credit is due the Johnson-Humphrey administration, the 88th and 89th Congresses, and to policies directed to the prosperity and well being of rural America.

Parity of income and equality of opportunity for our farm producers are the stated and determined goals of this government.

Sometimes, the good news and the record of achievement are obscured by a poor choice of words, or confusing headline. So, let me make one or two things clear. If things are better today than yesterday, we nevertheless seek to make them even better tomorrow. We are a restless people, and we seek higher standards and higher goals all the time.

Fair and Stable Prices

American agriculture will be selling more of its production, and fair and stable prices are in prospect. Fair and stable prices have been a basic need of American agriculture

for many years. And fair and stable prices to the farmer imply no unfairness to the consumer.

The American consumer has benefited—sometimes without realizing who his benefactor was—from prices which, at the farm level, often have been distressingly low. One of the developments in our nation is that people have become accustomed to rather low farm prices. Occasionally a note of sympathy would be uttered to the farmer, but farm prices remained distressingly low, nevertheless.

In the last five years, the price of eleven key foods in the consumer price index has risen less than nine per cent. During the same period, the weekly earnings after taxes of a worker in industry has risen more than 20 per cent. The profits of American corporations have more than doubled and dividends have more than tripled.

Everything must be put into perspective. You cannot just look at one factor and draw judgments from that. The theory of relativity applies to economics in a society such as ours just as it does to science.

Food—America's Best Bargain

In no country, do consumers have as large a choice of nutritious foods as in this country. And the percentage of disposable income that is spent for food is lower in the United States than in any country on the face of the earth. The best bargain in the world is the food that the American people get this day, in this month of June, 1966.

Consumers can thank the American farmer for this in a very large part. Consumers reap the benefit of abundant production on our farms and, in turn, farmers benefit from full employment, or expanded employment in the rest of the economy.

By the same token, consumers do not benefit in the long run from depressed farm prices. We all need each other for a full and balanced prosperity. Here is where you come in.

Farm Editors' Vital Role

Farm editors have an opportunity and an obligation to present the facts to the entire American public. This is a story that needs to be understood by every American.

You have provided a constant flow of technical information from the laboratory to the land. In no other country are farmers as well informed as in the United States. Major credit for this should be assigned to farm publications, their editors and their reporters.

You also have helped to bring about an understanding of the social and international policies and advantages of our farm programs. I cannot overly stress the importance of American agriculture to the strength of this nation throughout the world. It is so vital!

Food for Peace Program

I particularly wish to commend you for your long-term support of the Food for Peace program.

Since 1954, we have exported over $15 billion worth of farm products to needy people in developing nations under the Food for Peace program. Food for Peace helps millions of people every year in more than 100 countries. Some of these countries have developed with our help to the point where they now are commercial markets for our farm products. Nations whose people we were helping with food and other forms of aid ten or twenty years ago now are among our best dollar customers for farm products. And there is good reason to believe that other nations will move from the aid category to the commercial trade category in a very short time.

The Enemy of Hunger and Malnutrition

But, behind the statistics lies the full impact of our food aid. Let us think of those to whom the Food for Peace program is directed in our attack on hunger and malnutrition, still the most serious health problem of the world. Let us recognize that food deficiencies are most serious in infants, the pre-school age, and to a lesser degree in school-age children. And let us remember that malnutrition results not only in high child death rates and widespread disabling diseases, but in permanent mental and physical retardation.

One of the wonders of the world is the health of our youngsters here in America. Their good health not only is due to the great breakthroughs in the healing arts and drugs, but to nutritious food and diet.

As a result of the dietary changes in Japan, the average Japanese boy now is four inches taller than his father. Food has had a remarkable impact not only on physical health but mental health. The shortage of protein in the world is one of the great threats to the mental health of the people of the world.

The Food for Peace program is taking hold. What began as a surplus disposal program has become a major construc-

tive force. It is a basic and essential item in the programs of the President of the United States in advancing our foreign policy objectives and interests. Let no man underestimate the role of our food and technical assistance in meeting the challenge of world hunger—not only for the present, but for many years ahead.

The Lives We Save

The late beloved Pope John said that where there is hunger—constant hunger—there is no peace. We will save more lives in India this year as a result of food aid than the total population of North and South Vietnam. I wish that as much emphasis were placed on the lives that we save as is placed on the lives that are lost because of war. I wish we could have the same dramatic presentation every morning of the impact of American food on the lives of children throughout this world that we have every morning of the war in Vietnam. Every day, the papers are filled with death and destruction. This is a life-giving nation, but we seldom emphasize what we do that is constructive and wholesome and decent and good. We have a fixation on being able to portray the riots, the violence, the disease, the destruction, the despair that afflicts us. There ought to be some balance, and I appeal to you to give it that balance.

Helping Others to Help Themselves

Recently, the President called upon our nation to use our agriculture abundance and our extensive technical skills to assist the less-developed countries to strengthen their own ability to produce and to buy agricultural commodities and, more generally, to support world development. This is our policy—to help, to aid in emergency, but to offer self-help to get people to stand on their own feet. You are responding to this call.

Jim Milholland, who is here with us today, President of the Agricultural Publishers Association, will leave for Western Europe within the next few days where he will confer with government and agricultural leaders on farm problems there.

A committee of weekly newspaper publishers from the National Newspaper Association will be journeying to Japan and to East Asia this summer to talk with farm producers, governmental officials, and others.

Farm Papers for Peace

And the Agricultural Publishers, in cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, are launching a Farm Papers for Peace program whereby copies of well-known agricultural magazines and publications will be made available to emerging nations to make their libraries complete with the writings of our fine agricultural journalists.

Expanding Farm Exports

Let us take a good look at America's opportunities for farm exports. I meet with our business people from time to time on the matter of developing a sensitivity in this nation toward exports. Do you realize that our country exports only four per cent of its gross national product?

I met with the coal producers yesterday. We can lay down coal out of a United States coal mine at a port in Europe cheaper than a European country can mine its own coal. We have become competitive—overly competitive. The coal producers, because they were losing some of their domestic market, had to go out and get a foreign market.

I am urging that we take a good look at the development of farm exports because we have a miracle of production in this country. There is no country on the face of the earth that can even touch us in terms of agricultural efficiency. There are two areas in which we have unquestioned superiority—in the mining and the distribution and production of coal, and in the production of agricultural commodities and the distribution of those commodities. Nobody can even come close to us. It is in these areas that we ought to make our best endeavors and efforts.

In the current fiscal year, our agricultural exports are estimated to reach a new peak of $6.7 billion. We will receive $5 billion of this in dollars—a major, positive contribution to our balance of payments. But this contribution can be even larger if President Johnson's proposals to the Congress for the expansion of East-West trade are adopted. I ask your support of these proposals.

I ask your support for the principle that trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe in agricultural commodities be put on the same basis as trade in other non-strategic commodities.

We ship all kinds of things to these countries. We ship all sorts of items in which we are really not very competitive. But in a product that we have in abundance, or could produce in abundance at a lower price than anybody on the face of the earth, we have imposed artificial barriers.

(Left to right) JAMES MILHOLLAND, JR., President, Home State Farm Publications, Inc.; MRS. SAM SABIN; SAM SABIN Vice President, Continental Grain Co.; VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY; JAMES C. THOMSON, Editor, Prairie Farmer; NORMAN F. REBER, Editor, Pennsylvania Farmer; ROBERT G. RUPP, Managing Editor, The Farmer.

Increasing East-West Trade

Trade routes are vital arteries of international cooperation. They can be among the most significant of the bridges of better understanding between the Free World, the Soviet Union, and the Eastern European countries. Expansion of trade between such diverse economic systems needs the development of special ground rules consistent with Free World trade practices.

I have watched with interest the continued success the Canadians have achieved in selling agricultural commodities to the Soviet Union and to other Eastern European countries. We should make a consistent effort, toward eliminating the barriers that prevent sensible, constructive expanded East-West trade. There is no reason why the American farmer should not share in hard currency markets created through trade with the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. In this endeavor, the President needs the flexible authority that he has requested to grant Most Favored Nation treatment wherever he regards such steps as necessary to the achievement of our foreign policy objectives. I don't see how we can deny ourselves this opportunity.

As per capita incomes in other countries have risen, we have seen sharp increases in imports of food and feed from the United States. For too long, we have placed too little emphasis upon this export market. The market for feed and feed grains, oil seeds, protein meals and vegetable oils is highly competitive. We had better get in and compete.

In recent years, the market development activities generated by Public Law 480, foreign currencies, plus private funds, have been very helpful in sales promotion. But again, much more can be done. These commercial markets are achieved with great effort and must be filled. We must be sure that we produce sufficiently to meet these needs.

New Customers Overseas

A whole new generation of consumers abroad is basing its more nutritious food needs on agricultural commodities that are made in America. We simply have to wake up to this opportunity. At times, we have been so derelict in our promotion of foreign trade that, when the opportunity arises, we are not quite sure what to do about it. We have become so accustomed to the philosophy of plowing up every third row, that we don't quite understand what to do if we need every row.

Farm Acreage

We have developed a positive approach to the use of our productive capacity to further our international objectives and at the same time increase farm income. This is reflected in our efforts to expand soybean acreage for 1966, higher 1966 rice allotment, and the increase in the wheat allotment for 1967. Presently, we are re-examining all of our commodity programs for 1967, particularly, wheat, rice, soybeans and dairy products.

Food Reserve Needed

In our planning, we must be sure we produce enough to meet our own needs, the requirements of our commercial export markets, including those under the Food for Freedom program, and have enough remaining for adequate and needed carryover stocks—truly a strategic food reserve.

I have been looking into our food and feed supply situation, especially in terms of reserves for years ahead, and I am concerned. We have a plentiful supply of only two commodities—cotton and tobacco. But as far as other commodities are concerned, we do not have a surplus.

Too many people think that all the carryover stock of a commodity is a surplus. It would be an extremely difficult period for this nation if there were no carryovers of major crops. We need reasonable working stocks as a minimum for normal business operations. This is vital to our national security, our worldwide commitments and the needs of our consumers. A nation that has security treaties with 44 countries had better understand that it also has food requirements as a part of its national security.

This country has large international responsibilities which it cannot and must not shirk. We are committed to our friends and our allies and our food and fiber supplies must be adequate to meet all foreseeable needs. It is important that we maintain an arsenal of food and fiber, just as we maintain an arsenal of weapons. Both serve the cause of freedom and peace.

Feed Grains

Let us examine some of these commodities in detail. It is estimated that, as of October 1, this year, and again October 1 of next year, we will have a three-month supply of feed grains. We should not allow this to get any lower. This is no surplus, especially at a time when our domestic and export requirements keep going up.

Yesterday morning, I received a call from South Dakota telling me that a drouth was underway. If you ever lived in South Dakota, you understand what a drouth means. I grew up there. I was born and reared there and I lived through the dust storms. The first time you get one of those dust storms, and you haven't had rain for 45 days, all the memories of the past come up like a living fact. And if you lose your feed grain production in the Dakotas, in just those two states alone, you are in a serious situation in America.

Livestock and Poultry

Our supply of feed grains also governs our livestock and poultry supply. We must strive to maintain a balance of animal agriculture with growing consumer demands.

I speak with feeling about this because too many people in America just don't understand American agriculture. You really don't understand what it's all about until you have lived through it.

I mentioned our feed supply because I am concerned about it. I know the relationship of corn prices to hog prices because I come from a corn-hog country. And I know the relationship between poultry prices and feed prices too.

Rice Program

Because of our Southeast Asian commitments, the rice supply will be less than what I believe to be necessary for national security reserves and to meet our international responsibilities. Therefore, this year we will be re-examining our rice program for 1967.

Asians are a rice eating people. Therefore, rice is as important to our policy in Asia as it is for one of our diplomats that is stationed in Thailand, for example, to be able to speak Thai.

Your president, Jim Thomson, was a member of the Presidential agricultural mission that accompanied Secretary Freeman and myself to South Vietnam. Jim can tell you the importance of rice to the Asians and the Vietnamese. Rice is a life saver, and it is an inflation-killer.

Inflation is having a terrible toll in East Asia and rice is dampening the fires of inflation. You can write 4,000 articles on economics, and it won't dampen the inflation fires at all. But give me a few tons of rice to put in the Port of Saigon, and a means of distributing it, and the inflationary spiral will go down. Rice is as important in Southeast Asia today as five divisions of troops and 1,000 airplanes. That's why we are re-examining our program.

Wheat

Various independent estimates have been made that a carryover reserve of 600 million bushels of wheat is a minimum desirable level. Some people may think that is a bit high. Yet, on July 1 our carryover will be down to 550 million bushels, and grain experts tell me that by July 1 of next year this level could further be reduced due to weather and other factors.

Wheat acreage for 1967 now is undergoing careful reexamination. We had a billion 400 million bushels of wheat carryover in the United States five years ago. Today, there are just slightly over a billion bushels in all the exporting countries of the world.

About 300 million people have been added to the world's population in the last five years. Those mouths have to be fed. But we have 400 million bushels less of wheat in the exporting countries of the whole world today than we had in reserves in the United States five years ago.

Dairy Products

It's estimated that the production of butter and non-fat dry milk will be down this year by about 20 to 25 per cent The number of cows is down sharply in Minnesota, Wisconsin and Iowa, where 60 per cent of the butter is produced. They are averaging 13 dairy herd sales per day in Wisconsin. Dairy farming involves high cost, expensive equipment, long hours, hard work, and you average about 60 or 65 cents an hour.

On June 1, the Department of Agriculture informed me that we had dairy products with a milk equivalent of 4 billion 700 million pounds—the lowest since 1952. Of this, at least 4½ billion pounds are in private hands. So the stocks in government hands are far from high. They are minimal.

Certainly, the nation could use an increase in milk production of more than 2 billion pounds this year to meet expected domestic and foreign needs, and to provide a reserve in the event of an emergency. If we can get that increase in milk production, it will be the best thing that happened to the consumer.

The problem of maintaining, and in fact, increasing dairy production may prove to be the most challenging problem in American agriculture in the immediate future.

We will need to give this area very careful attention during the coming months. One of the reasons for a recent rise

in the price support on manufacturing milk was to provide an incentive for dairy farmers and the manufacturing milk producing areas to keep their cows and produce an adequate supply of milk. Your government now has under active consideration further recommendations for incentives to bring about more production of milk.

Soybeans

On September 1, the carryover of soybeans will be between 30 and 40 million bushels—about a two weeks supply —that is no carryover at all. It even could be a mistake in bookkeeping. It is less than the supplies needed for working, or "pipeline" stocks. We have taken several actions to increase the 1966 crop production of soybeans, but we will need more production of this crop each year for several years.

I've been talking to people in this industry and they are making plans for 10 years ahead. This is a growing America. It's an expanding America. It's got to be a producing America.

Strategic Food Reserves

We've reached the point where we must think not only about current needs, but more and more about the future and about adequate reserves. This Administration has recommended basic national policy with the objective of establishing common sense levels of reserves of certain key agricultural commodities and specific guidelines as to how and when and under what circumstances reserves will be used. In other words, how to insulate the strategic reserves from the market to keep them for the purpose of reserves.

Working stocks are essential to normal business operations. They are carried as a matter of course by private firms and individuals, and encouragement should be given to the private sector to carry its own inventories.

Those stocks required to maintain established levels of reserves over and above the stocks in private positions should be carried by the Commodity Credit Corporation in such a way that they do not adversely effect the income of the farmer. These are set aside. The conditions under which such reserves are held and the factors affecting acquisition and disposition of CCC stocks should be clearly understood by all segments of society. They should not be looked upon as normal operating stocks, but rather as reserves.

The Farmer's Crucial Role

The American farmer with his abundance is making a lasting contribution to our health, to our national prosperity, and to peace in the world. The farmer has become the soldier of peace for this nation. And the farmer with his system of distribution—the agri-business community—has been a bulwark of strength for our country. He is entitled to, and should receive, his fair share of our prosperity. He has been one of the underprivileged far too long.

This government, of which I am a part, is determined that our farmers shall stand on equal footing with the rest of this economy—that they shall have every opportunity for reward on their investment, their time and their energy.

Parity of Income

The Johnson-Humphrey Administration is determined that parity of income and equality of opportunity shall be a fact as well as a phrase.

I ask you to bring our greetings to the people that you serve and I once again thank you for being such faithful allies of the cause of a better day for American agriculture.

Thank you.

Vice President Humphrey is congratulated by James Milholland, Jr. at the conclusion of the address.

Address by
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
to
National Governors' Conference
Los Angeles, California
July 6, 1966

"Today, the making of history lies in our hands to a greater degree than has been afforded to any nation before. . . .

With all of our incredible economic and military power, the qualities which will be of greatest value to us are patience, persistence, courage and tenacity.

We must never lose our perspective in the crisis of the moment. We must exercise American power to help those who cannot defend themselves from aggression—not in arrogance, not in passion, but in sober determination."

This week we celebrated the 190th anniversary of the adoption, in Philadelphia by the Continental Congress, of the Declaration of Independence. What a glorious day for the cause of man's freedom.

But in celebration of that day, we should not, I think, lose sight of the events that followed it.

The seat of our government moved in those next months from Philadelphia to Baltimore and then to Philadelphia again; to Lancaster to York and back to Philadelphia; to Princeton to Annapolis to Trenton; to New York City and then to Washington.

The Articles of Confederation were adopted in 1777, but they were not ratified by all the states until 1781.

Then, in 1787, delegates from each state were invited to come to Philadelphia on May 14 to draft a Constitution. But it was not until May 25 that enough delegates had arrived to start the meeting—29 in all. Finally, several weeks later, some 55 delegates had arrived, representing 12 states. Rhode Island never did send anybody.

Finally, by September 15, it was time for a vote on a draft Constitution. By then, 13 of the delegates had gone home.

The remaining 42 argued all day, but they reached agreement. Even then, three of the delegates refused to sign. And it was another three years before Rhode Island finally decided to join the Union.

Well, it all came to something—although it wasn't until 1865 that we really knew we were in business as one nation.

My point is this: We have to take the long view.

For we live in a world in which the impetuous act, the grasp for short-run gain, the sudden loss of judgment could plunge us all into disaster. And in such a world, it doesn't seem to make much sense to take anything *but* the long view.

It isn't always so easy to do it. Mention, for instance, Vietnam, and you get a response which makes me think of the lines from Horatius: "Those behind cried Forward! And those before cried Back!"

I am not here to debate with those who cry either "Forward" or "Back" in Vietnam. But I will give my case for why I think Vietnam must be seen in the long view and in the perspective of history.

Aims of U.S. Foreign Policy

I believe our present policy in Vietnam to be part of a coherent, restrained and responsible bi-partisan American foreign policy that has emerged over the past 20 years.

It is a foreign policy directed toward the building, day-by-day, brick-by-brick, of a world of peaceful nations living together in the spirit of the United Nations Charter.

It is a foreign policy that has been successful both in preventing the expansion of Communist totalitarianism and of avoiding nuclear war—all the while working toward the time when political self-determination, economic well-being, and social justice might be more widely enjoyed through the world.

It is a foreign policy that has combined firm resolve in the face of international bullying with the capacity to do international business in the cause of peace: Resistance to nuclear blackmail in Cuba followed by the Test Ban Treaty; resistance to a Communist "war of national liberation" in Vietnam at the same time we propose a non-proliferation agreement on nuclear weapons and a development program which could include a non-aggressive North Vietnam.

It is a foreign policy that has carefully avoided the dangerous courses either of appeasement or of nuclear risk-taking.

Hubert Humphrey is no "status quo" man. He is for change—change to meet the needs and priorities of the times. And I believe our foreign policy has, above all, met the need for change while still remaining true both to principle and national self-interest.

The United Nations . . . The Marshall Plan . . . Point Four . . . the Alliance for Progress . . . the Peace Corps . . . the Asian Development Bank . . . the International Monetary Fund and World Bank . . . Food for Peace and Food for Freedom . . . the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty—all these things come from American initiative since World War II.

Firmness in Berlin . . . aid to Greece and Turkey . . . the founding of NATO, CENTO, and SEATO . . . the support of Iran when her integrity was threatened . . . resistance to aggression in Korea . . . the determination that nuclear missiles should not be introduced into the Western Hemisphere—these things, too, have come from our initiative.

In the past 20 years we have provided some 120 billion dollars of assistance to others. This has included billions of dollars in food—without which millions of our fellow men would have starved.

And in the past 20 years our armed forces have suffered more than 165 thousand casualties on foreign soil.

We have faced the challenges of the past 20 years with the particular measures required to meet them.

Resisting Communist Aggression

During that time we have met many forms of Communist aggression.

In Greece, for instance, we saw the trial run of the war of national liberation—that split-level assault which combines external assistance and direction, from a "sanctuary," with internal subversion. We helped Greece face that challenge.

President Truman and Secretary Acheson were abused for getting involved in a "civil war," as our President has been today.

We were told on the highest journalistic authority that the cause was lost, that the Greek people preferred Communist rule, and that, after all, Greece probably belonged in the Communist sphere of influence. They said we should get out.

But we saw it through and one day the Greek insurgency collapsed. The Yugoslavs, having broken with Moscow, closed the border and stopped underwriting the rebels. And subsequent elections showed the Greek Communists to be in a small minority.

To my knowledge, none of his critics wrote President Truman to acknowledge the courage or wisdom of his policy. Many of them were too busy attacking our stand in Berlin. (Other critics, at the same time, were calling for the launching of a preventive nuclear attack on the Soviet Union.)

In Korea we faced a different kind of Communist threat—conventional invasion. We met that challenge too.

There were those who wanted to withdraw from Korea when we were forced back into the Pusan perimeter.

There were others who wanted to drop nuclear bombs on Communist China. But we stuck with the difficult middle

course and saw it through, and the Communists saw again they could not work their will by force.

Over the next few years we lived with a dozen threats of a "hail of rockets," but we neither fell back nor responded with our own hail of rockets.

Then, in 1962, Chairman Khrushchev tried to alter the basic equilibrium of world nuclear power with his gamble in Cuba.

In those terrifying days President Kennedy, in the cool exercise of measured power, convinced Chairman Khrushchev to withdraw his missiles. Yet he did not fall victim to the temptations either to destroy Castro's Cuba or to press the Soviet Union into a tunnel of no return.

Our point was made and the peace was preserved.

Avoiding Extremes In Foreign Policy

A year earlier, at the University of Washington in Seattle, President Kennedy set forth, on behalf of the Kennedy-Johnson Administration, what remains the position of the Johnson-Humphrey Administration today.

There are in our country, President Kennedy said, "two groups of frustrated citizens, far apart in their views yet very much alike in their approach. On the one hand there are those who urge upon us what I regard to be the pathway to surrender—appeasing our enemies, compromising our commitments, purchasing peace at any price, disavowing our arms, our friends, our obligations. If their view had prevailed, the world of free choice would be smaller today.

"On the other hand are those who urge upon us what I regard to be the pathway of war: Equating negotiations with appeasement and substituting rigidity for firmness. If their view had prevailed, we would be at war today, and in more than one place . . .

"The essential fact that both of these groups fail to grasp is that diplomacy and defense are not substitutes for one another. Either alone would fail. A willingness to resist force, unaccompanied by a willingness to talk, could provoke belligerence—while a willingness to talk, unaccompanied by a willingness to resist force, could invite disaster."

Pointing out that "while we shall negotiate freely, we shall not negotiate freedom," President Kennedy concluded "we are neither 'warmongers' nor 'appeasers,' neither 'hard' nor 'soft.' We are Americans, determined to defend the frontiers of freedom, by an honorable peace if peace is possible, but by arms if arms are used against us."

It is against this background of twenty years of confrontation, first with the Soviet monolith and subsequently with aggressive national communisms, that the current struggle in Vietnam must be placed. Like the Greek insurgency, it is split-level attack from a sanctuary.

You can get a good many frustrations out of your system by cursing history. But cursing history is no substitute for facing the options that exist in 1966.

Choices In Vietnam

There are, most basically, two options: Stay or get out.

I believe that getting out could only encourage further Communist aggression in Asia.

There are those who suggest that we should stay, but be quiet about it; that we should fight, but not vigorously.

I say that we must stay and fight and work in South Vietnam until we have achieved our objectives—the halt of aggression from the North, the independence of South Vietnam, and peace in Southeast Asia.

President Johnson has repeatedly emphasized—and said again in Omaha only last week—that we have no designs against the sovereignty or territory of North Vietnam.

We seek one victory—self-determination for 15 million South Vietnamese. To seek less would be to abandon these people to the rigid totalitarianism of North Vietnam.

There is nothing "liberal" or "conservative" about turning 15 million people over to communism.

At stake is not merely the independence of the South Vietnamese, but the course of future events in Asia.

For, as the Prime Minister of Singapore said a few days ago to the people of Europe: All the independent nations of Asia feel the pressure from the north; all of them feel they have a stake in what is happening in Vietnam.

I found on my mission to Asia and the Pacific that not one national leader opposed our presence in Vietnam or our role there.

We are fighting in Vietnam to convince the Communists that the price of aggression comes too high . . . to convince them that, just as nuclear blackmail failed and conventional invasion failed, wars of liberation too will fail.

The cost of educating them has been enormous over the past generation, but freedom from totalitarianism is hardly an item for cost accounting.

At the other end of the spectrum, there are those who argue we should get out of Vietnam and rely on nuclear weapons to contain Asian communism.

I frankly confess to you that I cannot conceive of a more immoral and potentially disastrous policy.

If we are not able to contain aggression at less than the nuclear threshold, we will continually face in the years ahead this choice: Risk nuclear war or capitulate.

It is a choice we do not—and must not—have to make.

Progress In Asia

Now, for a moment, let us take stock of where we stand in our latest test in these postwar years.

When I returned from Asia and the Pacific earlier this year I reported to the American people that I believed we had reason for measured optimism. I believe that this is more true today than it was then.

Asia is astir with the promise of the future. And there are tangible signs of progress.

In April, the Japanese were host to the economic ministers of free Asia at a conference in Tokyo.

And two weeks ago nine nations of Asia formed a new organization to be known as the Asian and Pacific Council.

This organization was formed to strengthen these nations' cooperation and peaceful development.

Faced with Communist pressure, the independent non-Communist states in Asia are today working together to strengthen themselves and to inoculate themselves against future aggression. Old quarrels and disagreements are being pushed aside.

Our allies, Australia and New Zealand, are working with their neighbors in Southeast Asia on a far greater scale than ever before.

Burma is emerging from her isolation.

Japan—our second trading partner—and South Korea, who three years ago were unable to agree on anything, have signed a treaty of friendship and commerce.

Indonesia and Malaysia are today ending their confrontation. The Communist thrust for power in Indonesia has been crushed.

India and Pakistan, less than a year ago at war, are today at peace and dedicated to investment in the works of peaceful development.

Ceylon increasingly looks West and to cooperation with her neighbors.

The Philippines is led by a dynamic new President, Ferdinand Marcos.

South Korea and Taiwan are enjoying startling economic growth—both above 7 per cent a year.

Thailand, while resisting Communist incursions into border areas of her own country, is enjoying growth that is almost as rapid.

Laos, written off by many people only a few months ago, is gaining stability and is resisting, too, the Communist forces in her country.

Since the first of this year, Australia, South Korea, New Zealand, the Philippines and Thailand have made new military commitments in South Vietnam.

Communist China still looms as a powerful force in Asia. But today Communist China is being torn by power struggle—a struggle with other Communist nations, a struggle, too, from within. At the same time her neighbors are achieving a new unity of purpose and action.

Achievements In Vietnam

In Vietnam we are gaining on all four major fronts—the economic front . . . the political front . . . the diplomatic front . . . and the military front.

On the economic front, Vietnam is taking the steps and decisions necessary to carry forward a program of economic development, and defeat inflation.

Land is being redistributed. Wells are being dug. Schools are being built. Agricultural production steadily increases. Hospitals and roads are being completed. New leadership is being trained.

These things are not dramatic. But every day the Vietnamese economy—and the life of the Vietnamese citizen—becomes a little better, despite calculated Communist disruption and terror.

On the political front, work goes forward toward election this September for a constituent assembly. Representatives of all major South Vietnamese groups have been meeting to prepare the way for democratic government.

This is a nation trying to create stable, representative institutions in the midst of war and disorder—a nation with dozens of political, ethnic and religious groups all seeking their own place in the future.

In this there is confusion and tumult. But is the tumult in the South not preferable to the icy silence in the Hanoi police state?

The Vietnamese people are finding their way toward self-government, and they are doing it their own way and not under the direction of any Communist commissar.

In all the political ferment in South Vietnam there has been no call for a Communist government.

The people of South Vietnam know the Communists for what they are.

Our Efforts For Peace

On the diplomatic front, we continue our search for a just and peaceful solution to the conflict.

We have repeated again and again our willingness to come to the conference table anywhere, anytime, under any auspices, in order to bring the violence to an end. Again and again we have said that there is no bar to the inclusion of the Viet Cong in any such negotiations.

But let us be clear about this: The obstacle to peace is not in Saigon or Washington. It is in Hanoi and Peking.

We shall continue these efforts. And we shall maintain our offer to aid in the peaceful development of *North* as well as South Vietnam if only Hanoi will leave her neighbors alone.

Allied Military Successes

On the military front, we are gaining each day.

The American troops in Vietnam are the finest men who have ever worn this nation's uniform. They are superbly led. They are superbly trained. They are superbly equipped.

And they perform as brilliantly in civic action, in rebuilding villages, as they do in combat. They are great citizen soldiers.

A succession of smashing defeats has been dealt to the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong main force units in recent months. Clearly the initiative has shifted to the allied forces.

The enemy no longer remains undetected.

The jungle or cave is no longer a sure refuge. His supply can be cut off. He can no longer choose his own time and place to fight.

And, perhaps most important, he can no longer count on the discipline of his own troops. The rate of defection has sharply increased—particularly among squad and platoon leaders and officers.

The recent bombing of the oil storage depots around Hanoi was a military action against clear military objectives. The decision was carefully weighed. It was designed for two purposes—to slow down the rate of infiltration, which has been taking a toll of allied lives; and to help convince the North Vietnamese leadership that their aggression in the South will be too costly to sustain.

Today there must be some hard thinking taking place in Hanoi.

Our adversary must know that time is *not* on his side—that what President Johnson said more than a year ago remains true today:

"We will not be defeated.

"We will not grow tired.

"We will not withdraw, either openly or under the cloak of a meaningless agreement. . . ."

Advances In Recent History

Finally, may I say this: If we indeed take the long view, I think we have good reason for pride, and encouragement, concerning the course of postwar history.

Despite the troubles of our time—and we read of them every day—we have come to the threshold of a new era of opportunity.

In the past 20 years over one billion people have been freed from foreign rule. Over 70 new countries have been born—but none has turned to Communism.

Western Europe—with our help—stands prosperous and secure, while the nations of Eastern Europe restlessly grope their way to new independence.

The Alianza moves forward in Latin America and the Inter-American system grows and matures. The Dominican

Republic—only a year ago the victim of violent revolution—is today led by a freely elected President and Congress.

In the Dominican Republic, as throughout this hemisphere, there is increasing understanding of, and determination to initiate and carry through, the fundamental economic and social changes which have made the Republic of Mexico, for example, such a beacon of hope for others.

In this revolutionary effort, we stand with our friends throughout Latin America.

In Africa, millions of people—rejecting the lures of communism—are reaching out for "Freedom Now." And we are with them.

Our own strong, rich land is alive with the great adventure of creation; Creation of a society where the old barriers are being torn down, where every man stands next to his neighbor—unbowed, proud, healthy, free—ready to meet the world on its own terms and make it a better world.

There is good news in the world and, in our concern with crisis, we should not overlook it.

The Communists are wrong—history is not their ally.

America's Responsibility

Today, the making of history lies in our hands to a greater degree than has been afforded to any nation before.

No doubt we shall meet in Asia, as in the rest of the world, frustration, disappointment, and disillusionment, time and again. With all of our incredible economic and military power, the qualities which will be of greatest value to us are patience, persistence, courage and tenacity.

We must never lose our perspective in the crisis of the moment. We must exercise American power to help those who cannot defend themselves from aggression—not in arrogance, not in passion, but in sober determination.

It is the powerful who can most afford compassion and humility.

It is the prosperous who can most afford patience and perseverance.

We are powerful and we are prosperous; we must be both compassionate and patient.

At this time of our history I am reminded of the words of Lincoln, which remain today as a standard of conduct for our international policy: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us strive on to finish the work we are in . . . to do all which may achieve and cherish a just and lasting peace among ourselves and with all nations."

Those are words to live by and they constitute the key to the future of a world in which nations, large and small alike, may live in peace and freedom.

Address by:
Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey
Vice President of the United States
to the
71st Annual National Convention
of the Jewish War Veterans
of the U.S.A.
August, 1966

"We must bear our burdens, we must ennoble the duties of citizenship.

We must meet the measure of greatness."

It is my honor to meet today with men who have not only served their country in the past, but who also are concerned with responsible service to their country in the present and in the future.

You have made it your business to speak out and act on the issues facing us at home and in the world. And you have not been afraid to do so forthrightly and with honesty.

I was impressed by your sober statement of a few weeks ago, addressed to the debate in our country over Viet Nam.

You strongly upheld the right of dissent—and rightly so. But you also asked that those who exercise that right "Should debate the issue on its merits, and should not cry 'Foul' when the debate becomes heated on both sides, so long as there are no acts of repression or retaliation."

We Americans are advocates. We speak our minds. Therefore, I think we should not be surprised that some of the debate concerning Viet Nam policy has, from time to time, become heated.

What I believe to be most important is that those engaged in that debate should not impugn the motives of those with whom they disagree; and that they should get down to the hard realities of the situation and the available policy options.

What you rightly pointed out in your statement on Viet Nam was that, in these perilous times, we cannot afford the luxury of irresponsibility—either in word, in policy, or in act.

We cannot afford irresponsibility at home, or in the world.

Foreign and Domestic Policy Inter-Twined

It was only a few years ago that we talked about foreign policy and domestic policy as if they were neatly compartmentalized and had nothing to do with each other.

"Foreign Policy" was something carried on by the State Department at diplomatic receptions and in the drawing rooms of Europe. "Domestic Policy" was something involving wages, the rate of unemployment, politicians and voters. Unless we were involved in war overseas—or contagious depression at home—the two seldom got mixed up together.

The time has long since passed when any nation could live isolated from its neighbors. The time has passed too, when any nation could believe what happened inside its own borders was its own business, and nobody else's business.

The violence in our city streets and the unfinished business of civil rights are just as much a part of our "Foreign Policy" as the plight of the developing countries, and wars of National Liberation, are a part of our "Domestic policy."

Deep at the heart of it all we must face these facts: there are conditions of poverty, hunger, ignorance and injustice in all parts of the world, including our own blessed land.

These conditions produce discontent. They produce disorder. They produce war.

We, of course, must have an order of priorities. Yet, within these priorities, we can no more ignore these conditions elsewhere than we can ignore them in our very own American communities.

Not ignoring the work at hand . . . not seeking refuge in nostalgia . . . not seizing on formula answers or simple solutions . . . not engaging in carping criticism without offering constructive alternatives—these are the hard and real necessities for us today as responsible world citizens.

I think there is a good case to be made that, in the years since World War II, our nation has been a responsible nation.

Achievements on the Home Front

At home, we have extended well-being, security and opportunity among our own citizens to a degree never matched before in any nation. In just the months since Lyndon B. Johnson became President, we have more than doubled, for instance, our National investments in health and education. We have undertaken a broad-scale National War on poverty. We have, through law, and action, torn down barriers of discrimination and injustice that had existed in our society for more than a century.

Responsible Action Abroad

And in the world, we have steadfastly followed the policy of the good neighbor. In the past 20 years, we have provided some 120 billion dollars of assistance to others. This has included billions of dollars in food—without which millions of our fellow men would have starved. In the past 20 years our armed forces have suffered more than 165 thousand casualties on foreign soil.

And, during this time, we have not demanded one piece of anyone's territory. Nor have we sought to subjugate any other nation.

I believe our Policies of responsibility have been proved right. First of all, we are still alive in the Nuclear Year 21—and this alone is something for which all men may be thankful. But what is more we are, perhaps, further today from the threat of nuclear war than at any time in the Postwar years—not least because the Soviet Union has come to the realization that peaceful coexistence can be the only rational course in the Nuclear Age.

In a more postive sense, we have far more hope today than we did at the end of World War II that workable International organizations could develop and that, some day, far ahead, there might lie a world under the peaceful rule of just law.

Nations today are working together for peaceful development on a scale unimagined only a few years ago—including dozens of new nations just emerging from their early days of self concern.

And, in our own society, people who used to think themselves as natural antagonists are likewise working together for a larger prosperity, for better cities, for more rapid transportation, for cleaner air and water, and for more equal opportunity.

These things have not happened by accident. They are not only the product of the times. They are the result of constructive and responsible leadership—a great deal of it provided by American Presidents of both Political Parties.

Yet, despite the lessons of two World Wars . . . despite the successes of the Post War period, I sense today a dangerous tendency in our own country toward not only the compartmentalization once more of "Foreign" and "Domestic" policies, but also toward retreat from responsibility.

Need For Continued Foreign Aid

Take Foreign Aid.

The expenditure for the first year of the Marshall Plan was about 2 per cent of our gross national product, and 11½ cents out of every tax dollar. This year—thanks to the growth of our American Economy—our foreign aid request was for only .29 per cent of our GNP and about 1.9 per cent of the Federal budget—that is, about 2 cents out of every tax dollar.

Yet, among those who would be the first to question a new military commitment overseas, there were voices raised—and they are still being raised—against our foreign aid request.

Why were they raised? What alternatives were proposed?

If there is a substitute for Foreign Aid, I would like to hear about it. The investment we make in Foreign Aid—in preventative medicine, if you will—is certainly less than that necessary to treat the symptoms of a massive economic crisis and, yes, of war.

The Marshall Plan saved Western Europe and the peace. It created a great new economic market for us. But there is more: The revived nations of Western Europe have not only repaid their Marshall Plan debts, they have already provided more aid to developing countries than they ever received from the United States of America.

The rewards can be just as great tomorrow from the other continents.

Yet, at a time when the gap between Rich and Poor in the world continues to widen . . . when nations critical to our National security are striving desperately to create modern societies in face of communist pressure and subversion, we hear once more the old complaints about foreign aid. But what is more disturbing, they are being made by people who should know better.

Take our economy.

We have, over the past several years, experienced a creative burst of expression which has made the "American Economic Miracle" the envy of the world. Last year alone, we increased our GNP by 47 billion dollars, increased our total personal income by 39 billion dollars, and increased our federal cash receipts by 8½ billion dollars.

And, at the same time, we have been reducing the Federal deficit. Today, even with the costs of Viet Nam, Federal expenditures are at the lowest percentage of GNP—except for 1965—than at any other time since 1948.

Combatting Inflationary Pressures

Now, due in part to our rapid growth and reduction in unemployment, we face inflationary pressure.

I think all of us have reason for disappointment that, in this difficult period, a few of the people who rejoiced at yesterday's economic opportunity are rejecting today's necessity for self-discipline and restraint.

On the administration's part, may I say that the President will use all the appropriate economic tools at hand to hold inflation in check. Using each tool to the degree necessary. For we have far too great a stake in our economic achievement to see it diluted and destroyed by inflation.

I have faith that American industry and labor will exert self-discipline and look ahead to the larger public interest. But it disturbs me that a few would have missed the lesson we should know so well by now: That we are all in the same economic boat.

A New Type of Isolationism

I have been concerned too, with a new kind of isolationism.

Traditionally, many of the people who opposed our involvement in the world also opposed a greater involvement in our own society. An unconcern for poverty and oppression in the rest of the world was more often than not accompanied by a general insulation against the same things here at home.

But today, I sense—and I am sure you do too—that a number of our citizens feel a deep and personal concern about what is wrong in our own country, but they do not feel an equal concern for the plight of others abroad.

There are many explanations for it.

Almost half our people were born during or after World War II, and they have no firsthand memory of the old isolationism.

Also, there have been many things happening at home to draw our attention here—the efforts of Negro Americans to lift themselves . . . our war on poverty . . . our national commitment to education . . . the new laws which have captured our imagination . . . yes, and the riots and disorders which have caused us to look at our cities and what is happening there.

The American people are aware today, as never before, of what is happening here at home. And they are willing to undertake positive measures to change what is wrong . . . to make even better what is right.

But I feel that some of them—under the influence of the new isolationism, or whatever you wish to call it—are falling back into the old thought patterns about "Foreign Policy" and "Domestic Policy" and handy little compartments for each.

Now let us get right down to specifics.

We are engaged today in an unparalleled effort to erase poverty, hunger, ignorance and injustice in America. We are equally engaged, in Southeast Asia, in a struggle against the same enemies—but against overt terror and aggression at the same time.

As veterans, none of you needs to be told that we have some stake in the independence and security of nations living on the borders of expansionist totalitarian powers, and in the hope and social betterment of people who have lived too long without democratic government.

Yet, at least a half-dozen times in the past few days, I have heard otherwise responsible Americans publicly declare that we ought to take the money and resources being spent in Viet

Nam and Southeast Asia and transfer them to "Domestic" programs.

I say that to do so would require, a few months or years hence, the investment of far more money, men and resources to Southeast Asia—and possibly to other parts of the world—than we have committed today, and at far greater danger to all of us.

Significance of Viet Nam's Election

In a few days an election will be held in South Viet Nam.

It may be dangerous to say this in a congressional campaign year, but I believe that election should be of almost as much concern to American citizens as our own elections this fall.

The election early next month in South Viet Nam—an election for a Constituent Assembly—will signal to the world whether or not democracy may have its chance to grow in the stormy soil accumulated over centuries . . . I mean the stony soil of Mandarin rule, of colonial domination, of years of constant terror and violence.

The Viet Cong are trying—and will try—to disrupt those elections.

But I believe the people will win. I believe they will vote. And I believe their votes—votes for democratic government—should give us as much gratification as a victory for the democratic system here at home.

I say our investment in Southeast Asia is well worth its cost, just as our investments in a better and freer America are well worth their cost.

Leadership In One World

The burdens we carry today—in America and in the world—are the burdens of responsibility.

Today "One World" is here.

Instant images of the good life flash just as quickly, by radio and television, to the impoverished peasant as they do to the comfortable businessman.

New ideas penetrate and move the brown and yellow people just as they do the white.

And we must recognize that there are, in the furthest corner of human society, conditions which not only bring a sense of shame and insufficiency to those of us who live in such a blessed land . . . but conditions which can lead to the eruption of the little disorder, which can grow to the small war, which can build to the cataclysm which could destroy rich and poor, black and white, believer and non-believer—all of us alike.

This is the age of "One World," and therefore it must be the age of stewardship for fellow man—in all places.

It must be the age of compassion—for all people.

It must be, equally, the Age of Responsibility.

This, then will be the test of the American people: whether or not we have the sense of perspective, the courage, the steadfastness to act responsibly—in our own city streets . . . in the streets of villages halfway across the world—despite the frustrations, the disappointments, the disillusionments that will come our way.

Will we be able to act, free of the passions of the moment?

Will we be able to limit the use of our almost limitless power, when the use of that power might offer a seemingly quick solution?

Will we be able to keep alive the flame and the spirit of our free American Revolution as our own needs at home are increasingly met?

Adlai Stevenson's Message

Twelve years ago, at Harvard University, Adlai Stevenson gave a series of remarkable lectures. One was entitled "America's Burden." I will quote from the lecture.

"To act coolly, intelligently and prudently in perilous circumstances is the test of a man or nation. The ordeal of our times is a challenge to American maturity and American responsibility . . . America's life story is the record of a marvelous growth of body, mind and character. Now, at maturity, we shoulder the heaviest burdens of greatness, for in the last analysis the epic struggle for our civilization, for government by consent of the governed, will be determined by what we Americans are capable of. In bearing burdens, in ennobling new duties of citizenship, is the greatness of men and nations measured, not in pomp and circumstance."

We must bear our burdens, we must ennoble the duties of citizenship.

We must meet the measure of greatness.

Statement by the

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

to the

National Council on Marine Resources
and Engineering Development

Washington, D.C.

August 17, 1966

". . . the sea has meaning for the missions of each of the agencies represented here—for defense—to advance our foreign policy interests—to develop fishing and mineral resources—to improve weather forecasts—to protect health and safety of our citizens and conserve our seashore resources—and finally, to utilize the sea more effectively as a worldwide scientific laboratory.

"These are the potential benefits. I look to our staff to develop policy studies as to the appropriate public, as well as private, role in marine exploration—programs for U.S. leadership in utilizing fishery resources to meet worldwide food shortages—a major buoy network for air-sea observations—improved techniques of data handling—steps in Federal organization to improve effectiveness of multiagency programs.

"Each agency has responsibilities in its respective field. These studies should help each agency to draw bright new opportunities from the oceans in the spirit of exploration that has characterized this Nation's entire history."

- to use oceanic data to improve weather forecasting;
- to diminish hazards of pollution;
- to expand seashore recreation, and protect waterfront property.

Ever since the 1959 landmark report of the National Academy of Sciences, both the U.S. Senate and the House of Representatives have studied the potential of the sea. This nation's marine sciences activities have grown and matured rapidly and we now have a capability of scientists, a new oceanographic fleet, well equipped laboratories and instruments unmatched anywhere on this planet. This Act reflects an intention not only to nourish our scientific capabilities and maintain U.S. leadership, but also to translate these into an imaginative, productive ocean technology, with an engineering capability to permit operations anywhere in the ocean, at any depth, any time.

It anticipates accomplishing this mission through a partnership of Federal, State, university and industrial interests.

The law gives the President an unusually flexible pair of instruments to implement these objectives:

(1) this Council with a small, full time staff and funding to provide unity and momentum to a program involving activities of many federal agencies, and

(2) an advisory Commission that is given up to 18 months to study and to recommend an overall plan for present and future needs.

This legislation makes no major changes in Federal organization for marine sciences activities. The language of the Act and the maximum 22-month authority for the Council anticipate subsequent legislative action to provide a more rational structure and site of leadership, especially regarding civilian interests in the ocean. This may mean a new agency or reorganization of existing ones.

Because the present responsibilities for advancing marine exploration and development are now lodged in some 20 agencies, effective program coordination has been required. This has been accomplished by the Federal Council for Science and Technology, through its Interagency Committee on Oceanography.

Developing a united approach by this many agencies is exceedingly difficult and the ICO has done an excellent job. Over the past six years, it has often been referred to as a model of a program-level coordinating body. The Congress, however, felt that policy coordination in addition to program coordination was required. This called for representation at the highest levels of government.

With the establishment of this statutory Marine Sciences Council, there is a natural question as to the future role of ICO. If the ICO continues, there is another question as to whether it or the Marine Sciences Council should carry out an important provision of the Act to prepare an *annual report for the President to transmit to the Congress*—which describes Federal multiagency programs—evaluates these activities—makes recommendations for new legislation—and sets forth estimates of funding for all participating agencies during the succeeding fiscal year.

I have discussed this matter with Dr. Donald F. Hornig who, as the President's Special Assistant for Science and Technology, is chairman of the Federal Council. He agrees that it is more appropriate for the Marine Sciences Council to assume principal responsibility for preparation of this report. *This also is compatible with this Council's other responsibilities to advise and assist the President in an annual review of Federal programs, surveys of such activities and steps to coordinate the activities of all agencies.*

We have both agreed, however, that the ICO machinery represents many years of experience in developing cooperative programs, and in preparing an annual summary of agency plans. We intend to utilize this resource fully in all elements of its interagency coordination tasks. By this arrangement, the Marine Sciences Council and the ICO will start cooperating rather than competing.

The Council has three other duties set by law:

(1) to develop long range policy studies of the potential benefits of the oceans to the U.S. economy, security, health and welfare, including a study explicitly aimed at international legal problems;

(2) to evaluate and interpret the study report to be developed by the citizens' commission before it is transmitted to the President; and

(3) to coordinate a program of international cooperation in work pursuant to marine science activities.

To discharge these responsibilities for policy planning, preparation of an annual report and coordination, I have recommended to the Bureau of the Budget that we establish a small but highly expert professional staff, representing not only the scientific disciplines, but also economics, engineering, foreign affairs and public administration. They have agreed with this recommendation.

The President is appointing Dr. Edward Wenk, Jr. as Executive Secretary of the Council. For the last two years, Dr. Wenk has been Chief of the Congress's Science Policy Research staff in the Legislative Reference Service of the Library of Congress, and coincidentally an authority in ocean engineering. He is well known to all of you in

Participants in the First Meeting of National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, August 17, 1966

Seated: Under Secretary of State, George W. Ball, representing Secretary Dean Rusk; Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey; Secretary of the Treasury, Henry Fowler. *Standing*: Dr. George A. Silver, Deputy Assistant Secretary for Health and Scientific Affairs, representing Secretary John Gardner of the Department of Health, Education and Welfare; Dr. Glenn T. Seaborg, Chairman, Atomic Energy Commission; Dr. Edward F. Wenk, Jr., Executive Secretary of the Council; Dr. Leland J. Haworth, Director, National Science Foundation; Secretary of Commerce, John T. Connor; Secretary of the Navy Paul Nitze; Dr. Donald F. Hornig, Special Assistant to the President for Science and Technology; Dr. Stanley Cain, Assistant Secretary of the Interior, representing Secretary Stewart Udall.

this oceanographic community and should help this Council get off to a fast and effective start.

The Act also establishes a 15-man Commission on Marine Science, Engineering and Resources appointed by the President. It will be composed of eminent individuals from Federal and State governments, industry, and universities. There are also four advisory members to be drawn from the Congress. The President expects to announce appointments to this Commission within the next few weeks.

The Commission has an important assignment to recommend a plan for a national marine science program and government organization to meet future needs. They have 18 months to complete the task. Although this is a part-time body, I am hopeful that arrangements can be made so that we can call on the Commission, or its individual members and staff, as advisers to this Council as its studies get underway.

The role of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development is different from its analogous space council because there is no NASA in the marine resources field. In the absence of such a single focus agency for the civilian component of marine research, engineering and resource development, the Congress—and the Executive Branch—have high expectations regarding the work of this Council.

I have interpreted this desire for action and results as not to defer all activities until the study commission delivers its report.

In particular I call your attention to President Johnson's request for "the Council to provide me with its initial recommendations not later than January of 1967 so that appropriate legislative proposals can be made early to the next Congress."

I also want to acknowledge the fine studies undertaken by the President's Science Advisory Committee, the National Academy of Sciences, the National Security Industrial Association, the several State Commissions on oceanography, and by the Congress that will be of enormous assistance to the Commission as well as the Council. We expect to tap these resources and talent wherever they exist.

The recent PSAC report on "Effective Use of the Sea" is of special interest. In his charge to me, the President requested the Marine Sciences Council to carefully study the many recommendations of the PSAC report and to consider these proposals in developing our suggestions for the President for fiscal year 1968. I regard the analysis of the PSAC report as one of the Council's priority assignments, and I expect to utilize the next Council meeting for this purpose.

By these actions, it should be clear that this Administration is taking the challenge of ocean exploration seriously. Public Law 89-454, the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act of 1966, will be implemented to the best of our ability.

It is a tough job. But the sea has meaning for the missions of each of the agencies represented here—for defense—to advance our foreign policy interests—to develop fishing and mineral resources—to improve weather forecasts—to protect health and safety of our citizens and conserve our seashore resources—and finally, to utilize the sea more effectively as a worldwide scientific laboratory.

These are the potential benefits. I look to our staff to develop policy studies as to the appropriate public, as well as private, role in marine exploration—programs for U.S. leadership in utilizing fishery resources to meet worldwide food shortages—a major buoy network for air-sea observations—improved techniques of data handling—steps in Federal organization to improve effectiveness of multiagency programs.

Each agency has responsibilities in its respective field. These studies should help each agency to draw bright new opportunities from the oceans in the spirit of exploration that has characterized this Nation's entire history.

All members of the Council share in this great responsibility to plan ahead and plan together. I will do my best to give it the leadership of my office.

Press Statement by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey Regarding the First Meeting of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development

I am here this afternoon to report to you on the first session of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development of which I am Chairman.

As you know, this policy planning and coordinating body was established by Public Law signed by President Johnson, June 17, 1966.

For the first time, there now exists a Cabinet-level council composed of heads of the departments and agencies having statutory missions to engage in oceanographic research and exploration.

Each of you has a copy of my opening statement delivered at this morning's Council session. I would like to highlight for you now the principal points of this statement.

First, I intend to devote whatever time is needed to carry out the responsibilities vested in the Marine Sciences Council.

President Johnson attaches the greatest importance to the subject matter of this Act. This Administration is taking the challenge of ocean exploration most seriously.

Second, the President has appointed Dr. Edward Wenk, Jr. to serve as Executive Secretary of the Council. Copies of Dr. Wenk's biography are available for you.

Third, as Chairman of the Marine Sciences Council, I intend to visit in the near future all the major oceanographic installations, both public and private, in all parts of the country. This will provide me with valuable first-hand knowledge and experience as to our present and future programs in this exciting area of science and engineering.

Fourth, President Johnson has requested that "the Council provide me with its initial recommendations not later than January of 1967 so that appropriate legislative proposals can be made early to the next Congress."

This means that the Council must begin at once its major task of evaluating present programs of marine science and engineering and formulating recommendations for the President as to all future programming.

In this regard, I expect the Council will give special emphasis to those activities and programs which promote international understanding and cooperation; for example, expansion of food production from the sea, improvement of weather forecasting, the reduction of pollution, and related hazards. We also intend to rely heavily upon private industry, the academic community and the work of State oceanographic commissions.

Finally, the Interagency Committee on Oceanography, a subcommittee of the Federal Council of Science and Technology, will continue. We do, however, expect that the Marine Sciences Council will assume principal responsibility for preparing an annual report for the President to submit to the Congress describing federal multiagency programs, evaluating these activities, making recommendations for new legislation, and setting estimates of funding for all participating agencies during the succeeding fiscal year.

The ICO machinery represents many years of experience in developing cooperative programs and in the preparing of annual summaries of agency plans. We intend to utilize this resource fully in all elements of our interagency coordination task. We intend to cooperate rather than compete.

We expect the President to announce in the near future the appointment of a 15-member National Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources. While this Commission has its own independent life and will submit its own report to the President and the Congress, we also look forward to close cooperation between the Council and the Commission, with the Commission serving as an informal advisory body to the Council. Once again, we seek cooperation—not competition.

I am especially pleased that the President's Special Assistant on Science and Technology, Dr. Donald Hornig, is with us this afternoon. The Marine Sciences Council will, of course, work very closely with Dr. Hornig, the Office of Science and Technology, and the Federal Council of Science and Technology. Dr. Hornig and I are ready for whatever questions you may have.

Address by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

before the

AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS

SALT LAKE CITY, UTAH
SEPTEMBER 12, 1966

Additional copies of the Vice President's address may be obtained from the American Mining Congress, 1100 Ring Building, Washington, D. C. 20036

Address by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

before the

AMERICAN MINING CONGRESS

Salt Lake City, Utah, Sept. 12, 1966

I didn't come here to tell you how to run your business – I am not a technical expert on mining. But I do come from a state that has supplied much of the iron ore for the development of the industrial economy of this great republic – the state of Minnesota, with its fabulous open pits and deep mines.

And I will yield to no one here in awareness and appreciation of what the mining industry has done for the development and growth of America . . . of what it contributes . . . today . . . and of the essential part it must play in our future.

What national needs lie ahead and what demands and challenges do they present to you in the mineral industry?

I think we ought to face these questions fully and openly.

First of all, I must point out that, if we sustain a healthy economic growth in our country, our economy will need more mineral input. In the case of many minerals, you will have to find and produce, between now and 1990, two to three times as much as you already have on hand.

For many minerals, the cumulative requirement during the next quarter of a century will be larger than the total amount found and mined during all of our history.

For some minerals this growing demand may pose no problem. But for many others it presents a formidable challenge, and in a moment I want to say more about this.

But first let me mention another challenge regarding future production that

puts the first one in the share: We want to meet these expanding requirements at decreasing costs.

This will be quite a task. But you have done a magnificent job in the past of reducing real costs of both materials and energy.

I am well aware that much of our mineral supply does not come from domestic sources, and that there is a gradual trend toward increased imports.

As you know, this Administration favors liberal trade.

But of one fact there can be no doubt: A strong domestic mineral industry is essential to the security and economic welfare of the United States.

We want it to be strong because it is viable and competitive, however, and this means continuing drive and resourcefulness on the part of the industry to advance all phases of mineral technology.

This brings me to a point that I think will be of interest to this audience. I know that you have been following the progress of the Almond-Green Bill, cosponsored by Senator Moss and other Senators.

As you know, under existing law your exploration expenses are treated for income tax purposes as capital investment, except for a very modest amount which is allowed to be treated as normal business expenses. Under the proposed legislation, your industry would be given the alternative of listing as business expenses all exploration expenditures, with the recapture as capital investment of those expenditures which actually lead to mining developments. It should be a tremendous help to you. Despite the deferral of federal revenue which would result, it is good legislation and sound economic policy.

We have learned in my own state of Minnesota that the kind of tax treatment given mining can make a great difference in the size and health of the industry. I

am sure that the more flexible tax treatment which I have just discussed will stimulate additional mineral exploration – needed exploration, which will significantly increase the mineral reserves of the United States. Therefore, I repeat, the enactment of the Almond-Green Bill is timely and in the best interests of our national welfare and security.

From my own experience in Minnesota, I know about taconite and the miracles you have performed in obtaining a better and cheaper product from a material once considered too refractory to mine at all. The development of taconite has been a blessing to the economy of my state.

There are now under construction four hundred million dollars in new taconite facilities along the iron range in Northern Minnesota. This has opened up a whole new future to the state and its people.

In the next eight years, because of sensible cooperation among federal, state, and local authorities and industry, new private investment in these taconite facilities will reach a total of eight hundred million to a billion dollars. It has not only eliminated unemployment in the iron range – it has even eliminated seasonable unemployment, because the miners now work inside. So the mining industry has brought us stability as well as progress.

Much of the credit for the development of these taconite facilities goes to the research of an old and good friend of mine, Professor E. W. Davis, who for thirty years worked on this problem at the mineral experiment station at the University of Minnesota. This good man has made a fortune for others and a great name for himself.

So I can say to this gathering today that our state of Minnesota is a happy one, because we have joined government and business together in a common cause – lending free enterprise the helping hand of a friendly and understanding government, together with the research

facilities of the Bureau of Mines and the University of Minnesota.

I have been speaking so far of magnetic taconite. There are also huge reserves of non-magnetic taconite. In fact, they constitute by far the largest reserves in the Minnesota iron range. Being non-magnetic, they cannot at present be separated economically by conventional methods.

However, the Bureau of Mines is now seeking to combine non-magnetic taconite with the scrap from junked automobiles. A pilot plant is currently in operation at their laboratory in Minneapolis, where the scrap autos are chewed up with non-magnetic taconite, and roasted. In the process, the non-magnetic taconite becomes magnetic and the scrap autos are converted into high-grade iron ore. The magnetic taconite can then be processed in the manner already established. The two are then combined to feed the blast furnaces. The construction of a demonstration plant in Minnesota using this process will shortly be announced.

Last summer International Nickel Company announced an 85 million dollar underground mine for low-grade copper and nickel ores, and they estimate that there will be hundreds of millions of dollars of new investment in the next few years.

Now we are working on the complex problem of recovering both iron and manganese from the low-grade ores in the Cuyuna Range. Research is currently being conducted by the federal government, the state of Minnesota and local government, and we are hopeful that it will result in very substantial investment in new facilities, such as we are now seeing in taconite and nickel.

I've been speaking about fairly long-range requirements for over-all mineral production, but let me mention now some individual minerals that pose problems over the shorter term.

Our commitments in Vietnam have stepped up requirements for several metals, and before I say more I want to applaud and thank the metals industries for their efforts and response in meeting these increased demands.

You have been true patriots, because extractive industries are not always profitable – the risk is high, and there are many lean years.

No doubt many of you have questioned our efforts to hold the line on prices. But I am confident that you recognize the importance of these efforts in restraining price inflation.

The primary metal industries, and the mineral industries in general, are what the economists call forward multipliers – they affect growth in a whole chain of manufacturing industries and consumer activities.

Favorable prices and abundant supplies of key raw materials may be multiplied many times in the economy as a whole, and by the same token higher prices are also felt throughout the economy.

Therefore, what you do affects the entire economy to a much higher degree than is the case for many other industries.

And I need not expand, I am sure, on the benefits to the mining industry itself of containing inflation, for – as a high consumer of machines and other manufactured goods – you are deeply affected by price increases in the industries that you supply.

The problem of tight supplies in both the domestic and world market is particularly critical for the heavy metals in general, including mercury, silver, gold, and others.

How to solve these tight-market problems, and help stave off inflation, is the challenge facing you and your government.

I sense that there are two parts to the problem that perhaps require somewhat different solutions.

In one case, the rate of increase in demand strains available production capacity, but not the ultimate ability of the industry to meet growing demands over the longer range.

In the other, there is a world shortage not only in production capacity but in reserves as well.

Iron, aluminum, copper, and molybdenum would appear to belong to the first group, and gold, silver, and mercury seem to fit the second category.

For the first, improved production facilities and efficiencies may be the answer, but for the second the answer seems to require new discoveries and new sources of supply.

The inter-relationships in the world of technology are always surprising. As you know, I am chairman of the Space Council.

While there would seem to be an enormous gulf between the hard-rock miner and the astronaut speeding through the limitless reaches of outer space, the fact is that their relationship is very close. Until very recently, the greatest single missing ingredient for successful space travel has been materials of the toughness, lightness, resistance to heat and stress required to build both practical spacecraft and the engines to power them.

Few metals have escaped playing some role in space flight, for as our knowledge expands and our ingenuity in applying materials increases, we have found we need both the familiar metals and also the more exotic, rarer ones.

But the space program is more than a market for the mining industry. Its special requirements have led to the development of new uses and new casting and machining techniques which will find wide applicability as our technological civilization progresses.

Not only does the space program use metals, but it can also help in discovering them.

Prospecting will continue to need people on the ground. But, potentially, space-borne magnetometers, and gravity-gradient sensors can help locate bodies of ore. Special infrared and ultraviolet detectors and other special color-sensitive photographic film can detect the telltale signs in soil and vegetation of certain kinds of mineral deposits. Orbital techniques for mapping are also under development. These will become important new tools, just as aerial surveys from planes have become widely used.

The space program is one of the ways the federal government has stepped up its efforts to help develop exploration tools and methods, and help lay the groundwork for exploration.

Beginning this year, the Geological Survey and the Bureau of Mines have been authorized to greatly expand their efforts in research on the ore controls and habits of the heavy metals, on exploration tools and methods, on geologic mapping, and on improved methods of mining and recovery.

Our purpose is not for the government to directly enter the fields of exploration and mining but to help define favorable ground for industry to explore, and to improve the technology of exploration and production to help industry tackle more difficult problems at lower cost. The Survey's and the Bureau's results will be made available to you quickly through publications and press releases. We hope you will follow up their leads, and press your initiative in developing your own new approaches.

There is good reason to believe that advanced exploration science and extraction technology will yield important discoveries and increased production of heavy metals, even for the precious metals that have been sought so intensively throughout man's history.

The important gold discovery at Carlin, Nevada, came as a result of imaginative follow-up on the part of industry of

equally imaginative geologic mapping and analysis on the part of the Geological Survey.

As I understand it, not only is there no trace of the ore at the surface at Carlin, but the ore-bearing rocks and structures have no surface indication either. The old sourdoughs literally left no stone unturned in their examination of the surface, but they did not have the methods to see into the ground and probe for ore beneath the surface.

Carlin is now our second largest gold producer and its reserves are estimated to be about one hundred million dollars in gold.

The day is approaching when methods of fracturing huge blocks of rock by nuclear energy will find application in the mining industry. The Geological Survey, the Bureau of Mines, and the Atomic Energy Commission are working jointly with industry in this venture. Planning for experiments in several areas is well advanced. Some of the tests include the first fracturing of tight gas formations to increase the rate of natural gas flow; breaking of low-grade copper ore for in-place leaching; fracturing of oil shale for in-place retorting; preparation of underground cavities and fractures for the storage of natural gas, petroleum, and even water—and also for the disposal of unwanted wastes.

There is another large area in which the government is expanding its activities as an aid to the development of mineral resources—namely the ocean.

Science and engineering are beginning to provide both understanding and tools to work in the ocean as we do on land.

The oil and gas industry is aggressively extending its activities offshore in every part of the world. They now estimate that, in the year 2000, fully 25 percent of their production will come from marine sources.

I am happy to report to you that for the first time in our history, the Congress—

through the Marine Research and Engineering Development Act of 1966—has established a mandate and national policy to develop marine sciences and technology.

The Act establishes a Cabinet-level Council, of which I am chairman, to examine our opportunities, to coordinate our diverse federal programs, and to develop legislative proposals for the future.

Among other things, we will consider ways and means to work with industry, to share in the risks and costs, and to develop the legal framework that will provide incentives to private industry to develop marine technology.

In the United States, offshore mining is still a small business, mainly involving construction materials such as sand, gravel, and shells. But I hope that, with this new commitment to marine technology, the mining industry will get in the swim.

Finally, may I mention a problem of which we are all very much aware?

Our countryside has been consumed in large gulps by exploding cities, suburbs, super highways, factories, and mines.

Metropolitan, industrial and mine wastes have polluted rivers . . . automobile exhaust and stack gases have badly polluted the atmosphere in many metropolitan and industrial areas . . . and junk and litter have blighted many of our roadsides.

All of us bear the responsibility for this. And all of us have the opportunity to help solve this problem.

As you know, stripped and dredged land can be reclaimed . . . smelter gas can be purified . . . and ways are now known, or are being found, to prevent permanent damage from other operations.

The challenge of the mining industry is not so much just to do these things—in many cases they are already being done.

The challenge is to find ways to do it without increasing cost – or better still, ways to turn them into a profit.

This is now being done by some segments of the industry.

Making reclaimed land more useful for other purposes than it was before has more than paid for the cost of restoring the surface of some strip mines, and recovering sulfur dioxide from smelter gas has turned a liability into a profit for some companies.

Thus far I have spoken to you as members of the industry, but I wish now to address you briefly as members of a technical society.

May I challenge you to tackle directly, and with full commitment, problems such as cost-reduction and air pollution? There isn't any reason why man should choke to death on his own technological achievements, and we are close to doing that in some areas.

The rewards for the industry can be continued expansion . . . the stability that arises from a gradually increasing market . . . and the improved returns that can be expected when knowledge is substituted for risk.

So I come to you today not only to ask you to redouble your efforts in the field of research. I ask you to join us as partners with your government, and to urge your government to do even more – not more to restrain you, but to unleash you, to help you in the discovery of new sources of minerals. Above all, I ask you to help in making America as beautiful as we all know it can be.

This is my first appearance at the American Mining Congress. Your industry is making a tremendous contribution to the future of America. I hope that, as a result of your deliberations this week, you in industry and we in government can march side by side, not as antagonists or protagonists, but as partners – each tending to the business assigned to us, but always remembering that the basic strength of this country lies in its free economy. We in government are here to supplement, not supplant – to aid, not to dominate – to help, not to restrain.

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The Vice President Speaks . . .

. . . to the POLICE

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States, delivered the following address at the 73rd Annual Conference of the International Association of Chiefs of Police at the Benjamin Franklin Hotel in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania, on October 5, 1966.

I AM HONORED today to be in the company of men who bear one of the most fundamental responsibilities in any organized society.

It is a responsibility that requires selfless devotion to duty, and exacts very substantial sacrifices from yourselves and your families.

Too many Americans take for granted the high quality of police work—the truly professional quality—which we enjoy here in the United States. And far too many Americans are unaware of the increasing size of the challenges you face every day.

According to figures recently released in the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, the crime rate was six per cent higher in the first three months of this year than for the same period last year.

Perhaps most disturbing, the highest rate of increase was among juveniles. One out of six boys, at the present rate, will be referred to a juvenile court for an act of delinquency before his 18th birthday. The arrests of persons under 18, for serious crimes, have increased nearly 50 per cent since 1960.

The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States, is greeted and presented Conference credentials by the reception committee (r. to l.): Mayor Tate, President Purcell, Commissioner Bell, and Executive Director Tamm.

The cost of crime to our society is staggering. It is difficult to make accurate estimates, but it cost us at least 27 billion dollars last year.

How are we going to meet these challenges?

We must do it by digging out the deep social and economic roots from which crime grows. We must do it, too, by doing better in the fields both of law observance and law enforcement.

And the job, above all, must be done at *all* levels of our society.

Today we are engaged in a number of national programs which strike at the roots of crime.

We have launched a national war against poverty—and it is as true today as it was over two thousand years ago, when the Greek Philosopher Aristotle said it, that "poverty is the parent of revolution and crime."

Our historic breakthrough on federal aid to education, achieved last year, should also have a very substantial preventive effect. Most of the new federal funds are being devoted to provide better education to the children of the poor—for these are the children who today are most likely to be the "drop-outs" from which so many juvenile delinquents are recruited.

And here I will also point to the success of our Youth Opportunity Program of the past two summers—which has, each year, given work and needed income, and the chance to stay in school, to more than a million young people who otherwise would have been in the streets.

We are taking steps—through a broad variety of programs—to roll back the cancer of our cities which I call "slumism." Slumism is not only deterioration of buildings and neighborhoods; it is the erosion of the human spirit. We know that unless we remedy the conditions prevailing in our slums, they will continue to breed crime faster than any police department, however well-equipped and well-led, can meet it.

But these programs—all of which strike at the roots of poverty and crime—will not produce dramatic results overnight. They will take time and continuous effort before they really begin to be felt.

Meanwhile, we in Washington have moved to help you do a better job.

Under the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1955, millions of dollars of federal funds are being made available to improve and strengthen the administration of law enforcement at all levels. During the last fiscal year, 79 demonstration projects in 30 states—conducted by non-profit groups or local agencies—were made possible by this act.

As a direct result of President Johnson's request of Congress last year for more federal help in training and technical assistance to state and local law enforcement personnel, an expanded FBI Academy is to be constructed at Quantico, Virginia. This new facility will increase by six times the number of qualified law enforcement officers who will be able to attend the Academy each year. Specialized training courses of two or three weeks' duration will also be available to as many as one thousand additional police officers each year.

Our concern has also resulted in the establishment of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Criminal Justice—better known as The National Crime Commission.

This Commission, chaired by the Attorney General, is looking into all aspects of crime—its prevention, detection and enforcement.

But the efforts of the Crime Commission, and the help provided by the Law Enforcement Assistance Program and by the FBI, will not be effective unless every unit of government—and our states in particular—does not take initiative on its own.

Last March, the President directed the Attorney General to invite each State Governor to appoint his own planning committee on criminal administration. Since then some 22 states and Puerto Rico have formed commissions and another dozen are in the process of being formed.

The President has invited each Governor to send his representative to a conference in Washington—to be held at the end of next week at the University of Maryland Adult Education Center—for an exchange of ideas and discussion of the Crime Commission's preliminary findings. It now appears that all but a handful of states will be represented.

Out of this meeting I hope there will come a new awareness—in statehouse, courthouse and city hall, in police headquarters and among individual citizens—of positive steps which can be undertaken to halt the growth of crime and turn it backward.

Most states need an augmentation of their State Police force. They need men and women better-qualified, better-trained, better-equipped, and better-paid.

I believe more of our states—as a few have already begun to do—would do well to join with *local* government in financing the training of law enforcement officers.

I think our goal should be nothing less than this: That every state should have one or more police-training courses at university or college level where truly professional training—as at the FBI Academy—could be offered to officers of both state and local law enforcement agencies. Far too few of our officers today have such training.

As our governors can act to lift the level of law enforcement within their states, so can our mayors and county officials—and their police chiefs—do a great deal on their own initiative in their own communities.

When I was elected Mayor of Minneapolis, there were underworld influences at work in our city and they were strong influences. I called our church, business, labor and other civic leaders together. We appointed a law enforcement commission and I said to them: "I want your backing. I want law enforcement officers of ability and integrity. I want to pay them the most we can afford. I want to give them the best possible working conditions."

There were some difficult days for us, but we cleaned up our city. Other cities have done the same thing, where local leadership was willing to make full

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commitment to getting the job done.

Now, I would like to talk frankly for a few minutes about a situation that distresses all of us.

It is the crisis in confidence which exists today between the police officer and many of our citizens—particularly those citizens who live in slum areas and are members of minority groups.

This crisis in confidence should not be. It finds natural allies too often viewing each other as potential enemies.

No one in America needs the police more than our citizens who live in slum neighborhoods. No one is more victimized by criminal acts.

At the same time, our police stand in great need of the cooperation of these very same citizens—as complainants, as witnesses, as sources of information, and for moral support.

Nevertheless, a crisis of confidence exists, and there is no denying it. It must be overcome.

Last June, your Association brought together police executives from our largest cities to explore this problem and to share their experience. Now your Association, in cooperation with the Office of Law Enforcement of the Department of Justice, is able to offer staff consultant services to police departments.

I would commend to you, also, the assistance of the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice, which can provide insights into the concerns of many of the people who live in these problem areas.

Out of experience to date, we can see ways in which this crisis of confidence *can* be overcome.

First of all, there is the need to demonstrate to the law-abiding majority who live in these neighborhoods that the police are on *their* side and the police men and women respect and serve all citizens equally.

A few isolated instances where officers apply "move along" or "stop and frisk" practices to innocent citizens or where an officer, under pressure, might shout a racial slur can bring trouble to the best and most cleanly-administered police departments.

There is a need, in all but a few of our police departments, for added emphasis not only on detection and enforcement, but also on human relations and community service.

Our police officers should be associated with programs which engender and encourage respect for the law.

We find, time and again, that in those cities where police-community relations are best, police officers are associated with the United Fund, with athletics, with church activity, with recreation programs for children and young adults.

Our police officers should be given more time in the schools to talk about law enforcement, to explain their work, to identify with young people—and to have young people identify with them.

Our departments can become more active, too, in interracial community relations groups in their home cities. Through such activity, it is possible for the police officer to be seen as the friend of the neighborhood, not as its enemy. And it is likewise much easier for the officer to see the neighborhood not as alien territory, but as a community of people he knows.

But just as important as the policies and approaches of the police department and the individual officer are the outlook and attitude of the community and the individual citizen.

I said a moment ago that the turning point in my home community of Minneapolis came when the upright, law-abiding citizens finally made it their business to seek and to support honest, fearless crime prevention and law enforcement—when they stopped looking upon crime as just the police chief's problem.

Within the limit of his capabilities, every American has an obligation not only to uphold the law, but to support it with all reasonable means at his command.

This means taking a genuine interest in the problems of crime and in the obstacles—legal, budgetary or otherwise—confronting honest, impartial, effective crime control.

It means responding to jury duty . . . a willingness to appear in criminal proceedings . . . promptness in reporting violations . . . and, most fundamental of all, conscientiously observing both the letter and spirit of the law.

It means the recognition that every act of crime is a public wrong.

Many years ago, a wise old man of Athens was asked when he believed injustice would be abolished. It would be abolished, he said, "when those who are not wronged wax as indignant as those who are."

And by the same token, both those who lead each community—and those who live there—have an obligation not only to support the law and those who enforce it, but also to support those programs at the local level which strike at the roots of crime.

It is not the federal government's responsibility to maintain a national police force. That is not the way we do things in America.

Neither is it our responsibility—nor should it be—to be alone in launching programs to defeat poverty . . . to provide tennage jobs . . . to provide decent housing . . . to revive local neighborhoods . . . to eliminate the discrimination and inequality of opportunity which breed hopelessness and disorder.

We are a people who believe in local initiative and local responsibility. And that is the way it should remain.

Our new federal laws are written, and our new federal programs are administered, to make federal help available to states, to localities, and to communities willing to take on leadership in meeting their own problems.

This is the task that confronts our country if we are to achieve the full promise of a people living in justice and under the law.

This is a job for *all* of us—not just those who are police officials, such as yourselves, or who are federal officials, such as I am.

When the buck stops in the preservation of law and order, it stops in front of every citizen. And it will take nothing less than the effort and understanding of every citizen to bring us through to a time when neighbor lives in peace with neighbor . . . when law observance is the rule and law enforcement is the exception . . . when every American community stands equally committed to civil peace and to social justice. ☆

LAW ENFORCEMENT

IN

AMERICA'S CITIES

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

EXCERPTS OF REMARKS
TO CONVENTION OF
INTERNATIONAL ASSOCIATION OF CHIEFS OF POLICE
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA
OCTOBER 5, 1966

I am pleased and honored to be in the company of men and women who, I think, bear one of the greatest responsibilities that anyone can possibly shoulder in an organized society. And I know that you people bear these responsibilities well. They are the responsibilities of protection of the citizen in his rights and his property, the enforcement of the law.

I know that your position requires a great deal of selfless devotion to duty, and it enacts very substantial sacrifices from yourselves and your families. Too many Americans take for granted the high quality of police work, the truly professional quality which we enjoy here in the United States.

I want that statement to be digested, because in the main, we do have a high quality of police work. It has been taken for granted; far too many Americans

are unaware of the incredibly difficult challenges that you face every day in this mobile, changing, restless society that makes up modern America.

If we get citizen understanding of these challenges and of the changes that are under way in our communities, possibly we will have better citizen support.

You know the crime statistics.

According to figures recently released by the FBI's Uniform Crime Reports, the crime rate was six percent higher in the first three months of this year than in the same period last year.

Now, I have always had some concern about these crime rates, because I recall in my own city when they put in a very good reporting system on crime, the crime rate went up rather appreciably. Here I was Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, telling the people

that I was giving them good law enforcement. But the very first thing they read in the local press was that the crime rate had doubled. I had a difficult time telling them that it was the first time that we were recording crimes, because the system of reporting before was rather inaccurate.

I think there is something to this problem of reporting. And I mention this for people that are not truly informed on police work.

Perhaps most disturbing is the increase in crime among juveniles. One out of six boys, it is estimated at the present rate, will be referred to a juvenile court for an act of delinquency before his 18th birthday, one out of six. And the arrests of persons under 18 for serious crimes have increased nearly 50 percent, as you know, since 1960.

Cost of Crime

Now, as to the cost of crime, everybody has his own figure, but I can tell you this! It is staggering. And the cost of crime is so much more than we put into crime prevention that it is a shame just to mention the figure. It is difficult to make accurate estimates, but the most conservative estimate would be around 25 to 27 billion dollars per year.

Now, how are we going to meet these challenges? That is what you are here for. Well, I have a few suggestions, one very general one.

First of all, we must do it by digging out the roots of deep social and economic injustice in which crime grows. Now, we must do it, too, by doing better in the fields both of law enforcement and encouraging law observance. The job must, above all, be done

at all levels -- and I underscore the words "all levels" -- of our society. This isn't something for just certain people to do.

Today, we are engaged in a number of national programs which strike at the roots of crime. Your International President, Mr. Purcell, has already mentioned to you some of the federal programs.

We have launched, for example, a national War against Poverty. It is as true today as it was over 2,000 years ago when the Greek philosopher, Aristotle, said, "Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime." and believe me, it is.

Now, this is not to say that crime is a special prerogative of the poor, but it is to say that conditions of poverty contribute to delinquency -- the hoplessness, the despair which in turn can lead to crime.

I am going to emphasize in this message today that the work of a police officer would be eased, or let us say, be made more manageable, if we were able to do the other things in our society which aid law enforcement and encourage law observance.

Our historic break-through on Federal Aid to Education achieved last year should also have a very substantial preventive effect. Most of the new federal funds are being devoted to providing better education to the children of the poor, for those are the children who are most likely to be the drop-outs from which so many juvenile delinquents are recruited.

I want you to go home when you leave this meeting and talk to your Superintendent of Schools. Talk to your Board of Education. I want you to say "I want to see what your school drop-out program is. I don't want any nice, glib

generalities. Where is it, what are you doing to prevent the rise in school dropouts which contributes to crime?"

Now, there are many other things that school drop-outism does to our society. It denies this nation vast reservoirs of potential talent. It is an expensive luxury.

I am the Chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity Committee, and I know what is not being done in America about the school drop-out problem. I know that, by the year 1975, we are going to have 32 million adults in America without a high school education, if the trend is not reversed. By the year 1975, a high school diploma is going to be much more important in obtaining a job than it is today.

I am not saying that you have to have a high school diploma to be a good citizen or to be a competent person. I am saying that it helps.

I am saying that personnel officers in government and in industrial life are very concerned about quality of education.

I'd like to mention the Youth Opportunity program that I have chaired the last two summers, which has each year given work, given needed income and a chance to stay in school to more than one million young people who otherwise would have been in the streets.

We provided these jobs last year through industry and through community cooperation. I sent a letter to every mayor in the United States, to every governor, to every school superintendent, every Chamber of Commerce, every PTA, everybody to whom we could write.

I worked day and night, 18 hours a day on it. I asked people to make a determined effort to provide jobs for the children of the poor, for the deprived, for the illiterate,

for the unemployed teenager between the ages of 16 and 20.

We were able to provide more than a million jobs this year, a little over last year's total.

But, my fellow Americans, here is the serious fact: The teen-age unemployment rate among Negro youth remains static -- 27 percent on a national average. In some cities, 50 percent of Negro teen-agers are without jobs, standing on street corners. And that is the source of a good deal of the present rioting and trouble, and you know it.

You see, I have been very close to communities and police. I am your friend, not your enemy. I worked with my police department when I was mayor of my city. And by the way, I backed up my law enforcement officers too. I didn't run away from them.

I happen to think that we have got to get at this problem of teen-age unemployment, particularly

amongst minority groups. Sometimes, it is the Mexican-American, sometimes it is the Puerto Rican, sometimes it is the Negro. But it is amongst these children of the deprived and of minority groups in our city ghettos.

My fellow Americans, this is not merely the job of the police officer; this is the job of the industrialist, of the church leader. It is the job of the labor leader; it is the job of the mayor; it is the job of the governor, and it can't be done out of Washington.

Now, when you get on home, here is Task Number 2. I told you about those school drop-outs. Number 2 is: Go right on up to the Chamber of Commerce and say "What are we going to do about our teen-age unemployment problem next summer?"

Every man in this room knows after there had been some trouble in these cities, you found jobs. We found them in Minneapolis. We

had had a riot on Plymouth Avenue. In the next week, they found 2,000 jobs for those same youngsters. Last week they found jobs in San Francisco.

I had a hundred of the top industrialists in Washington just a few weeks ago, and I said, "Look, let's face it. We haven't been doing our job. I want you to go back to your city, your part of the establishment -- you are very rich men, you are powerful men, you are heads of powerful corporations. You have everything to lose in a rebellious society. Go back and see the mayor, and the governor and the superintendent of schools and the Chamber of Commerce and anybody else you can find, and ask them point-blank, before you pay your taxes, 'What are you going to do about helping us to provide teen-age employment this coming summer? Or are we going to have to patrol every street and have the National Guard out?'"

I think this is the question, my dear friends, because you are Chiefs of Police, and you have to take the onus for law enforcement or the lack of it. And your men have to stand up and be beaten or maimed or killed in lawless conditions.

So, take the message back home. Write to me and tell me whether or not they responded, because I am "going to be on everybody's back" between now and next summer. As long as the President permits me to head this program for youth opportunity, I am going to take the word "opportunity" seriously.

I don't think it should be an opportunity to get in trouble. It should be an opportunity for a job, for an education, for recreation.

You might also ask what they are doing about their swimming pools, about their recreation facilities. You can't enforce the law in these

ghetto areas without these facilities, well-manned, well-staffed, at work. Tell the community that it is cheaper to pay for facilities than it is to have a riot; it is cheaper than to hire more police.

Plain talk is what we need among ourselves. We can't have a country in which there is lawlessness. Our whole fabric of society will disintegrate. We cannot condone riots and burning and looting. We can't have it. It is the duty of every citizen to see that it stops.

But in order to stop, it means you take some preventive action as well as enforce the law.

We know that, unless we remedy the conditions prevailing in our slums, we will continue to breed crime faster than any police department, however well-equipped and well-led, can meet it. If ever there was a time that there

ought to be cross-fertilization or inter-disciplinary action, it is between those who seek to build a better community and the police who seek to maintain law and order.

But these programs, all of which strike at the roots of poverty and crime, will not produce dramatic results overnight. You know that. It takes time. It will take time and continued effort before they will ever really begin to be felt.

Meanwhile, we in Washington have moved to help you as best we can to do a better job.

Through the Law Enforcement Assistance Act of 1965, millions of dollars of federal funds are being made available to improve and strengthen the administration of law enforcement at all levels. During the last fiscal year, 79 demonstration projects in 30 states,

as conducted by nonprofit groups or local agencies were made possible by this Act.

As a direct result of President Johnson's request of Congress last year for more federal help in training and technical assistance to state and local law enforcement personnel, we are expanding the FBI Academy at Quantico, Virginia. This new facility will increase by six times the number of qualified law enforcement officers who will be able to attend that Academy, each year.

Specialized training courses of two to three weeks' duration will also be available to as many as 1,000 additional police officers, each year. That can help.

Our concern has also resulted in establishment of the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and the Administration of Criminal Justice, better known as the National Crime Commission. This Commission,

chaired by the Attorney General, is looking into all aspects of crime, its prevention, detection and enforcement.

But the efforts of the Crime Commission, the help provided by the Law Enforcement Assistance program, and by the FBI, will not be effective unless every unit of government and our states in particular, take initiative on their own.

Law enforcement may be a national problem, but it is a state responsibility and a local responsibility.

Last March, the President directed the Attorney General to invite each state Governor to appoint his own planning committee on criminal administration. Since then, 22 states and Puerto Rico have formed commissions and another dozen are in the process of being formed.

The President has invited each Governor to send his representative to a conference in Washington to be held at the end of next week at the University of Maryland Adult Education Center, for an exchange of ideas and discussion of the Crime Commission's preliminary findings. It now appears that all but a handful of states will be represented.

Now, out of this meeting, I hope there will come a new awareness in statehouses, in courthouses and city hall, in police headquarters and among individual citizens, of positive steps which can be undertaken and are being undertaken to halt the growth of crime and to turn it back.

Most states need strengthening of their state police force. They need men and women better qualified, better trained, better equipped and better paid. It is the duty of an elected official in government to tell that to the people.

I believe that more of our states, (as a few have already begun to do,) would do well to join with local government in training and financing the training of local law enforcement.

That includes the sheriffs and their deputies, chiefs and their officers and state patrols. Every state should have one or more police training schools or courses at a university or college level, where truly professional training (as at the FBI Academy) could be offered to officers of both state and local law enforcement agencies.

For some reason or another, in many cities, we think we can just go out and recruit a police officer, check him out to see if his heart is beating right, see if he has a normal pulse rate or reasonably normal, looks strong and healthy, has a degree of education, and then, give him a uniform and badge and turn him loose.

I know that isn't the case in some of the large cities. But I want to say to some of these cities: Your law enforcement program is no better than the town down the road, because if the criminal is at loose in the precincts at the periphery of your city, he can get into your town, too. So, this is a cooperative endeavor.

Now, I am going to talk a little bit about what we elected officials can do for you. Governors can act to lift the level of law enforcement within their states. So, too, our mayors, county officials, commissioners and police chiefs can do a great deal on their own initiative in their own communities.

It is about time that we put the responsibility for law enforcement where it belongs, -- upon those of us who are the chosen, elected representatives of the people. If you can't enforce the law as the paid law enforcement officer, then, you ought to be dismissed; get a new one.

But it is our job as elected officials to take this responsibility. And I happen to believe that if that responsibility is taken, we can get a better job done.

When I was elected mayor of my city, I called on our church, business, labor and other civic leaders, and I asked them to work with me.

We appointed a Law Enforcement Commission made up of labor, business, veterans' groups and civic leaders. They advised me, helped me in trying to keep our police department modern, up to date and working with the community to get community support. They were excellent.

I said to them: "I want your backing. I want law enforcement officers of ability and integrity; I want to pay them the most that we can afford. I want to give them the best possible working conditions."

Now, my good friends, we did just that. We did substantially increase the pay of our police officers. In fact, for the patrolman, we doubled it.

There were some difficult days for us, but we cleaned up our city. Other cities have been doing the same thing where local leadership is willing to make the full commitment of getting the job done.

Now, let's talk frankly for a few minutes, about a situation which distresses all of us. It is what I call a crisis in confidence which exists today between the police officer and many of our citizens, particularly those citizens who live in slum areas and are members of minority groups.

I know it is a burden that you carry. This crisis in confidence should not be. It finds natural <u>allies</u> (or what ought to be natural allies) too often viewing each other as potential <u>enemies</u>. No one in

America needs the police more than citizens who live in the slum neighborhoods. You are their hope, their protector. No one is more victimized by criminal acts than the poor and those who live in slums. It is there that you are needed more than any other place.

At the same time, our police stand in great need of cooperation of these very same citizens in the slums, as complainants, as witnesses, as sources of information and moral support. Nevertheless, in all candor, a crisis of confidence exists. You can't deny it; it must be overcome.

Last June, your Community Relations Association brought together police executives from our largest cities to explore this problem and to share their experience.

Your Association, in cooperation with the Office of Law Enforcement of the Department of Justice, is able to offer staff consultant service to police departments.

Take advantage of it. I know that your Executive Director and your International President of this great Association are anxious to be of help to every department in this country.

I would commend to you also the assistance of the Community Relations Service of the Department of Justice. Make use of it.

It was put in the Department of Justice, so that it could work with you.

Out of our experience to date, we can see ways in which this crisis of confidence can be overcome or it must be.

First of all, there is the need to demonstrate to the law-abiding majority who live in these neighborhoods that the police are on their side and the policeman and policewoman respect and serve all citizens equally.

A few isolated instances occur where officers apply the "move along" technique or "stop and frisk" practices to innocent citizens, or where an officer under pressure, (and I know that you are under pressure -- so am I, every day) might shout a racial slur. Such instances can bring trouble to the best, most efficient and cleanly administered police departments.

You just simply have to be able to control your emotions. You have to remember that, despite the fact that you have had difficulties with certain people, all people are not that way. You have to be an expert in human relations. You have to be imbued with it.

There is a need in all but a few of our police departments for added emphasis, not only on crime detection and enforcement of the law, but also on human relations and community service.

Mr. Chief, the first thing you ought to do is to get in touch with your mayor, with your university, your civic leaders, your bi-racial commission, or human relations commission, whatever it may be, and set up a program of discussing these matters together, getting advice and counsel and letting minorities listen to you too, because it is not a one-way street.

Our police officers should be associated with programs which engender and encourage respect for the law.

We find time and again that in those cities where police-community relations are the best, police officers are associated with the United Fund, with athletics, with church activities, with recreation programs for children and young adults. I don't mean just the Chief, I mean the officers out on the beat.

Our police officers should be given more time to go into the schools to talk about law observance and law enforcement, to let the youngsters see who they are, to know them, to explain their work, to identify with young people and to have young people identify with them.

There ought to be programs for every boy and girl in America to see what a modern police laboratory is, what a mobile laboratory is, what you are doing, what you are trying to do, that you are not only a man with a gun and a club, but a man with a heart with children of your own, with a home and a family. Let them see what a modern police department has to do, and call upon them for their assistance.

Law observance is the real test of a society. Law enforcement is at best a second test.

Our departments can become more active too in inter-racial community

relations groups in their home cities. Through such activities, it is possible for the police officer to be seen as a friend in the neighborhood and not as its enemy. It is likewise much easier for the officer to see the neighborhood not as "alien territory," but as a community of people that he knows, his part of town.

But just as important as the policies and the approaches of the police department and the individual officer are the outlook and the attitude of the community and the individual citizen.

I said, a moment ago, that the turning point in my home community of Minneapolis came when the upright, law-abiding citizens who are the vast majority, made it their business to seek and support honest, fearless crime prevention and law enforcement, or when they stopped looking upon crime as just the Police Chief's job.

Within the limit of his capabilities, every American has the responsibility, not only to uphold the law but to respect the law, to respect the badge that each officer wears and support it with all reasonable means at his command.

This means taking a genuine interest in the problems of crime and the obstacles -- legal, budgetary or otherwise, confronting honest, impartial, effective crime control.

It means responding to jury duty instead of pleading that you don't want to serve; a willingness to appear in criminal proceedings, promptness in reporting violations, and most fundamental of all, conscientiously observing both the letter and the spirit of the law.

It means the recognition that every act of crime is a public wrong.

Many years ago, a wise old man of Athens was asked when he believed that injustice would be abolished. Here is his reply:

It would be abolished, he said, when "those who are not wronged, wax as indignant as those who are." It is when those persons who are not directly the victims of crime become as indignant over crime and its effects as those who are the victims of crime.

This is the same thing that is true, my friends, in disease and illiteracy. We will overcome illiteracy when those who are educated and privileged to be educated are as indignant over ignorance and illiteracy as those who are its victims.

We will get over disease in America and conquer disease when those who have been spared from disease are as concerned about its ravages as those who are afflicted by disease.

We will get over injustice in America, as that old gentleman of

Athens said, when those who are not wronged wax as indignant as those who are. That simply means that you have to ask the nice people in the neighborhood who do not want to be touched by all of this, -- you know what I mean -- to get into the battle.

Those who lead each community and those who live there have an obligation not only to support the law and those who enforce it, but also to support those programs at the local level which strike at the roots of crime; I have named some of them.

It is not the federal government's responsibility to maintain a national police force. I don't think you want a national police force. This is not the way we do things in America. It is the responsibility of the government to aid you, but not to take over your duties.

Neither is it the federal government's responsibility to be alone in launching programs to

defeat poverty, to provide teenage jobs, to provide decent housing, to revive local neighborhoods. Even if the federal government could do it, it shouldn't.

We are a people who believe in local initiative and local responsibility, and that is the way it should be. Our new federal laws are written and our new federal programs are administered to make federal help available to states, to localities and communities willing to take on leadership in meeting their own problems.

This is the task that confronts our country if we are to achieve the full promise of people living in justice and under the law. This is a job for all of us, not just for those who are police officials such as yourselves, or who are federal officials such as I am. Every one of us is in this.

The rights of an American citizen involve duties as well as responsibilities, along with privileges. When the buck stops in the preservation of law and order, it stops not at your desk, not at my desk or at the President's; it stops in front of every citizen, because in a democracy, every citizen has his responsibility.

It will take nothing less than the effort and understanding of every citizen to bring us through to a time when neighbors live in peace with neighbors, when law observance is the rule and law enforcement is the exception; when every American community stands equally committed to civil peace and social justice.

# # #

"Man is the only animal who has succeeded in contaminating virtually every square inch of his surroundings. But what he has done, he is surely capable of undoing. So let us here and now resolve not to rest until we have cleansed our waters, so that we can use them in safety—and cleared the air, so that we can all breathe easier."

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF
HEALTH, EDUCATION, AND WELFARE
Public Health Service

REMARKS by
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Given at GANNON COLLEGE, ERIE, PENNSYLVANIA
OCTOBER 11, 1966

When I'm with young people, I like to talk about the future.

I know you're far more interested in the good new days then the good old days, and so am I.

Today I want to talk about something of vital concern to all of you -- the air you are going to breathe and the water you are going to drink ... and swim and water-ski in as well.

Back in my home state of Minnesota, they tell a story about an old farmer and his mule. The mule stalled right in the middle of the road one day.

First the old man took a two-by-four and smacked the mule between the eyes. Then he shouted: "Giddup" and the mule got.

"Why the two-by-four?" a bystander asked. The old man answered" "The first thing I've got to do is get his attention."

I sometimes think we Americans are a little like that mule. Often, we don't seem to get going until something hits us between the eyes.

That has been particularly the case when it comes to our natural heritage. We have been blessed with so rich an endowment that we sometimes have been deluded into seeing it as limitless.

We took our forests for granted until they were threatened with exhaustion.

We misued our high central plains until they began blowing away as dust in the wind.

In both these cases, we did wake up and take remedial action -- but, as in the old-time movie serials, it was just in the nick of time.

Now another crisis of immense proportions has hit us squarely between the eyes -- the galloping deterioration of our Great Lakes.

These magnificent inland seas contain a third of all the fresh water on the world's surface. They are an asset of incalculable value to the nation.

We have carelessly treated them as inexhaustible -- and now we are finding they are not. By using them as a dumping ground for all the wastes that our civilization produces, we have done grave damage to them.

You here in Erie know this all too well. For it is not too much to say that Lake Erie is dying before our eyes. Large areas of it are already as lifeless as a desert.

My good friend Secretary of the Interior Udall has said: "To fly over Lake Erie and look down into the cloudy mess of murderous pollution is like reading the flyleaf of a book on the end of civilization."

Last month, I convened a Great Lakes Conference on Water Pollution, in Chicago, to bring to national attention what we see happening.

If we permit this to go on, it will be a tragedy of vast proportions. For there will not be another Lake Erie in this geologic age.

And this is more than a matter of sentiment and esthetics. It would be an immense economic disaster for the 25 million people who live and work on the Lake's shores -- and for the nation as a whole.

I am confident that we can save Lake Erie. I have enough faith in the ingenuity of our scientists and engineers to believe that they can devise the means to do the job. And I have enough knowledge of the power of an aroused public opinion to believe that it <u>will</u> be done.

At Put-In Bay there is a great monument to our victory in the first Battle of Lake Erie, back in 1813. I hope that, before too many years, we shall be able to celebrate victory in the second Battle of Lake Erie -- the battle to make it fit -- and keep it fit for our children and our children's children.

Lake Erie is by all odds America's number one water pollution problem. But Lake Michigan and Lake Ontario are also in bad shape. The experts say that, even if all the pollution of Lake Michigan were controlled, it would still take 500 years to make its water really clean again.

This problem of water pollution is nation-wide in scope, and it is getting worse -- a sharp reminder to us that, in this changing world, not all change is for the better.

Indeed, the first man to identify change as the most pervasive element in life -- the ancient Greek philosopher Heraclitus -- put it in words that make sadly ironic reading today. He wrote:

"You cannot step twice into the same river, for fresh waters are ever flowing upon you."

All too often nowadays, the waters that flow upon us are the very opposite of fresh. They are laden with industrial and human debris. The U.S. Division of Water Supply calculates that 1900 communities, where 20 million Americans live, have inadequate facilities for the treatment of waste. In many, raw untreated sewage flows into the municipal fresh water supply every day.

The Hudson River is so badly polluted that, if absolutely no more sewage were dumped into it, the experts say it would still continue to contaminate itself for the next 15 years. That's a measure of the filth that has become an integral part of the river's bed. It used to purify itself every 15 miles. Now it repollutes itself every seven miles.

The Potomac River, which flows right past the doorstep of our nation's capital, is another case in point. President Theodore Roosevelt used to swim in it regularly. Even in the heat of the Washington summer, no one in his right mind would do that today.

At long last -- but far better late than never -- we in America are beginning to tackle head-on the job of cleaning up our rivers and lakes -- a task comparable, in classic mythology, to Hercules cleansing a thousand Augean stables.

Some 300 communities -- and a great many industries -- have in recent years joined in an all-out war against pollution. We are already up-grading the water used by more than 40 million people.

The combined efforts of federal, state and local governments -- and of many other public and private institutions -- are being concentrated on this urgent task.

Scientists and technologists, supported by federal funds, are working out new ways of disposing of waste. They are sorely needed because, in important respects, our methods have hardly improved during the past generation.

Federal grants available to help municipalities construct new sewage facilities have been greatly stepped up.

We are also in process of establishing federal standards for water quality -- recognizing that the waters of a single river often serve the needs of several states.

These standards will be particularly valuable to industry as guidelines for action. Many of our newest plants do a remarkable job in reducing and treating their wastes. Others do far less well -- some very badly. Standards applied to everyone, across the board, will spur those who are lagging to catch up.

Maybe we would have acted more promptly if, like fish, we'd actually been living in waters which were gradually becoming deadly to us. Or maybe not.

For it is only very recently that our smarting and watery eyes have opened up to the fact that many of us are living at the bottom of another kind of ocean -- the atmosphere -- which is becoming more and more contaminated and inimical to our health.

Only a few years ago, smog was regarded as an affliction peculiar to Los Angeles -- and a favorite target of comedians' jokes. Now, the laugh is on the rest of us -- and, if we're laughing at all, it's often through smog-induced tears.

The kind of clear day when one can see forever is, for many of us, increasingly rare. Already air pollution has increased to such an extent that, according to the United States Public Health Service, no fewer than 7,300 communities are affected to varying degrees. And they include desert and mountain cities which most of us still associate with the most sparkling crystal-clear kind of air.

We owe a very great debt to the harassed citizens of Los Angeles. They were the first to be hit by smog -- and the first to react to it. They are responsible for a great deal of the technological and administrative know-how for fighting air pollution -- including the kind of pollution-controlling devices which, under new federal law, will be mandatory equipment on all 1968 automobile models.

Other new federal programs are designed to develop more effective methods to control air pollution, and train hundreds of sorely-needed technicians.

Towns afflicted by air pollution generated in another state can now call for federal help -- as can any city which isn't able to deal with its own problem. Federal grants are available to pay two-thirds of the clean-up costs, but most cities are still unwilling to chip in their share.

According to a recent Public Health Service survey, there are only some 130 city, county, and regional air pollution programs in operation -- and some of these are token in character.

It's clear that, before much more can be done, a number of city halls will need a good swift kick in the seat of their apathy. That can only come from an aroused citizenry. And a great many people need to be aroused. A nation-wide survey undertaken by the chemical industry last year found that four-fifths of those interviewed did not consider air pollution a major community problem.

That kind of complacency is dangerous -- and not only to property, but to life itself.

There is no doubt that air pollution is a contributing factor to the rising incidence of chronic respiratory diseases, like lung cancer, emphysema, bronchitis and asthma.

We often speak of individuals as being spoiled by success. It is our own spectacular economic success, particularly in recent years, which has resulted in the massive spoilage of our air and water. As industry has boomed, as cars and freeways and people have multiplied -- so the wear and tear on our natural environment has doubled and re-doubled.

Unfortunately, as Justice Douglas has put it, our affluent society has also been an effluent society.

Where do you come in? As alert, active, and well-educated citizens, you have a vital and individual responsibility.

Experience shows that, in our American democracy, there are two essential pre-conditions to dealing with problems, like air and water pollution, which are nationwide in scope -- and you can help with both of them.

First, the public must become informed about the nature of the problem. Here's a job for you. Get the facts -- there are many more than I've been able to give you today -- and see that they get around.

When people generally are aware of the problem, it can be said to have entered the public consciousness.

Second, the public must become sufficiently aroused to insist upon a solution. Don't wait for George to do that -- get in and pitch yourselves.

When people get up on their hind legs and holler, the problem has not only entered the public conscientiousness -- it has also become a part of the public conscience. At that point, things in our democracy begin to hum.

As I get around campuses, I run into many students who think that the individual has become the helpless victim of forces too vast for him to affect in any way.

Don't ever think you are merely fodder for some computing machine.

Archimedes said: "Give me but one firm spot on which to stand, and I will move the earth." And Americans have again and again proved this in ways that Archimedes never dreamed.

Upton Sinclair revolutionized the packing industry with his novel, THE JUNGLE. Rachel Carson forced us to take a fresh, hard look at the use of pesticides with SILENT SPRING.

These people had to start from scratch, or very near to it. With respect to air and water pollution, we are better off. Things are already moving -- and legislation now going through Congress will put a great deal more federal muscle into the fight.

The job here is to get things moving much further and faster -- and in thousands of towns and cities where lethal garbage is still being dumped in to the water and the air.

There is need for every concerned citizen -- for people like yourselves -- to speak up loud and clear.

For American public opinion is like an ocean -- it cannot be stirred by a teaspoon.

Man is the only animal who has succeeded in contaminating virtually every square inch of his surroundings. But what he has done, he is surely capable of undoing. So let us here and now resolve not to rest until we have cleansed our waters, so that we can use them in safety -- and cleared the air, so that we can all breathe easier.

GPO 915-190

Excerpts

from an Address

by the Vice President

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

International Conference of the
Public Personnel Association

October 26, 1966
Statler-Hilton Hotel
Washington, D. C.

All of us here are public servants -- you through the merit system or appointment, and I as an elected officer. Nevertheless, we serve the public, and I know of no greater service that one can do in a free country -- in a democracy -- than to serve the people. Lincoln's definition of our Government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" covers it all. You are obviously of the people; you are here by the people; and the people would like to believe that you are here for the people. They would like to believe that of the President and the Vice President, Members of Congress, and the entire area that we call the Bureaucracy.

The word bureaucracy has been taken and interpreted as if it were an evil force. In fact what it represents is the machinery of Government, the apparatus of public service. So when I use that term, I use it in the most respectful manner.

Public administration has become not only a necessary adjunct of Government; it is increasingly a vital force in the life of a free society. Here in our own nation there are nearly 11 million working in governmental services of some form or another. Public administration has become a constructive force in shaping how the world's work gets done,

from the U. N. Secretariat on down to the small suburban municipality, even to the township level. And I might add that it is also an instrument that determines the success or the failure of programs critical to the democratic way of life.

Need is Ever Increasing

Let's think about two aspects of manpower resources for the international and domestic responsibilities that we bear.

First, on the domestic aspect. Local and state government has grown much more rapidly in these post-war years than Federal government. These areas of government have grown in their responsibilities and their services because the people expect more from their government. Also, the country has grown. I remember when I first came to Washington in 1949, the population of the nation was about 150 million. Now the nation's population is close to 200 million.

This is a fast growing country, and an even faster growing world. Because of this growth in population as well as in the variety of changes that have taken place in our social and economic structure, there is an ever increasing need for trained, skilled, experienced, and dedicated manpower in the field of public service. Just as we have shortages today in some of the skills and professions in the private sector, so we have shortages in the skills and professions in the public sector.

President Johnson is keenly aware of this. I know that he has in mind programs which he hopes will aid the states and localities in developing better managerial, technical, scientific, and professional talent to serve at those levels; to help, for example, universities to prepare students for public service, and to strengthen public personnel administration everywhere throughout the land.

We Seek to Cooperate

I must say, as one who has been a legislator, that many of the programs which we now have will succeed or fail not on the basis of the written law or even the interpretation of that legislation but upon the basis of administration. And these programs cannot possibly be administered out of one central point. The concept of government which this administration adheres to is what has been termed "Creative Federalism." Creative Federalism, in simple terms, means a working partnership between the Federal, state and local governments. It also means that the initiative, the real push for the development, the administration, the adjustment, and indeed even the application and the expansion of programs must be at the local level. Planning at the local level means the adjustment of a national program to the needs of a particular locality.

Our country is vast and anyone in Washington who thinks that he can legislate a program for every part of the nation on a uniform basis, as if the nation

could be put in a mold, should leave town, because you can't do it. You can have Federal standards, you can have Federal criteria, or you can have Federal aid, Federal funds, and Federal technicians, but ultimately these programs will succeed or fail by the capacity of local officers to adjust them, to apply them to the particular situation which relates to the area in which you live. This is what we mean by partnership.

The Federal government should not, and does not, seek to dominate; it seeks to cooperate. The Federal government does not, and should not, seek to supplant local and state initiative; it seeks to supplement. From the War on Poverty to the many programs in the Departments of Health, Education and Welfare and Housing and Urban Development to the programs that you find in the Departments of Agriculture, Labor, and Commerce depend in large measure on what kind of administration is applied at the local levels.

We Need to Communicate

If there is any one weakness of our present operation, I would say it is this: We have not done enough consultation with the respective levels of government, but we are remedying that. As you know, I am the President's liaison officer with mayors and local officials. We have had 16 meetings thus far this past two years with the mayors of cities down to 30,000 population. We will now go into the regional meetings, so that we can

bring in not only many of those who have already been to one or more of the national meetings, but also officials of the smaller communities where a vast proportion of our population lives. These are two-way informational conferences.

You talk about an information gap: -- the greatest information gap in the United States today is between the areas of the government. We have more programs relating to cities, more programs relating to urban affairs than most people can count, but we also have a large number of people that don't know what the programs are, who is in charge, how they operate, or how you even get at it. Now this is what we call a real information gap. We have to close that gap. And we're beginning to do it with governors conferences where Federal officials appear, not as just speakers, but in a seminar situation. In our mayors conferences where we have meetings that last two days at a time, we have cabinet officials, under secretaries, and agency heads explain their programs and what they seek to accomplish and how they can be put to work.

We're beginning to find out that it's a good idea for us to confer with state legislative leaders, because without exception, or with few exceptions, the Federal programs that we have today require some kind of complementary legislation on the part of the state or the city.

I believe that one of the things a public administrator needs to keep in mind is that the real power

in this country is not in the President or in a Governor, but in the Congress and in the State Legislatures. They may be difficult, but so are you, so am I, and we need to get to know each other. I think the real mistake thus far made in the area of public administration is that there has never been a real meeting of the minds, a complete understanding or at least a reasonable understanding between what the legislators think is the intent of the law. So we're going to try to patch that up. It's going to take some doing. This is what I mean, trying to make these programs work. We have such a variety of programs today that people are almost overwhelmed by them.

Provide Information

If I were to make one constructive recommendation for all of us, it is this: Let's get acquainted with what we have, even as we think about what more we need. I don't mean one or the other; I think we need to do both. I am of the opinion that most of the Great Society programs today require an intensive examination, an intensive assimilation and digestion by the Federal, state, and local officers to whom these programs have been entrusted for administration.

I know that I'm talking to the wrong people here, because the fact you're here indicates that you know what you want to do. But when I find, for example, that states, or local school districts, which are sorely in need of Federal aid to education

haven't even applied for some of it, because they didn't know how, I say we've got a job to do. And when I find that you go into an area where there is a great need for certain types of health programs and you find out that they haven't even applied, I say there must be something wrong.

We made an examination not long ago of one area of Massachusetts where we found 32 separate programs relating to one particular county, all in the field of health, and most of them seemed to touch one another. This is a problem of reorganization, of elimination of duplication. Basically, it's a problem of providing information for those who need these programs and to assist them to make wise choices. We must know enough about these programs so that our selections produce optimum results. I hope that my point is clear, that the success or the failure of the most dramatic effort that's ever been made in the improvement of the living conditions of the American people is in your hands, and in the hands of those who stand beside you.

Management Key Factor

Now let me give you one other point. Elected officials should not be the only ones that are enthusiastic about their creations. I think it's important for people who administer programs to be even more enthusiastic about them than those who created them. And to impart some of that enthusiasm and some of that dedication to the person that walks in

the door. The administration of programs should be more than a job; it should be a job in which you feel a deep sense of commitment, in which you have a sense of involvement, where, in a very real sense, you're looking for customers, not them looking for you.

If people would become as excited, if they would become as determined about doing something about man's living conditions as they are about traffic conditions, I think we'd have much better neighborhoods.

Public policy is a void, a vacuum and a fraud unless it is properly administered. And you are the front line fighters in this war against poverty, in this effort to make this a better country.

Now let's just say a word on the international field. There's a great need for international public service. We are sorely in need of more and more trained manpower in our international agencies, just as most of the developing countries are in desperate need of trained manpower for the operation of their government. There isn't enough money in the world to build a country that is backward and underdeveloped or developing, whatever term you wish to use, unless you have the manpower, the managerial skills in that country to manage it -- management in corporate structure, management in business, management in trade unions, management in foreign problems, management in universities, management in government. This is the difference between success and failure,

between excellence and mediocrity, between nothing and something.

Dedication Needed

Public administration is no longer just a political matter for people in politics to be concerned about. Public administration represents a working force of organized society. Our public administration at all levels needs to be better acquainted with each level; there needs to be, for example, intergovernmental cooperation in recruiting and in training and in all the practices of public administration. Learn from each other, exchange ideas! I know, for example, in our Federal agencies we now have the Executive Boards, but we need to have more than that. We need Federal, state and local people working together in every community where there are Federal officials and local and state officials; and we need to have a constant upgrading in every way, in salaries, in qualifications, in standards, and in training of local and state personnel.

Not only do we need the manpower and the skills but we need the dedication. And we need to understand that public administration now at home affects everything that we do internationally. Most of our great international services are drawn right out of the local public administration structure. If we have problems here at home making programs work, with the tools and the resources that we have here, in the areas of our slums and our poor,

imagine what problems they have in other places in the world where they have much less in terms of quantity and quality of manpower.

Unite Different Forces

If there's one thing that I've been proud of in President Johnson's Administration it's the manner in which he insists upon greater productivity per man hour, greater productivity per Federal dollar. At every Cabinet meeting somebody has to answer: "What have you done with productivity in your department? What have you done to tighten up programs, to eliminate old programs, to assimilate another program? How can you do this without adding more manpower, how can you get more productivity out of each worker that you have, each professional person, each technician?" We've taken on immense new burdens without greatly expanding the civilian payroll, thereby giving the American people a better value and a better service for the taxpayers' dollars.

I have come to understand in the years of service in the Government that what seemed to me to be a rather academic subject in a course of studies is now really the very flesh and bone, the very basis of what we seek to do in Government. Nothing is better than the way it works, and the only way that something can work is if you make it work.

So I charge you with the responsibility of helping us upgrade not only the quality of your

service but the quality of American life. I think you can do it, if you'll just extend your hand to another person that's in the same field of endeavor or that is in a related field, if you'll emphasize interdisciplinary activities, trying to unite different forces for common objectives and against common difficulties and needs. Thank you very much.

EXCERPTS FROM AN ADDRESS BY VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

AT THE PHILADELPHIA PUBLIC SERVICE CONFERENCE
SPONSORED BY GROUP W, WESTINGHOUSE BROADCASTING COMPANY
PHILADELPHIA, PENNSYLVANIA, OCTOBER 26, 1966

Group W, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company, held its sixth public service programming conference in Philadelphia, October 23-26, 1966. More than 350 broadcasters, educators and civic leaders participated in an extensive examination of the problems of urban America. Some 30 urban experts explored the urgent dilemmas of the nation's cities especially in the areas of education, race relations, crime, housing, planning, government and taxation. A highlight of the four-day conference was the address by Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States.

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey is welcomed to the Philadelphia Conference by Donald H. McGannon, President and Chairman of the Board, Westinghouse Broadcasting Company.

In this historic city of Philadelphia, with the Conference topic "The Unfinished American Revolution," it would seem appropriate to refer to early American Patriots.

John Adams wrote of what he called "the spirit of public happiness" as follows: "It was this spirit that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution before it was fought, a spirit which is reflected in delight in participation in public discussion and public action; a joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-control in self-discipline, and in dedication."

What America needs if we are going to come to grips with our problems is the spirit of public happiness. We ought to look upon our experience in public life as a joy. I have said many times that politics ought to be fun. Government and public service and civic consciousness must also be imbued with public happiness.

John Adams was right. Victories are won before the battle is even joined if there is delight in the work we are doing.

Thomas Jefferson has reminded us that "The care of human life and happiness is the first and the only legitimate object of good government." If we keep that in mind, we will understand why the Constitution imposed two mandates, and only two, upon the representatives of the American people: to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare. Everything else is optional. Those are the mandates for every public official.

It is all too easy for a society to measure itself against some abstract philosophic principle or political slogan, but there remains the question: What kind of life is our society providing for the people who live in it? Liberalism is not just a matter of ideas; it relates to people, to their well-being, their happiness, their opportunities, their right to identity and dignity.

City Beautiful Possible

This question of what kind of a life we will live must be answered in our own time and in our own society. It is a question we must ask ourselves time and again as we measure what we have done, what we have not done, what we are doing and, more importantly, what we seek to do.

Let's talk for a moment about some facts that are all too familiar. Today seven out of ten Americans live in urban areas. Twenty year from now eight out of ten will live in urban areas. But what kind of a life are we living? Are we really creating the good life and the Great Society, or are we building just big things, material things, without any regard to human values?

We build massive, even beautiful office buildings. And we say, "Look at the wonder of America." Despite our affluence, our phenomenal technological progress, the fact is that far too many Americans are not living well. Within the shadow of these magnificent and costly structures there are urban ghettos and filthy slums. It is within the restless minority in the slums and ghettos that the major problems of our time are found. Today—late in the day, but not too late—we have awakened to the fact that life in America falls far short of what it ought to be, and can be. We have made it our national business, at long last—to make the possibility of the city beautiful a reality. But at least we have begun.

Now let me put everything that I am about to say in its proper perspective. Much about our cities is good. The city embodies great cultural institutions, universities, libraries, symphony orchestras, opera, beautiful buildings, magnificent parks. There is much in the American city today that is inspiring. When we speak of the problems of the city, let us not forget the achievements.

I say this because there is a tendency among many of us to speak as if the whole city were the problem, when that is not the case. What we are seeking to do is not to tear down what we have which is good but to build up the solid foundations that are presently here. We will build upon what is good, beautiful, creative and progressive. We should draw strength and inspiration from it and see whether we cannot make it the universal pattern.

So I say that in urban America we have made some good beginnings. It is my view that the city should be one of the finest expressions of man's genius and enlightenment.

In ancient times, people built walls around cities to protect themselves from the barbarians on the outside. Now we have not walls of stone to keep people outside from coming in, but psychological walls, economic and social barriers, which imprison people within the city's slums and ghettos and areas of obsolescence.

Confronting The Problems

I know that we are surrounded by a host of problems, but we are no longer pushing them aside. We are facing up to them. We are facing up to the problem of poverty in the midst of plenty. We are facing up to the problems of war and peace. We are facing up to the problems of building international organizations, even while some people preach naked nationalism.

America is growing up but there are some growing pains—some turbulence and uncertainty.

We talk about slums and crime and crowding and lack of clean air and overburdened schools, inadequate transportation, shortage of parks and playgrounds, and the constant need for revenue. But to those who live in the ghettos of our cities these terms are not mere words. These are cruel and personal experiences...

I speak of the problems of poor men and women falling victim after dark to robbery and violence because police protection is

inadequate in the slum. I speak of problems of people living without self respect, without hope, without any real tie to the rest of our prosperous nation. They are the victims of educational deprivation, of poverty, of ill health, of lack of work skills.

I repeat, the people of whom I speak are cut off from the mainstream of American life. They live as if they are in a separate nation. President Johnson called it "the other nation" in his famous Howard University speech. In America there is no room for two nations. There is no room for two classes of citizenship. This must be one nation with one citizenship.

We are no longer a people of farms and towns. We still have many people in those areas, but most of our people live in cities. We are no longer a people primarily engaged in producing goods.

Most of our people today are in metropolitan society. Most of them earn their living by providing services for others. The move towards metropolitan society and the growth in services are two distinct trends. They both will continue and we must adjust ourselves to these facts.

Contradictions Of Urban America

Then, there is the growth in our population. It has grown 47% since 1945 and at the present rate it will grow another 60% by the year 2000; and that is not far away.

Added to the increase in population is the constantly increasing demand of our people for an ever higher standard of living. What do I mean by an ever higher standard of living? Not just more income, nor the accumulation of material things, but more schools, more universities, more parks, and more hospitals. We need to have more and better-trained men and women in public and private life who can think about building and rebuilding for those to come. We need to double our entire educational facilities in the next twenty-five years—to do as much in twenty-five years as we have done in three hundred!

The legitimate demands for the rewards of life, added to the obsolescence of that which they have, is in large part what is creating the contradictions of urban America. We have a revolution of rising expectations in every part of America. People are no longer willing to accept that which was. The restlessness of the poor in this land, the people who feel that they have not been given a fair deal, is a fact of our time. We show them the good life on television, they read of it in the press, in the journals, in the magazines, on the billboards. They hear of it on the radio.

Rising expectations in Africa and Asia, where people hear not, see not, read not, where better than two-thirds of all humanity is illiterate, where radio and television are seldom even known? That rising expectation is but a small, little tremble, just a feeble little vibration compared to the massive earthquake of demand and of restlessness that we find in this America of ours.

Government Structures Obsolete

And we have the means if we have the will to do something about it—the will to order and to control change and growth in our cities. As it stands now, however, those who traditionally would be in control have the titles, but all too frequently not the authority. Or, if they do have the authority, they cannot get the money to do the job.

The number of officials and official bodies that function in this America is like a crazy-quilt pattern of city authority. It has its rationale only as a subject for doctoral theses, for public administration students at universities, or as a testament to misdirected ingenuity. Ours is a nation of over 80,000 separate local governmental units. In the New York metropolitan area alone there are over 1,400 units of government.

Today's problems do not respect yesterday's governmental structures, but we cling to obsolete governmental structures as if they were sanctioned by holy writ. If our structure of local government were permanent and unchangeable, the case for local control would be hopeless. But we have seen in the Supreme Court's decision on reapportionment a major shift on the state level which should soon be reflected on the local level. As a matter of fact, both state and city governments are becoming more viable and energetic in meeting urban problems.

A city may have a Home Rule Charter, but it is the grant or the gift of the state legislative body. The police authority exercised by local government is entirely the prerogative of state government. The county, the city, the community are each agents of the state. State governments historically have been rural-oriented, rural-dominated, though we are presently 70 percent urbanized. And it

is going to take time, even with reapportionment, to restructure state governments, since in many states the civil service perpetuates departments and agencies oriented to yesterday's problems.

State constitutions need to be updated. City charters need to be rewritten. State law needs to be rewritten in light of the fact of our time: That seven out of ten people live in cities. Local government needs revision. We need new combinations of local government units. The voluntary associations of locally elected officials in metropolitan areas are a beginning. These associations are in reality councils of local governments banded together to solve mutual problems—many of which are unresolvable when attacked separately by each individual unit of government.

Let me make it quite clear that I do not think we should destroy all that we have. We need to take a long, hard look at what we have and to make changes and revisions to help both urban and rural governments. For example, differences in standards of health in adjacent metropolitan areas work against the total interest, for disease does not respect any geographical boundary. Certain basic services—health services, police services, fire services—need to be on a basis of pooled authority.

Some Encouraging Developments

Local governments stunted by historical accident must be helped to upgrade their manpower. There is a significant shortage all over the nation of trained manpower. Without the trained manpower—the managers, the technicians, the professionals—without incentives to stay on the job, without adequate salaries and tenure and all that comes with them, no amount of money will solve our problems. We must expand the training base in our public administration sector.

Some things have been happening that are encouraging. At long last, due to the activity of local officials and the leadership of our President, we have a Cabinet-level department devoted to urban affairs. This means not only a spokesman for the urban dwellers' interest at the highest levels of government, but it also means a place where the great variety of federal programs affecting the cities can be coordinated. It means greatly improved communications between the Federal government, the local government, the state government.

We have new programs to cleanse our water and our air. We have rent supplements so that low-income families may have good housing. We have a Department of Transportation. We have vast new national programs to upgrade the quality of education, of health, of skill, of earning power. All of these affect the urban person.

The task ahead of your government today is to put these programs to work. Our task now is to digest what we have, to assimilate it, to understand it, to adapt it, to apply it, to experiment with it.

We are bringing this whole array of policies and programs that I have mentioned into a single and efficient focus through the Demonstration Cities program, which is designed to stimulate, strengthen and reward the coordinated planning and action which will be necessary if our cities are to be centers of good living.

Demonstration Cities Explained

The heart of the Demonstration Cities idea is to bring all the federal programs that apply to cities and people into a concentrated attack on the problems of a major area within a city. There are certain criteria to be met for a city to qualify for this special program.

An area must be large enough so a project will have a significant effect on the sound development of the entire city.

The area must contain a significant part of the deteriorated and substandard housing in a community, and the plan must provide for the elimination or rehabilitation of such housing.

The plan must pay attention to the social needs of the community, with emphasis on providing families and businesses good relocation facilities if needed.

The qualifying cities must show they have the administrative and financial capacity to carry out the plan. Many housing and urban development programs will normally be included in a given Demonstration Cities project. These will include programs of housing, renewal, and mass transit. But each demonstration may also include other existing federally-assisted programs, such as welfare, health, economic opportunity and education.

The Demonstration Cities program means bringing to bear upon a problem area the total resources of the Federal, state, and local

governments working with private enterprise to make a significant impact upon the well-being of the city.

The planning of local programs must come from the local community. It must be inspired at home. It must be directed at the local level. It must relate to the needs of a community. No Federal government is wise enough to write a prescription for every city in America; and even if it were, it should not. I would be opposed to any Federal program that sought to dominate the planning or the activity of the municipalities.

In addition to concentrating these federally-assisted programs and providing planning funds, we will provide Federal supplemental funds to expand and finance entirely new local activities. The only restriction is that such activities must be geared to the achievement of the overall objectives of the community plans.

Programs Not Panaceas

There is also the Metropolitan Development Act which makes available additional dollar incentives from the Federal government to help orderly metropolitan development, to meet the problems of urban sprawl.

In nearly every city there are colleges and universities which can be action centers as well as centers for study, reflection, and meditation. We call upon the great university centers to put their top talent to work in helping to build better communities.

We call upon the great corporations of America, engaged in what is known as systems analysis, to offer their services to the metropolitan authorities. Systems analysis—the new technique used in the development of new systems of defense and space exploration —needs to receive much more emphasis.

We are asking local communities to gear up for action and to tap every resource available. And we ask these local communities to tell the Federal Government their needs. But above all we encourage them to plan for the whole urban area.

None of these programs are panaceas—there are no instant solutions to such long-standing problems. These programs provide good long-term solutions. They are landmarks in our Federal aid program.

Let me, then, put the problems of our cities into perspective for the future. Our gross national product this year will be over three-quarters of a trillion dollars. Federal revenues will be running $50 billion more per year in 1970 than they were in 1965, on the same tax base, and will continue to increase as the economy grows. Ours is the richest and the most powerful society ever created on earth. There is little doubt that we can, and very soon, reverse the trends that we see in our cities. Life in our cities can be much more than crowded tenements, more than dirty air and polluted water, more than clogged highways and congested streets, more than bursting classrooms and underpaid teachers, more than violence and despair and discrimination and hopelessness, more than temporary material satisfaction.

I believe that a way of life is open to build a society in which human values are uppermost. We have some very real assets to build upon. We have a tremendously strong, vigorously growing economy, which will generate the revenue we need. We have dedicated public officials. We have the beginnings of an aroused and informed public opinion, of the kind we had to arouse to get action on public education. We have a new partnership of Federal, state, and local officials and private groups, all working together in what President Johnson calls "creative federalism." And, when we achieve the kind of peaceful world we are working for, we can look forward to applying to our domestic needs some of the funds presently required for defense.

Pool Urban Experience

I served in the Senate when America was spending billions of dollars in the war in Korea. I saw that same America unwilling to make adequate and long overdue investments in education, health, housing and our other needs at home when the Korean War was over. Had we been willing, as a people and as a nation, to invest half as much in our cities as in the Korean War we would not be in the predicament we are in today.

My fellow Americans, on the day that peace comes in Viet Nam, this Administration will be asking you to make a similar commitment of our national resources to build a better America.

We can get a good start toward achieving our aims by pooling our municipal redevelopment experience on a formalized basis. For example, let's pool information on what has been done in Phila-

delphia, in Boston, in Omaha, and in other places. The people need to know more about this. We should use television to show what can be done, what has been done, and what needs to be done—show the beautiful new areas that once were slums; show the slum areas as they now are and as they could be. We should show the city of the future with clean air, clean water, and traffic that can move—with schools and with green and open spaces.

We ought to have regular international conferences on urban problems and programs, because other nations are building better cities than we are. Let us find out what is happening in the more congested cities of Western Europe and how they handle their problems.

Low-Rent Housing Greatest Need

I think we need an advisory council of both public officials and private citizens for the new Department of Housing and Urban Development—a strong, speaking-up, non-rubber stamp advisory council, one that becomes a bit obstreperous on occasion. Outside people who do not have quite as much responsibility as people in government can be a little more daring.

I think that we need to treat our slum areas exactly as we treat the underdeveloped nations in our foreign aid program. The cities no longer have the resources to manage these problems.

Let me be more explicit. We have a Peace Corps that works overseas. We have a Volunteers in Service to America that works back home, a domestic Peace Corps. We have a foreign aid program that works overseas. We need a domestic aid program that works at home.

We have the pieces of it already. We have these great programs of Federal assistance. But we need something else. If we have guaranteed loans for American business to make investments in housing and other projects in foreign countries, we also need them here in the United States.

The greatest single need today in the metropolitan core, the center city, is low-rent housing. And not just a mass of concrete and building block, but trees and shrubs and green spaces and clean streets and playgrounds and schools. We need real neighborhoods—not just house after house like barracks, but homes.

We have the beginnings with present programs. But let us dream a little. I want to get you doing something about this. Don't expect others to fight this battle. And don't expect the mayor to fight it alone. It will take aroused businessmen of the biggest corporations in America, the hundred largest ones. Instead of reading about the top corporations and their profits, I want to know about their social consciousness...

I would like to see a National Housing Development Fund for cooperatives and non-profit corporations, just as we did with REA. Do you think you would ever have had electricity in the countryside without the Rural Electrification Administration that provided long-term loans at low rates of interest? Private industry cannot make money in most instances in low-income housing, unless it gets some help.

The Mayor of Omaha told me tonight how private industry is doing some remodeling and some rehabilitation in Omaha and making it profitable. More power to them. We need to learn from that experience.

Do We Have The Will?

Any country which can put a man on the moon ought to be able to put a man on his feet here on earth. I am Chairman of the Space Council and I am for putting the man on the moon. But, if we can do this, why in the name of common sense can't we provide a wholesome urban environment wherever it needs to be done? We can, if we want to.

In our space program, there is no tolerance for failure. We demand excellence of our producers, of our industries, of our managers, of our scientists, and we pour in billions to get it. We have made it a matter of national pride.

I want our country to be first to the moon, but I also want it to be first in achieving the good life for all its people. And most of them are going to live in the great metropolitan urban areas of America.

I submit that, with the necessary dedication, we can make this the good life. The critical question is: Do we have the will? When enough Americans answer that question "yes" and when enough Americans say they are willing to pay the price for victory over communism, we will have defeated both—because the greatest menace at home is what I call slummism.

Remember what the late beloved Pope John XXIII said:

"In a world of constant want, there is no peace..."

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THE FRONTIERS OF KNOWLEDGE

Address by HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President
United States of America

Delivered at formal opening of
new Engineering Center
General Dynamics
Electric Boat division
Groton, Connecticut
October 31, 1966

Additional copies of this address can be obtained from the Public Relations Department
General Dynamics
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THE FRONTIERS OF KNOWLEDGE

By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

I couldn't help but note that we have a very fine representation here of all the public officials who serve this vast area of the United States, this highly important area of the northeastern part of our country in this State of Connecticut. I want to talk to you today about this company, this great scientific and engineering and technological resource that is the Electric Boat division of General Dynamics, one of the outstanding corporations of our great America.

Just a very few months ago, in July, Mrs. Humphrey came up here to christen the WILL ROGERS. That visit made the Humphrey family a submarine family. We have a little replica of the WILL ROGERS at our home. It's now our ship and we're going to follow her fortunes in the years to come with a deep and personal interest. I'm delighted to be here today at the place where the WILL ROGERS was built, and I'm more delighted to be with the fine people who built her.

You here at the Electric Boat division are the heirs of a great shipbuilding tradition. Somewhat more than sixty-six years ago your predecessors delivered the world's first practical submarine to the United States Navy — just sixty-six years ago. Only a few days ago, I stood in the auditorium of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington and noted that only

five years ago America's first space flight was made by John Glenn, and that capsule of his is today a museum piece, which indicates the rapidity of change in our society. After only seventeen years my fellow Americans, the first computer is today a museum piece in the Smithsonian Institution. The computer has revolutionized the modern industry, the weapons systems and, indeed, is in the process of becoming even a management tool that makes the decisions for management itself.

IN the years since the first submarine was launched you've launched 250 submarines to serve this nation in war and in peace, including the first nuclear powered submarine and the first Polaris missile firing submarine.

These are great accomplishments and I'm happy to say that I served in the Congress at the time we made the decision for the nuclear submarines, and I was one of those that believed it was possible and practical, not because I knew anything about nuclear power or submarines, but because I trusted those that had the vision and the engineering know-how.

But, I think, your greatest achievement is in designing and building the first weapon system in man's history that was developed to prevent war rather than to wage it, and that system is the Polaris submarine. It stands guard in many seas today to prevent the outbreak of war. It is inconceivable to me, and I hope it is inconceivable to any potential adversary or adversaries, that a decade ago the idea of a submarine capable of launching a ballistic missile from beneath the surface of the sea was

only an idea. Yet it advanced from an idea to reality in a short period of time thanks to the development of nuclear power and to the skills and the efforts and the dedication of the Polaris team.

MY friends, one of the great senators from this state, Brian McMahon, was indeed a pioneer in the whole concept of nuclear power and isn't it appropriate that nuclear powered ships — nuclear powered submarines, should come from Connecticut? I think of that good man many times and he's honored you by his memory and his services.

The GEORGE WASHINGTON, the first of the Polaris submarines, was started here in February 1958. The ship was commissioned in a little less than eighteen months — that's an unparalleled record of accomplishment. It showed the world what we can achieve. In the years since the GEORGE WASHINGTON joined our fleet in the closing days of 1959 we have improved and refined the Polaris.

THAT first submarine fired a missile with a range of 1,200 miles. Our latest submarines can fire a missile twice the distance — 2,500 miles. A new, more advanced weapons system, the Poseidon, will have greater range, greater payload, and will pose a greater threat to aggression and a greater deterrent to the aggressor. Let me once again underscore that peace is not always attained by the wishing for it, but having the strength to sustain it. In other words, peace through strength is more than a slogan. In the world in which we live, my friends, pray-

ers for peace, and I advocate them, need to be coupled with strength for peace. I advocate both because that's the only way that I know, through the application of reason, compassion, judgment, prayer, and development and strength, that you can maintain peace.

Now there are other things that we expect from our submarine force. We face a challenge on the seas and we're a maritime people. We are a sea power. We must have a submarine force capable of overcoming any challenge of our command of the oceans. In time of war we cannot afford a disruption of commerce or allow any limitation to be placed upon our ability to move men and material over sea lanes, and remember this: that the mobility of American power is one of the sure guarantees of a peaceful world today.

The best answer to this mobility is the submarine capable of seeking out and destroying any challenger and you're building that kind of a submarine now which we hope will never have to be used. One such vessel was launched here just recently. I refer of course to the PARGO. Many of you recall on June 3rd 1964 that President Johnson came to Groton to lay the keel of that vessel, and his words on that occasion stand to me like a sermon to the American people. He said:

> "We are a nation of peaceful people. We have stated time and time again that all we seek for all of the world is peace — peace built on freedom and mutual respect among men and nations. But common sense dictates that peaceful purpose must be supported by peaceful power. There are those who oppose freedom and security. They seek by fear and subversion to thwart man's hopes for peace. Yet they do not understand our motives for peace. We must be sure that they do not misunderstand our means of power."

I BELIEVE that's a lesson and a message that every American would do well to understand. Our ultimate power, however, even beyond this military power, is our desire, or is in our desire and our efforts, to give every human being the right of dignity, of self-respect; the chance to earn a living to the best of his or her ability.

We have an example here because General Dynamics was one of the original signatories of the Plan for Progress. American businesses answer to equal employment opportunity for all persons, without regard for race, creed, color, or nationality. And it pledged to give every American an equal opportunity to do a job.

The result is here a workforce that represents a real cross section of our wonderful America. In this new building we have practically every scientific and engineering discipline represented, with qualification to do the job at hand the only standard and the only regard. We have scientists, engineers and designers of many races, creeds, and nationalities — but working as Americans.

In the shipyard, too, we have nearly 3,000 men who hold jobs because of the skills they have acquired or improved under the Manpower Development Training Act.

Don't tell me these programs don't help. They do. Ask the person who had some help from the program. These men are now better able to help themselves and their families and their communities through the improved ability to earn a better living, to make a greater contribution to their country, and to lead a happier life.

And because we have these new and better skills, we have new and improved capabilities in undertaking the job which must be done — the exploration and the conquest of the oceans.

THOUGH the Electric Boat division is primarily engaged in the design and construction of military submarines, it has also a far reaching interest in the development of undersea research vehicles. As Chairman of the new Marine Science Council this is of great importance to me.

The sea represents the vast unexplored area of the earth. It's an area that holds great promise, however, a great promise of wealth as we seek it. It represents 70% of the earth's surface. The seas represent an area that hold the promise of danger if we ignore them, for others are seeking the secrets of the deeps — certain in knowledge that they will be as vital as the secrets of space in the years ahead. We're not going to ignore this challenge.

In fact, we're reaching out to meet it here because right now the Electric Boat division is designing and building NR-1, the first nuclear powered research submarine for the United States Navy. With the unlimited endurance of

nuclear power, NR-1 will have a capability unmatched by any research vehicle now in operation or envisioned. It will put America at the head of the line in deep sea research.

THIS task is only natural for the shipyard.

It built the research submarine Asherah. It built the research submarine Aluminaut, the first all-aluminum vehicle, and it has built and is operating its own research submarines, Star II and Star III, which have already performed useful scientific work for government and private industry. The shipyard is now designing and building two deep-diving specialized research submarines for the U. S. Navy, known as Autec I and Alvin II. These are two-man vehicles that can dive to 6,500 feet and provide us with vast new knowledge.

Because we're going to have to feed God's children from the seas in a large part, we're going to learn a great deal about the wealth of the seas. We're going to mine the ocean floors. We're going to learn about the control of the temperature from the sea. Because, more than any other known factor on the face of the globe, the waters of the seas determine the conditions of weather and atmospheric environment. And, this is knowledge that we need to develop and to have.

Now the road ahead is going to be difficult for we are seeking to push ahead the frontiers of knowledge, both in space and under the seas. Now, we've undertaken difficult tasks before, and I can only weigh that the difference between a great country and an ordinary country

is the ability to do what some people think is impossible, and we've done that. Let me end therefore, by a quotation. A quotation that I think tells the story:

> "At every crossway on the road that leads to the future, each progressive spirit is opposed by a thousand men appointed to guard the past."

THERE are always those who say you can't do it. There are always those that say, no-no, not now, go slow, wait awhile. There are always those that say, well — we used to do it the other way — let's continue. And if we had listened to those voices, there would have been no Polaris. Had we listened to those voices, there would have been no nuclear powered submarines. Had we listened to the voices that guard the doors of the past, we wouldn't have any America. So, I suggest to those of you who have been so brave as to stand in this rather cool and wintry breeze, that let us never for a moment guard the past. Let's open up the gates to the future, because America is a nation that belongs to tomorrow. It has given much to the yesterdays, but it is a nation of tomorrow and generations yet to come; and thank God that I have a chance to live in such a nation. And, I know that you join me in saying, you couldn't ask for a higher privilege.

World Leadership And International Education

An Address by Hubert H. Humphrey,
Vice President of the United States

Institute of International Education
December 6, 1966
New York Hilton Hotel, New York, N.Y.

On the evening of Dec. 6, 1966 the Institute of International Education was privileged to present the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert Humphrey, as the main speaker at a dinner attended by 600 leaders of the academic, business and civic community. The Vice President was introduced by Lawrence A. Wien, an IIE trustee and dinner chairman. Welcoming remarks were made by Kenneth Holland, IIE president.

On behalf of an evening with Aristotle.

One of the things I've become accustomed to reading lately is that scholars and politicians should get together more—something on the order of Aristotle and young Alexander the Great meeting for tutorial.

I think it is a good idea for those of my political colleagues who feel they need the help. And it isn't even a bad idea for some of my former academic colleagues who might profit by knowing Alexander's problems. Being a Renaissance man myself—an ex-professor and a present politician—I tend to favor an evening with Aristotle.

The Institute of International Education is a place where intellect and power *have* been brought together—and long before Franklin Roosevelt's "brains trust" or the era of the Washington in-and-outer.

The Institute of International Education has been in existence now almost half a century. From its initiatives have flowed the Fulbright Act, the Smith-Mundt Act, the International Cultural Exchange Act, the International Education Act, and the range of highly important programs which form the base of our efforts in international education today. And these programs came none too soon. But without the work of the Institute of International Education, they might not have come at all.

In the past two decades, we have seen science and technology shrink our neighborhood so that today the moral unity and interdependence of man (which for centuries has been the basis of Western civilization)—has now become a physical fact of our lives. Isolationism has been replaced by a global consciousness. Yet we are today only at the primitive

The communications satellites bear with them the implications of a one-world classroom. The sky is no longer the limit.

stages of the scientific and technological development which will shrink our human neighborhood still further.

The prospect of a supersonic transport plane—a few years ago a matter of "if"—is today only a matter of "who first?" I doubt that we have full grasp of what the SST will mean in terms of increased exchange of people and goods. And the communications satellites—Buck Rogers items through most of our lifetimes—will soon be bringing mass communication, in the real sense, to our planet. They bear with them, too, the implications of the creation of a one-world classroom.

The sky is no longer the limit!

In such an age, our position of world leadership demands that we go far beyond our present efforts in international education. The International Education Act will make a real difference in helping improve the faculties, facilities, and libraries of our colleges and universities. Its impact will be felt at both the undergraduate and graduate levels. The new Center for Educational Cooperation will serve as a government manpower resources headquarters in the entire field. These things give us a framework upon which we can build.

Next year, the President will convene a White House Conference on International Education. Its purpose will be to look beyond the programs now under way, or even contemplated—in fact, to take international education into Century 21. Planning meetings for the conference will begin in the next few weeks, under the chairmanship of Secretary Gardner and Dr. James Perkins of Cornell. But we all should remember that the determination of the government to do its part to strengthen international education in no way diminishes the need for continued leadership in this field by private institutions of all kinds—foundations, universities, colleges, churches, and others.

The role of the government in this field must always be to supplement, never to supplant, the efforts of private groups and individuals. The bold experiments, the expanded programs that should come from private institutions like the Institute of International Education, can be carried out only with the continued support of American private benefactors. So take the initiative. Do your job. Lead.

Indeed, one of the urgent tasks of our American democracy is to find new ways and means to mobilize and allocate both public and private resources to the priorities of our time without either destroying private initiative or unduly enhancing public power.

Tonight I would like to address myself to the next decade—to the world of the 1970's. I would like to take advantage of the presence of so many illustrious figures from the world of education and finance, foundations and business, the communications media and the arts—to raise certain questions which you and your children must answer. And it is appropriate that these questions be put to you.

An urgent task of American democracy is to find new ways to mobilize and allocate public and private resources to the priorities of our time.

Governments—and government officials—must deal with immediate problems. This often clouds their perception of the future. But you are less inhibited by these restraints and better situated to anticipate what is coming as well as to respond to what is here.

In speculating on the world of the 1970's (and what I suggest here tonight can only be considered as speculation by an

amateur), I would like to raise several questions about the consequences of what has been called "the second Industrial Revolution."

The first Industrial Revolution was characterized by the invention of powerful machines which multiply man's capacity for physical work. The second Industrial Revolution—which is coming upon us long before the problems of the first have been solved—is characterized by the invention of new electronic machines which are destined to multiply the capacity of the human mind.

The second Industrial Revolution is characterized by the invention of new electronic machines destined to multiply the capacity of the human mind.

One important consequence of the second Industrial Revolution involves the technological gap which today separates the world's most developed country, the United States, from the other developed areas of the world—yes, even Europe. This unique gap exists in large part because the second Industrial Revolution has developed in the United States far more than in any other area. It results, in part, from the differing levels of technological progress and organizational efficiency, which are also affected by the factor of optimum size. These can lead to the creation of differences between two developed areas—developed in the sense of the first Industrial Revolution—just as there are differences which now exist between the so-called developed areas of the Northern Hemisphere and the developing or underdeveloped nations of the South.

Scientific and technical progress is continuing at an accelerated rate—with no prospect of reaching a saturation point. Discoveries are based on previous knowledge and, in turn, generate progress in other fields. Progress becomes self-propelling.

Only four areas of the world—the United States, Western Europe, Japan and the Soviet Union—have the educational and research resources and other elements of a technological base to deal with the current pace of scientific discoveries. But none of the four has the resources today to deal effectively with the entire spectrum of these discoveries, although the United States comes closest to it.

The extent to which this scientific and technological progress takes place depends greatly on the rate of investment in research and development. Recent Common Market estimates show the total of scientists and research workers in the United States to be four times greater than in all the countries of the EEC, and three-and-a-half times greater than in the Soviet Union. According to the same estimates, research expenditures in the United States are seven times greater than in the Common Market and three-and-a-half times those of the Soviet Union. And U.S. per capita investment is six times as much as in the Common Market and four times that of the Soviet Union.

Beyond the statistics, however, we are told by European entrepeneurs that this disparity in scientific research capacity is widened by the difference in organizational capacity between the United States and Europe. Aurelio Peccei of Olivetti, for one, believes that only the United States possesses the highly developed modern organization required to profit appreciably from the technological discoveries of today.

Organization is the decisive factor in exploiting the potential capacity of highly refined machines.

This is especially important in the new and complex field of electronic data processing, where organization is the decisive factor in exploiting the potential capacity of highly refined

machines. To translate the amazing potential of computers into concrete benefits for society requires an accumulation of skills which few nations have. It requires, as Mr. Peccei points out, "evolved user techniques, knowledge of machine languages, advanced methodology, rich program libraries, access to the cross-fertilizing experiences of a vast network of users, plus a competent array of mathematicians, analysts, and programmers."

What is relevant here is that the material advantages which exist in an advanced society such as the United States or Western Europe are multiplied by the organizational structure and capacity of the country or region.

Western European countries today have neither the size required for such efficient organization nor adequate basic infrastructure, such as fully sufficient communication linkage essential to transmission of electronic data. The end of the present fragmentation of Europe is considered a necessity.

But fortunately, on both sides of the Atlantic we are beginning to face up to this problem. We have already taken steps to remove barriers to the flow of scientific and technical information and instruments to and from our country.

If Europe were to pool her technology, I have no doubt that the technological gap would, in the next decade, begin to close.

As a United States Senator, I proposed that NATO, in meeting the new challenges facing the Alliance, should take concrete steps toward narrowing the technological gap. Proposals for such cooperative actions are now formally before the NATO ministers. The OECD ministers have recently authorized an analytical study of the gap.

One promising proposal has been Prime Minister Wilson's for a European Technological Community. If Europe—

Ambassador Eugenie Anderson, U.S. Representative on the UN Trusteeship Council; IIE President Kenneth Holland, and the Vice President.

Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey greet Rep. John Brademas of Indiana, Congressional sponsor of the International Education Act of 1966. He received IIE's distinguished service award.

Distinguished dais guests.

Adama Balima, IIE-sponsored New York University student from Upper Volta; Henry Hyatt (wearing glasses) of the UN Secretariat; Guillermo Betancour, IIE-sponsored Venezuelan NYU student; David L. Guyer, IIE Vice President for Development and Public Affairs and Vice President Humphrey.

Vice President Humphrey with Lawrence A. Wien, IIE Trustee and chairman of the dinner.

The Vice President and Miss Jane Marsh, IIE-sponsored soprano who won first prize in the 1966 Tchaikovsky International Music Competition in Moscow. She sang at the dinner.

Vice President Humphrey with Mrs. Maurice T. Moore, IIE Trustee.

H. E. Sr. Carlos Mackehenie, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Peruvian Mission to the United Nations, with Vice President and Mrs. Humphrey.

which has already seen the benefits of a European Economic Community, a Coal and Steel Community, and an Atomic Energy Community—were to pool her technology in a similar way, I have no doubt that the gap would, in the next decade, begin to close.

The fundamental question which I would like to leave with you is: What are the implications of this second Industrial Revolution for the international relations of the 1970's—especially the late 1970's?

I do not know the answer. But already, serious men are concerned that it could result, not in greater unity, not in the cementing of a long-cherished Atlantic partnership, but in estrangement between Europe and the United States.

Yes, it could release forces which would widen the gap between the United States and the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe at a time when the ideological and military competition between them might be diminishing.

If these are legitimate concerns, should not men of vision and foresight seek to plan for these eventualities, and by decisive action influence their development? We must guide the technological revolution so that it can enhance our unity rather than cause alienation and division. This means that some way must be found to insure a continuous exchange of technological and organizational experience between Europe and the United States—which will achieve an equilibrium that can be maintained and possibly, some day, be expanded to include Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union.

If this seems fanciful, I would repeat that I am discussing the next decade, which ends in 1980, not the present.

We must guide the technological revolution so that it can enhance our unity.

Some way must be found to ensure a continuous exchange of technological and organizational experience between Europe and the United States.

Reflecting on the problems which this second Industrial Revolution will bring to our own country in the next decade, a young American pioneer in the second Industrial Revolution, Mr. John Diebold, has proposed the creation of "an institute for the continued assessment of the human consequences of technological change."

Perhaps what is needed in the international field is some equivalent forum which would bring together, under non-governmental auspices, men of wisdom and experience from the universities and foundations, science and industry, politics and the professions—who could systematically assess the implications of this second Industrial Revolution for the world of the 1970's. Their recommendations would invariably become an important guide to governmental decision-making.

Yes, we must have a global policy which fits the new realities of a new era. With such a policy, we shall be better prepared not only to deal with the relations between the technologically advanced areas of the world, the problems of survival and peace which affect all countries, but also with those areas where the first Industrial Revolution is still taking hold. I refer to the problems of hunger and overpopulation, education and social justice, and distribution of wealth. We shall be better prepared to strengthen and enlarge the area of prosperity in the world.

Without the vision of the poet and the philosopher, the humanist and the historian, the technological revolution in the next decade can bring the faceless man of an Orwellian world.

In the next decade—even more than the present—the relationship between foreign affairs and education will be important. The scholar and the businessman, the foundation and the university will play a significant role in accelerating the technological revolution and assisting mankind to deal with its

consequences. But the closeness of their relationship, in this decade or the next, in no way implies that the university and the scholar and the scientists should cease to pursue their own ends independently. Chief among these is the pursuit and dissemination of truth. Government at home or abroad should not deflect them from pursuing this end.

But in the next decade—as in this one—scientific and technological education will not be enough to sustain the spirit of civilization or the functioning of a democratic society. The vision of the poet and the philosopher, the humanist and the historian are needed to stimulate what Shakespeare called the "better angels of our nature." Without these to guide us, the technological revolution in the next decade can bring the faceless man of an Orwellian world, men whose sole distinction lies in their similarity to one another.

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.

The vision we need as we face the 1970's is that of a great man who died in this city a decade ago—Pierre Teilhard de Chardin. For him, the marvels of modern science and technology provided man with a new opportunity to build a truly human world. Through his 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.

If the men of talent and vision seize the opportunity to plan now for the world of the 1970's, your children and mine at the turn of the next decade can look forward with hope and confidence to 1984.

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PRIVATE ENTERPRISE AND THE CITY

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

In this examination of the manifold needs of our cities, Vice President Humphrey calls for "a partnership of government and people; a partnership of government and private enterprise which cuts across all barriers; a partnership which cuts across old jurisdictions, old myths and animosities." His thoughtful message should be read by everyone concerned with the betterment of urban life.

Robert C. Weaver, Secretary
Department of Housing
and Urban Development

Address by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey to International Newspaper Advertising Executives, Washington, D.C., January 26, 1967, published by the U. S. Department of Housing and Urban Development.

To be Vice President is a challenge. At times, it's a problem. But, at all times, I find it interesting. I don't think I need to tell this audience that this is an office that is unique in the governmental structures of the nations of the world. It's been described in many ways and most of them in an uncomplimentary manner. As I said to a group the other night, since everybody is so disturbed as to just what

the Vice President does, whether you really ought to have one, whether he really performs any useful function, I think that what we really ought to do is include within the traditions of America some element of continuity. Therefore, I have just nominated myself for Vice President from here on out, on whatever ticket anybody may have. There is so much uncertainty in the world today and things change so rapidly that you ought to have something that you can hang on to.

What's more, I don't think people ought to fight about this job. I've become accustomed to it now and if you have no serious objection, I'll just stay on. (The last time I said that, there was a mass exodus from the hall.)

Newspapers and Public Affairs

I want to talk to you today about my role as a newspaper reader. As one of the world's alltime champion newspaper readers, I want you to know that I feel somewhat at home here. I hope you'll feel at home in the company of one of your major markets, too; because, believe me, every man in public office scans through those newspapers rapidly, and then he reads in greater detail. You can always tell a politician when you see him with a paper. It's when he is running through page after page. That means he's looking for his name. And if he finds it, you can generally find out whether he is enjoying it or not by just observing his countenance.

Someone once said that we are governed by men and newspapers. I think we in Washington have reason to believe the latter. At least, I can tell you that you ought not to underestimate your influence; and I don't think you do. You're a part of a great profession, and if you underestimate it, I suggest that you consult with my wife some morning just after I've finished reading some editorial pages. When I'm going through a series of papers, and I read a certain editorial and go storming out of the house, if you don't think you have influence, you ought to take my blood pressure on that occasion.

What I want to do, though, is not talk to you about your advertising; you didn't come here to hear an amateur on advertising, or to hear that which you already know better than anyone else. I'd like to share with you today, as people who do have a great deal of influence in your vocation and profession as well as in this Nation, a few thoughts about where our country has been going, where it is, where it *is* going and what we as Americans and as leaders in this country can do to make this a better and a stronger America than it is today.

A Time of Testing

I'm going to take as my text (and this will demonstrate the complete loyalty which you expect me to have and that I readily have) a few lines from President Johnson's State of the Union Message. He said, first, "I've come here tonight to report to you that this is a time of testing for our Nation." I think Americans like that line. I think they like to be challenged. I think most Americans today feel that it's pretty soft and they'd like to firm up, so to speak, and to know that they are capable of being tested.

Then he went on to say, "At home, the question is whether we will continue working for better opportunities for all Americans when most Americans are already living better than any people in history. Abroad, the question is whether we have the staying power to fight a very costly war when the objective is limited and the danger to us is seemingly remote. So our test is not whether we shrink from out country's cause when the dangers to us are so obvious and close at hand, but rather whether we carry on when they seem obscure and distant and some think that it is safe to lay down our burdens.

"I've come tonight to ask this Congress and this Nation to resolve this issue and to meet our commitments at home and abroad; continue to build a better America and to reaffirm this Nation's allegiance to freedom."

Foreign and Domestic Policy Intertwined

I can use those words as text for any audience, because the simple truth is that our foreign policy is no better than our domestic policy. Out national security is no better than the strength of the American people and of the economy. The military establishment is but the sharp cutting edge of a social-economic structure; that edge will be durable, cutting, and strong only if the blade of the economy is that way. So, I come to talk to you about our country—not about our foreign policy as such; not about Vietnam, but about us —we, the American people, what we're going to do here at home to provide for the common defense and promote the general welfare.

Our Need for Social Innovation

The past few years are very familiar to all of us; we've lived through them. They are amazing years of change, of technological and material progress. Obviously, there has been a need for new things, and that need has been met. But I am also here to tell you that we need some social inventiveness as well as technological inventiveness. We need social innovation, and we need to create a market for these social innovations as well as for our material items. We have urgent and keenly felt public needs; most of them are coming into focus in the great urban areas where two-thirds of our people presently live and where within 10 years three-fourths of the population of this country will live. We're going to have to decide in this decade, not 20 years from now, but in this decade, whether we're going to have a Nation committed to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, or whether it is a Nation that is bound up in its own inadequacies and its own deficiencies.

Now, there has been no place, by and large, where people could go to shop, to look around for better public facilities. For example, there has been no place where you could shop for a better public system of education or public school system, or the means of eliminating poverty and racial discrimination, or unsnarling our traffic jams or ridding our air and our water of their perilous pollution. There has been, by and large, very little imagination on these subjects, very little innovation, and very little competition in deciding new means to meet old needs.

Innovation Illustrated—Job Training

Fortunately, within the last few years, we are beginning to get some innovation in meeting public needs. For example, those of you from Philadelphia know of one splendid example in your city. There, a minister, the Reverend Leon Sullivan, with the help of other Negro ministers, organized a center for training in needed skills. He called it "Opportunities Industrialization Center"—OIC—because this man knew that the unemployed were unemployed because they were unemployable. He knew that there was a hard core of unemployed that needed education, training, and orientation. He knew that it wasn't enough to merely offer a job; job offers mean nothing if you are unable to hold a job. He knew what I am here to retell you: that you can send 100 of the hard-core unemployed to a factory that has 100 job openings, and a week later only 5 are on the job; 95 fall by the wayside. He knew that something must be done. He was as creative in his thinking as you are in your advertising. He started to look for new ways to meet old needs.

He received staunch moral and financial support in the beginning from just a limited community, the Negro community. But then a little later, support expanded and under the leadership of the Greater Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce—not the most liberal, far-out organization, not the social workers—with the help of the Chamber of Commerce, businessmen rallied behind the effort with both money and equipment. Labor unions relaxed some of their old habits and helped create new job openings. The government moved in with a little seed money, and in the first three years that one center in Philadelphia has placed something like 3,000 hard-core unemployed Negro adults and youth (a third of whom were formerly on relief rolls for extended periods of time) in decent jobs.

One lady with three children had been on relief for 12 years. She was encouraged to enter the job training center and she did. She took the training; she was placed, and today she is earning her own way and paying taxes and supporting her family as an electronic assembler.

"Learn, Baby, Learn"

Ninety percent of the center's graduates are holding jobs today. Prior to that, 95 percent lost their jobs before they had even been sent to a job opening. More than $8 million in new purchasing power has been added to Philadelphia's economy and the glowing slogan, as one of Rev. Sullivan's colleagues told me last week, is not "burn, baby, burn," but "learn, baby, learn" and "earn, baby, earn." The same men who led the marching in the streets; the same people who protested are the very same people today who are leading the efforts for progress.

My fellow Americans, I think we've entered a whole new era in this country, if we'll but give it some help and impetus—when we move from what we call the era of protest into a new period of economic and social progress.

I speak of this program as a "for instance," because I get a little weary of theoretical discussion. I tell people when I talk to them, give me some examples. I've heard all of the fine proposals and plans that man's mind can conceive. Show me something that works. This plan works in 65 cities today. And how did it start? Because someone *dared* to start it. Because someone had creativeness, imagination, real determination; someone recognized that it was a time for testing and said, "The only way that I know to do the job is to start at it."

Jobs-For-Youth Needs Your Help

Perhaps there is one of these programs getting underway or planned in your city. If so, I ask you to check it out; I ask you to give it a helping hand. I didn't come here just to talk with you. I came here to ask for your help. I want your

help in every community in America—in our youth opportunity program this summer. I want you to recognize that we have a vast number of unemployed teenagers standing on street corners. I want you to go back to your community, wherever it may be, and find the mayor, find the governor, find the head of the Chamber of Commerce, find the establishment leaders and ask them, "What are you doing to prevent a riot? What are you doing to open up job opportunities? What are you doing to train people who have been looked upon as untrainable? What are you doing to find out the facts?"

Because, my fellow Americans, we can no longer afford the violence, the disorder, the despair, the hopelessness which have gripped too much of America thus far.

Chicago's Urban Progress Centers

The time is at hand to change the course of this Nation for the needy, for the poor, for the deprived. Now, this is but one example that I've given you.

I could take you to the city of Chicago, which has had all sorts of problems. I was there two weeks ago; I saw my friends here from the Chicago press as I came in. I visited the urban progress centers. I would be the last person to tell you that the program works with *complete* effectiveness. I will only say that all the stories that are written about the "lack of coordination," the "duplication"—that those stories could be rewritten if some of the observers would go to where the work is being done.

There are seven urban progress centers in seven slum areas; seven urban progress centers where young people who were considered "gang" boys, adults who were considered unemployable are literally recruited from the slums, the taverns, the back alleys and the pool halls, where they have been hiding out in shame because they knew they could not meet job standards. The shame became a habit, and they became apathetic, indifferent, despairing. Through community representatives from the poor themselves, these people have been recruited. They have been brought into an orientation center. They've been taught the simplest things

in life—how to stay clean, personal hygiene, how to board a bus from your home, so to speak, and get to the place of employment, what to do in terms of consumer economics, how to punch a timeclock, how to deal with a union shop steward, what to do in the coffee break, and how to stay on the job and learn. A coach has been appointed for every 10-12 as a "followthrough" man—to see that human resources are not wasted.

Rehabilitating Human Beings

I happen to believe that the way we're going to rebuild the city (that everyone now talks about) is by rehabilitating the human being that lives in the city. Man is affected by his environment, but man also affects his environment. If a man has come to the point where he no longer cares about himself, has lost his sense of self-respect and dignity, then the environment that he lives in literally reflects that evaluation of himself. It is without dignity. It is dirty. It is obsolete. At times it is degrading.

So we're engaged today in a tremendous effort in America not only to improve "things," but to improve people; not only to upgrade the quantity of our goods, but the quality of our life. I call upon people here to have a sense of mission—a sense of mission to know that you can "bring back to life" people who for all practical purposes are the "walking dead"—dead of spirit, dead of hope, dead of opportunity. They can have hope, they can have spirit, they can have opportunity, but it will take some doing.

Private-Public Partnership

This is what I call partnership—partnership of government and people; a partnership of government and private enterprise which cuts across all barriers; a partnership which cuts across old jurisdictions, old myths and animosities. The question is: How can we build a better and stronger America in which all will participate and benefit?

As a boy, I grew up at a time in this country when the Federal Government did very little to fulfill one of the major purposes of our Constitution—to promote the general welfare. That was the battle which Franklin Roosevelt and his New Deal fought and in part won—to get the Federal Government to assume and fulfill its share of responsibility for the general welfare of the American people. Now, some people feel that Mr. Roosevelt and his New Dealers gave us an overdose of what they called "governmental paternalism."

Please note that I have been talking about the share that the Government *ought* to assume. I think it's now fair to say that some of us recognize that it is just as wrong for the Federal Government to attempt to do *too much* as it is for it to do *too little*. Moderation in all things—balance is needed.

Solving Local Problems Locally

Most of our problems are best challenged where they arise, at the local level. Your problems are not in Washington—but where you live. That's where the violence takes place; that's where the lawlessness is to be found; that's where the poor housing is; that's where the good jobs are. That's where the good schools are, or that's where the bad schools are.

Washington reflects much of what goes on in the Nation and thereby is in a sense a meter. But the problems that affect your life are where you live. It means, therefore, that programs and projects must be locally inspired, locally developed and locally administered—but in the context of a broader plan or pattern which includes State and regional development, backed up and supported by Federal assistance.

An Evolving Pragmatic Relationship

This is what we mean by partnership—not a monolith, but a mosaic in which every part is distinct, but each part adds to a beautiful pattern; not a structure in which there is a dominating force, but in which there are cooperating

elements. I would be the last person to tell you that we've worked out this formula; we're still struggling with it. We're a pragmatic people. We do it by trial and error. We're trying now more than ever before in our national history to make this Federal system work. We're beginning to understand more than we ever did before that, while government has an important role to play, it is not all-important. It is a vital role, but it's not the only role. Therefore, I come as an official of government, to you as members of the private sector, to ask you to take up your leadership and put your leadership to the task of helping this country.

Complexities of Revenue-Sharing Plans

Washington abounds with all kinds of proposals, for example, for Federal revenue-sharing. It's always easy to get somebody else to raise the taxes, and then you just kind of reach in and get some. I was the mayor of a city for two terms, the city of Minneapolis. Nothing ever seemed to excite me more than to be able to get some revenue from somebody else other than that which we had to raise at home. I might add that I saw the problems of local government, close at hand.

I think you ought to know that there is substantial sharing already. You might be surprised to know that State and local government will receive over 17 percent of their total revenue this year from the Federal treasury. This is not to be interpreted as rejecting proposals for further revenue-sharing, because I think we need to take a good look at this matter. I do not think, for example, that the Federal Government would be keeping proper faith with you if tax revenues were to be handed over with no strings attached, as some have proposed to State and local governments which might not be ready—by organization or authority—to effectively use those revenues.

Effective Organization Needed

Methods of distribution will have to be devised. Problems of allocation among States and various levels of government will have to be solved. Tax sharing, which is a good slogan down here, is not a panacea for local problems. It should not be over-simplified. It is, however, worth serious consideration and thorough debate.

Money alone is not the answer to the needs of our States and cities. As a former practitioner of political science, may I say that we used to give a simple definition of good government and that was "good people and money." If you have good people, professionally trained people and resources, you can generally have good government. But money alone won't do the job, and I'm going to lay it on the line to you: better management and better organization are urgently required, as well. Merely to ask for another $50 million does not solve the problem at all.

Obsolete Constitutions and Charters

Many of our State constitutions, the basic legal structures that affect your daily lives, can either impede or facilitate social progress. Many of them are out of date. They are as out of date as the old wireless and gramophone. Many of our city charters deny city government both the authority and the resources to do the job that needs to be done in your city.

So, I call upon people who have an impact on the life of this Nation to think these problems through, because we're going to have to face up to the question, right where our people live. Either we're going to repair the structure at the local and State level, or we're going to face an ever-increasing encroachment of Federal authority, Federal activity, without local responsibility. That we should not hope for. We should hope rather that we can do it at our own hometown level.

Reevaluating Plans

And I ask you, therefore, when you return to your communities to ask some questions about your State and local governments: Ask the question, "Are we organized properly in our community—for air pollution control, for example?"

Can you have air pollution control in one city, but have a jurisdictional line that gives another city next door the right to be without any air control? I think not.

Are we organized and tooled up to meet the responsibilities of tomorrow? Are the departments and the agencies of your State government prepared with professional personnel, with modern organization to manage and administer, to "mix" the programs required to meet the problems of urbanized society? Do you really have a transportation authority in your State, or are you just talking about traffic congestion? Do you really have traffic engineers in your town, enough of them to meet the traffic problems, or do you prefer mainly to cuss out the police department for the parking tickets?

Streamlining and Coordinating

You see, you can't solve these problems from this hotel or from Capitol Hill. We're going to have to do it out where we live. Are the committees of your State legislature equipped to analyze and oversee these same problems? What is their professional staff? What kind of research is being done? Do we need laws and ordinances? Do we need reorganization and consolidation of local government, or do you really think, for example, that you can work with 1,400 separate jurisdictions of government in Greater New York and have a pattern of unified activity? Is there regional cooperation in your area between your States and your counties on a functional basis?

You see, I think we need more effective and streamlined government at all levels, not just here in Washington, where it's surely needed. We need people in all areas of public life better trained and seasoned by experience. But I want to stress some new ways that your sector of the economy, private enterprise, can contribute to the solution of our national problems.

I happen to believe that this is where the main strength of America is. It's in our factories, our banks, our shops, our newspapers, our media. This is the two-thirds or the three-fourths of America that needs to be put to work.

Needless Public-Private Quarrels

I believe in the profit system and I believe it can work more effectively than it has for the public good as well as for private gain. For too long, business and government have entrenched themselves on opposite sides of an imaginary line—a line that divides the so-called private sector from the public sector, and they have glowered at each other like mortal enemies. Political demagogues have had a field day working you over, putting one of you against another, saying that "you're doing this to government." we have more "fight promoters" per square mile in Washington, D.C., than any other place in the world and they are always promoting some struggle.

Some businessmen suspect the Government of an "insatiable appetite" to expand its functions, to encroach upon private enterprise and ultimately to stifle it. You've read a thousand editorials about this.

Some Government officials, I might say with equal candor, have regarded business as "apparently oblivious" or even antagonistic to the public interest. Why, some even regard profits as actually immoral, rather than as an incentive essential to efficiency. (Even the Communists are now going to recognize the necessity of profit as an incentive.)

Problem-Solving and Profit-Making

I lay out these old suspicions here before you, because we have to take a look at them. But they are rapidly receding into history. I think a new spirit of mutual confidence and cooperation is replacing them.

I don't believe the Government has any monopoly on wisdom. I think we need to draw upon the ability, the energy, and the talents of all the elements in society in dealing with our problems. The problems are too massive today for any one of us, far too great. I believe that we should seek to make meeting public need actually profitable for private enterprise.

I doubt that public servants before have talked about

meeting public need as a profit-making venture for private enterprise. We ought to create markets in meeting these needs for which companies can compete just as they do in designing and selling automobiles and television sets.

I'm pleased that, in our war on poverty, for example, we haven't relied entirely on government. We've reached out to corporations to operate our job centers and our Job Corps facilities, indeed to compete in seeing who can do the best job. I am convinced that, once business has the real taste of meeting public needs and finding out that in meeting public needs, you do not destroy your own resources, once you've had the taste of helping the poor and doing it profitably, we will have come a long way in fully harnessing the energy and ingenuity in our country.

Profit and morality are a hard combination to beat. We have many people who preach morality; we have a larger number that preach profits. I should like to take a moment to ask you to have the two join together in wedlock—morality *and* profits.

Turnkey Approach in Housing

Let me give you an example of what I mean. Until recently, public housing and private homebuilding seemed like complete east and west, "never the twain shall meet." But with new and imaginative adjustments in government procedures, we have made it possible for homebuilders to carry housing projects from the start to the finish, from assembling the land to turning the keys over to the local housing authority. You know what the result is? We've been saving from 15 to 20 percent on housing costs and getting a better product.

We're also using this same turnkey system for literally rehabilitating thousands of rundown houses and neighborhoods which ought to be reclaimed.

We have had a bulldozer mentality in this country at times. Every time we see something that looks a little tarnished or a little old, somebody says, "Let's run the big machinery through it and tear it down."

The trouble is that there are people who live there. What we need to do is run our minds into there and figure out how we can build up, revitalize that neighborhood, save that which is good, discard that which is bad, and give people the chance to enjoy some reasonably good living.

This has become known as a home rehabilitation industry; it has a potential market of nearly 8 million rundown dwelling units throughout this country. We should be able, for example, to put people to work in these same areas, building and rebuilding their own homes, thus acquiring what has been called a "sweat equity" in their own home construction.

Can we do it? Am I talking theory? No. We're drawing right now upon the inventiveness of some of our great industries, as well as the experience of the building industry. I think, for instance, of the new techniques of the U.S. Gypsum Corporation, which is trying out the rehabilitation of Harlem tenements. It's working. Oh, I know it isn't working well enough, but it's working. The first printing press didn't work too well either. The first airplane only flew 12 seconds. It didn't work too well, but the breakthrough was made.

Consolidating School Construction

There's been another promising innovation in the creation of wider markets in the field of school construction. We've been going around building schools as if somehow or another we'd only need about one a year. Thirteen school districts in California recently got together and agreed to build 22 schools under a single contract, at one time. Five years ago, that would have been impossible.

Rather than inviting separate bids for buildings, for air conditioning, lighting, etc., they wrapped up everything in a single package for 22 buildings in one contract and saved the taxpayers millions of dollars. They made the package big enough and potentially profitable enough to induce interested bidders to come up with more efficient and more economical designs for the schools.

The result for the school districts concerned will be first-rate, modern, flexible schools costing about 18 percent less than the conventional schools of the same capacity in the neighboring communities. It can be done. You as taxpayers ought to get excited about it unless you just want to give away the 18 percent. This is a simple and effective technique which I believe can be applied to many areas.

Using Problem-Solving Corporations

I see great opportunities for a brand new type of business enterprise which has emerged in our times: I call it the problem-solving corporation. Instead of just having another Federal bureaucracy, make it a business proposition.

These companies first came into being to meet our requirements in defense and space. There is no reason why they cannot become more active in other fields. Why should it be in this country that we rely upon private initiative and enterprise for our new weapon systems, for our great strategic and tactical designs, for our space program, but when it comes to people's living conditions, we say, "Let's do it the same old way we've always done it."

What the Federal Government did in the aerospace field was to set forth in broad terms the problems for which it needed solutions and then to turn to these new types of private corporations to devise the solutions. And it has been done. I left such a conference to come here. We wouldn't be the powerful Nation we are today had we adhered to the same old practices.

Value of Systems Analysis

What happened? These corporations developed new and effective management skills and methods. It's called systems analysis. If systems analysis is good for war, it's good for peace. If systems analysis can work in taking lives, it can work in saving lives. If systems analysis can work in putting a man on the moon, I think it can work to help put a man on his feet right here on earth.

I come to people in private life to ask them to demand their place at the table of public interest and public development. What the Government has done in aerospace is to make a market large enough to attract or bring into being high technology firms. This is the way we get the designs for the supersonic transport plane. It has to be big. Problem-solving corporations are already at work in such new fields as commercial development of atomic power; water desalinization and the exploitation of mineral resources of the oceans.

Reorganize Medical Care

But what about other challenges—the rising cost of medical care, the largest single element in the cost of living increase? We're still operating hospitals as they did at the time of Florence Nightingale in most places. Not long ago, the Defense Department began to apply to the design and operation of military hospitals the concepts developed in the design of new weapon systems. Preliminary studies indicated that military hospitals, like others in the United States, had traditionally been designed to minimize construction costs, but that within 18 to 36 months after the hospital was constructed, the operating costs added up to more than the construction costs. Clearly such high operating costs suggested there was a need for a greater initial investment in design and construction, particularly in labor-saving devices which might reduce the cost of hospital care.

Beyond this, it was found that rapidly evolving medical technology often required alterations in the hospital even as it was being constructed. After preliminary competition by a number of outstanding firms, four industrial teams led by defense companies were awarded contracts to prepare detailed studies. They've now been completed and are being used in formulating a program for truly modern, efficient military hospitals at greatly reduced operating costs. I suspect the new designs being developed will lead the way to more efficient hospitals and less expensive medical care

throughout the country. I'm happy to tell my friends who may be here from Minnesota that one of the best experimental hospitals in this field is in Rochester, Minnesota, associated with the Mayo Clinic. We hope to be able to reduce medical costs substantially. Why? Because we went to the private sector with Government assistance, as a team, not as competitors, not as enemies, but as partners.

"Developing People" in America

The biggest challenge of all is in the slums of our great cities. For many Americans, our urban ghettos seem far more remote than the most distant corner of the developing countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. There are more people, I suspect, in many of the audiences that come to Washington that have traveled to Asia and Africa and Latin America than have been "on the other side of the tracks" in our own hometown.

I believe we should approach the problem of our ghettos with no less than the methods with which we approach the problems of a developing country. Let me say quite frankly, my fellow Americans, many of the people living in our slums today are like immigrants from another society. There is the other America—the America of the poor, the America of those who hide behind the walls of a different set of social standards. I submit that we're going to have to treat those areas and those people in very much the same way that we lend our efforts toward other nations and other peoples in other parts of the world.

Just as we've used an array of weapons in the fight for a better life for the peoples of the poor nations, such as feasibility studies, long-term, low-interest loans, investment guarantees for private enterprise, action teams of trained experts—that's what we send into South America; that's what we do in Colombia; that's what we're doing in Vietnam; that's what we're doing in India, and we're spending billions to do it—I suggest the same techniques and the same enthusiasm be applied to our fellow Americans in our hometowns.

Just as industrialized nations join in consortia to help needy nations, so government, business, labor and our universities should combine and coordinate their resources and their creative capacities in consortia to meet the great overriding need of making our cities fit places in which to live.

Active Role for Universities

Please note that I've cited here for the first time—universities. I want you to go home and talk to your universities. These universities have no right to be meadows of meditation, alone, or to be nice islands for retreat and reflection. A university should be at the center of action. It should be teeming with vitality for constructive purposes. The professors and the theoreticians can refine their theories and their intellectual capacities by getting into the fight, by applying themselves to the joy that is at hand.

Our universities have too long been on the sidelines as observers of this struggle for social betterment. They are almost pacifist observers. What we need are militant warriors to get into the fight. Yes, we need the articles. Yes, we need the dissertations. We need the sociological studies. But after the study, we need to have a man bloody himself a bit in the battle for a better life. He'll be a better teacher; he'll be a better researcher. What is more, they are all on the public payroll, one way or another, so they ought to be helping to meet public needs in every city, town, and hamlet of the United States.

Today, I come to you with a sober message, not a message of what some people might call super-patriotism even though I believe that the most patriotic thing you can do is help build a better life for your neighbor, to share of your talent, to give of your leadership, to encourage opportunity.

I stress the responsibility of the private sector. I believe it should be encouraged to take a fresh look at old ways of doing things and not rely entirely on government to be the innovator—whether it be in health or in education, in transportation, housing, information systems, or the development of human resources. I believe that this encourage-

ment should come not merely as a gift from an affluent business or social-economic organization, but rather in the form of profit incentive.

Need for New Solutions

It was said here today that when I first came to the United States Senate, my friend Adlai Stevenson said, "Hubert Humphrey is a politician with more solutions than there are problems." That's right, but that was 1949. I don't think I'll retract that statement at all. There may have been some truth in it. I doubt it, but there may have been. But today I'd be the first person to admit, and I think you'd agree with me, that we have many more problems than we have solutions. I know for one that I don't have all the answers and I didn't come here to give you answers. I came here to arouse your concern—to ask you to think out loud with me, and above all to go home, where you live, and ask the people there, "What are we doing to help ourselves? What more can we do? How do we build a partnership?"

I'm sure of this: Unless we want to go down in history as a people who could send a man to the moon, as I have said, and five vending machines along with him, most likely, but could not help put a man on his feet here on earth, we'd better get busy in putting our public and private resources to even better use than we have thus far.

Some of us are trying to do that here in the Federal Government. Thousands of people are trying to do this same thing in State houses, in court houses, city halls around the country. But I would be less than honest with you if I didn't tell you that all of this will fail unless you, too, help; unless you make it your business. I want you to make it your business to go home and activate your community for youth employment opportunities; I want you to make it your business to go home and analyze your school system and ask somebody else to do it.

Finding A Remedy for Dropouts

Why the school dropouts? I want you to find out why it is that some communities have been able to cure the school dropout problem and others haven't. I want you to ask yourself: In even a rich society, can we afford to have hundreds of thousands of people who are permanently on public assistance when they ought not to be if they were but trained and developed?

I want you to ask yourself whether America can continue to bear the burden that it will be compelled to bear in the years ahead unless we have everybody helping and sharing in that responsibility. Because just as President Johnson said that we must open opportunities for all Americans here at home, he also said, and rightly so, we must be able to fulfill our international commitments and responsibilities as well.

Not Comfort, But Responsibility

Our Nation today is a world leader, not by design, maybe by accident. But whatever the reason, we are a leader. Leadership, my fellow Americans, does not give you privilege or luxury. You know that. Leadership imposes upon you duties and responsibilities. It is not a cloak of comfort, but rather a robe of responsibility. That leadership that I speak of doesn't mean that government does it alone, internationally or at home. Real leadership means that you point the way; you harness the resources; you help direct the energy; you inspire; you arouse; you get people to do what they ought to do anyway.

America today abroad is attempting to help lead a world in the path of peace, knowing that there is no instant solution to international problems; knowing that the words of Scripture which say "blessed are the peacemakers" bear with them a tremendous implication—the peacemakers, not paraders, not speakers, not talkers or wishers, but makers. You make peace block by block, stone by stone, item by item, development and construction. You make it patiently,

perseveringly, and with indomitable will. Only a fool believes that peace comes instantly. Like maturity, it takes time. Like life itself, it requires nourishment.

Tranquility and Social Justice

Just as we must have peacemakers on the international scene, we must have peace builders and makers on the domestic scene. What makes you think we can get peace among the nations of the world if we're incapable of having peace amongst our own fellow citizens?

We therefore need to apply the basic lessons of our experience to building peace, tranquility, and social justice here at home. This is not a goal beyond our reach, because we have so much to do it with—the richest Nation on the face of the earth beyond comparison; an economic system that has shown vitality beyond human comprehension; a standard of living for most of us that exceeds our wildest expectations of even a decade ago; a Nation with technology and science that is a marvel of the world; all that we need to do is have the will and determination and the creativeness to put those resources to work.

We will be judged in history not because the many had much, but because we were able to see to it that the few who were poor had a chance to get something out of their life through their own endeavors.

I come here to this audience really with a fervent plea. We are at a decision point in our national life—deciding whether or not we are going to build the kind of America in which every citizen is proud of citizenship and recognizes that with citizenship come not only all the rights and privileges that you and I enjoy, but also the duties and responsibilities that we know we have.

Our Responsibility As Individuals

I ask you as community leaders now, not as advertising men, but as mothers and fathers, as brothers and sisters, as

citizens of this Republic, I ask you to go back to your base and see whether or not the things that can be done and are being done elsewhere are being done in your town.

If they are being done there, remember that America is the sum total of its individuals, and it is the aggregate of its communities. It is a Nation of individuals and places. Make your individual life one that will be remembered and make your place one that reflects your standards, one that reflects your goals.

If so, I have a feeling that we will be on the way to whatever you may wish to call it—Great Society or just a Great America.

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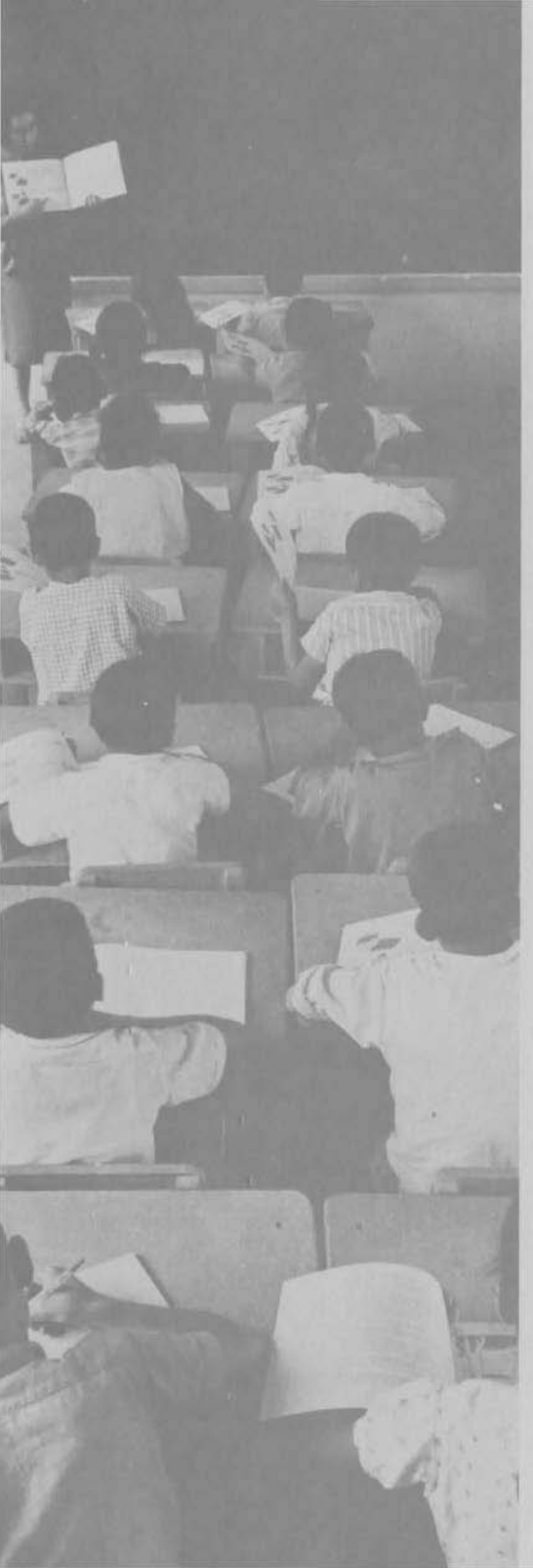


NATION BUILDING AND PEACE BUILDING

Agency for International Development

". . . development is a long-run process. We delude ourselves if we expect quick or easy returns or instant tranquility."

NATION BUILDING AND PEACE BUILDING

Hubert H. Humphrey

On February 7, 1967, Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey addressed the International Development Conference, held in Washington, D.C. **Nation-Building and Peace-Building** is excerpted from that address.

"The new emphasis on cooperatives has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the rural masses."

I want to talk with you tonight about our foreign aid program—about the role of this country in nation-building and in peace-building.

About five years ago we were holding a hearing on foreign aid in the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. There were requests in at that time totaling billions of dollars, but they always seemed to concern some massive project. There was not enough talk about *people* to satisfy me.

So I asked how many foreign aid agency officers were in the field organizing credit unions. After a pause and hurried consultations, the witness answered "None."

How many people did we have helping to organize savings and loan associations in the countries of Latin America and Africa? "None."

How many were employed to organize marketing or consumer cooperatives? The answer was the same—"None."

We did something about that.

Since the autumn of 1961, AID has carried out the mandate of the Humphrey Amendment, working with the organizations represented here tonight. On this fifth anniversary observance of the Humphrey Amendment, AID has contractual arrangements with ten major cooperative organizations. It has 97 cooperative personnel. It has involved 286 consultants. It reports 123 projects in 39 countries and 40,000 cooperatives with sixteen million members. During the past five years, it has committed $50 million to cooperatives.

The Humphrey Amendment

The underlying objectives of the Humphrey Amendment are as valid today as five years ago. I would single out four:

First, to help the people who most need it. Regardless of good intentions, government-to-government assistance always seems to trickle down slowly, if at all, to the poor people of developing nations—even where their governments honestly seek to help them.

Second, to help in the modernization of *rural* areas. In the assistance programs of the 1950's and the early 1960's, there was too much emphasis on industrial development—on steel mills, factories, and airports. The new emphasis on cooperatives has opened a channel of technical and financial assistance to the rural masses. The continents of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, we must not forget, are basically rural continents. And, as desperate as poverty may be in many of the cities of these continents, it is far more desperate in the countryside.

Third, to promote "pluralism"—that is, the development of a multiplicity of private institutions, as well as governmental, which involve varying elements in a society in the business of that society. The cooperative encourages decentralization in decision-making and helps provide the mechanics for making economic, social and political decisions at the grassroots level.

Fourth, to foster economic and social development within a specific democratic political framework.

During the past year the Congress has taken an additional step to encourage popular participation in the development process. Thanks to Congressman Don Fraser's Amendment to the Foreign Assistance Act, AID is encouraged to make a more conscious and direct effort to promote the development of democratic institutions at all levels—national, regional and local.

One year ago, Pope Paul, in addressing a United Nations group in Rome, rightly stated that in today's world "development is the new name for peace."

No fewer than 164 outbreaks of violence—outbreaks carrying *international* danger—have taken place in the last eight years in the "have-not" nations of the world. The World Bank classifies nations as "middle income," "poor," and "very poor." Using this classification, serious violence has since 1958 visited 48 percent of the middle-income nations . . . 69 percent of the poor nations . . . and 87 percent of the very poor nations.

I do not contend that development efforts will, in the short run, end disorder—in fact, some disorder usually comes with economic and social transition. But we know that, in the long run, far greater disorder will follow if people are denied a share in the better life they see around them.

The Facts of World Poverty

Just what are the facts of world poverty? The overwhelming and inescapable fact is that the gap between the rich nations and the poor continues to widen. Today 20 percent of the world's population disposes of 75 percent of the world's income. Last year, the rich nations of the West added $106 billion to their total production—more than the *total* GNP of the Near East and South Asia, or of Latin America.

In 1966, we in the United States, with 190 million people, *increased* our GNP by $58 billion. The less developed nations of Africa, with a population of 250 million, have a *total* GNP of only $30 billion. Here in America, our GNP has now topped $750 billion—three-quarters of a trillion dollars! Never have so few had so much—and with such blessings come responsibilities.

Yes, the gap continues to widen. But there is another fact we must face: many nations have not yet begun to climb the curve of growth. In most less developed coun-

tries, the population explosion and the debt explosion threaten to eat up all potential gains. The population of the poor nations increases each year by 2.5 percent, compared with 0.9 percent in Europe or 1.5 percent in the United States and Canada.

Schools cannot keep up. Since 1960, despite enormous investments in education, world illiteracy has grown by some 200 million people. Of 373 million children in developing nations, about 115 million—30 percent—are in school and about 258 million—or about 70 percent—are *not* in school.

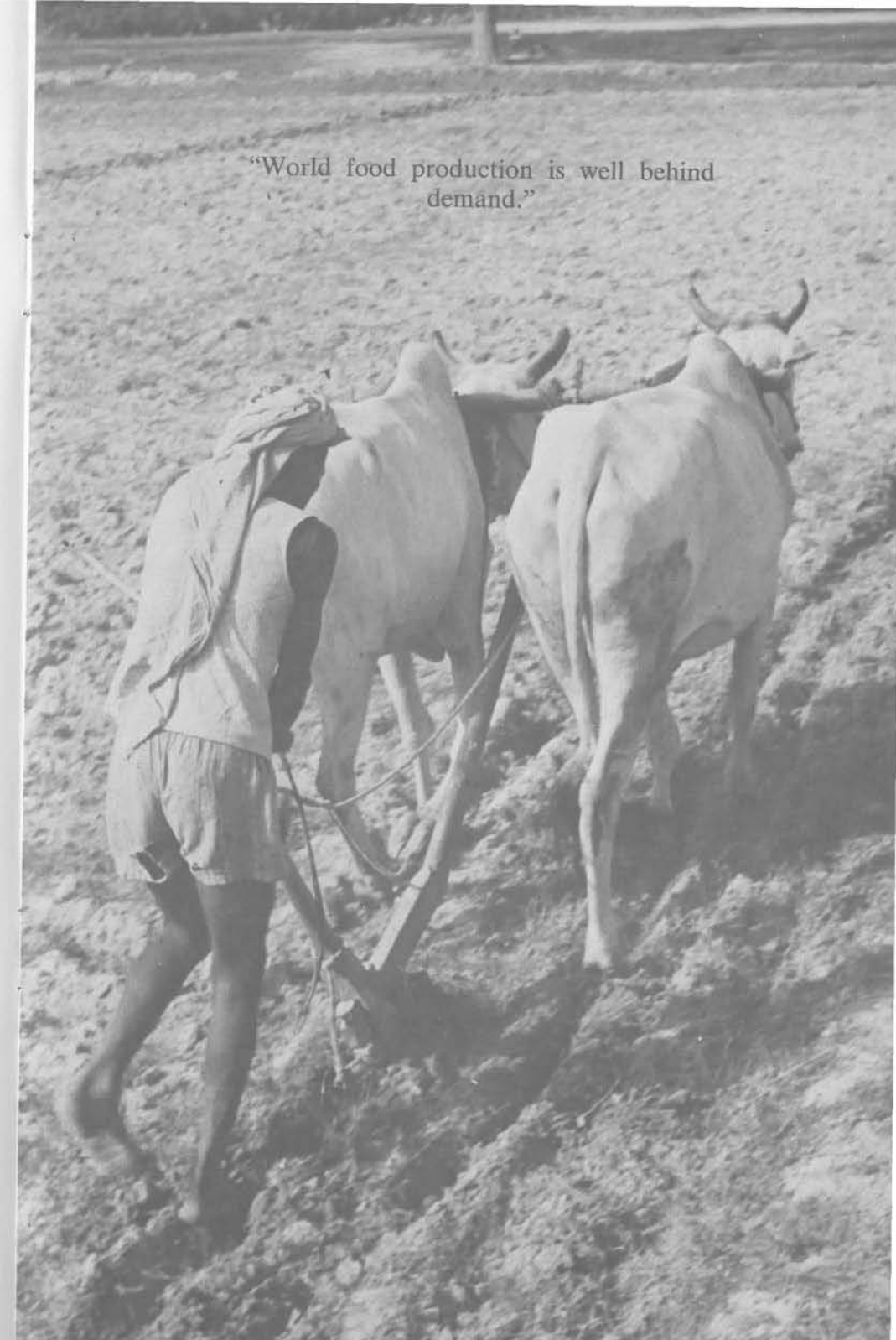
World food production is well behind demand. It has barely risen over the past two years, while population in the less developed countries has increased by 40 million.

World per-capita production of food has not gained significantly in the past ten years and in some years bad crops have threatened acute and widespread famine.

In addition to the growing burden of supporting their populations, these countries have the growing burden of their foreign debt. Since 1956 the average annual rate of increase in foreign debt has been about 15 percent. Foreign debt has grown three times faster than the United Nations *target* of 5 percent for annual economic growth, and that economic growth target has not generally been achieved.

The debt burden to foreign governments and international agencies is only part of the story. Private producers in every developed country—usually under the protection of government guarantees—extend short-term credit for a wide variety of items which have no relation whatsoever to priorities and development plans in the developing nations. The temptation to consume now and pay later is seldom resisted.

No certain statistics are available on the volume of these private credits, but the Development Assistance Committee of the OECD estimates that developing countries paid back in 1965 for these private credits *twice* as much as the



"World food production is well behind demand."

repayment on aid loans. This would mean that the two reverse flows together ate up *three-fifths* of all aid.

All this adds up to a dismal picture. But it is a far from hopeless picture. The rich nations have greater resources for foreign assistance than ever before. And both the rich and poor nations have learned some lessons in these past few years about the business of peaceful nation-building.

Let me mention some of the lessons I believe we Americans have learned.

The Need for Cooperation

As I have already pointed out, one lesson is that governments cannot do the job alone. Just as progress in our own nation requires a working partnership among *all* elements of society, so it does in other places.

Another lesson we have learned is that one country—the United States—cannot do the job of nation-building alone. All nations must participate. In his War on Hunger Message February 2, 1967, President Johnson expressed it clearly:

> "If we are to succeed, *all* nations—rich and poor alike—must join together . . . with the same spirit, the same energy, and the same sense of urgency that they apply to their own national defense. Nothing less is consistent with the human values at stake."

It is gratifying to observe that, as the other industrialized nations have arisen from the ashes of World War II, they *have* picked up this burden along with us. In the last nine years they have increased their flow of aid to the less developed countries from $1.3 billion to more than $2.5 billion —an increase much higher than the rate of increase in their incomes.

In the same period, the percentage of our national income devoted to foreign aid has decreased. Today, five industrialized countries spend a larger percentage of their national incomes on foreign aid than we do.

"Schools cannot keep up."

There is another lesson: that regional development is far more effective than isolated national programs. In Latin America what started as an experiment in cooperation has become a way of life. Regional cooperation has become institutionalized in the Organization of American States . . . in the Inter-American Development Bank . . . and in the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress, which reviews the development plans and policies of each of its members. Progress toward economic integration is encouraging. Obviously, such things as transportation, river valley development and communications do not stop at the edge of political boundaries. With the perfection of satellite systems, a regional educational television network which would reach vast millions in Latin America is now a realistic probability.

In Africa, the United States—in cooperation with international agencies and with other bilateral donors—is seeking to concentrate its assistance on region-wide projects, particularly in fields such as agricultural research, transportation and communications. And African nations themselves are increasingly cooperating on a regional basis.

In Asia, the doors of the $1 billion Asian Development Bank have just been opened, with the majority of its capital provided by donors other than the United States. The Mekong River is being developed, even during this time of war, with dams in Laos and in Thailand. If we can get peace, there can be economic development through Southeast Asia—and a whole new life will come about.

Another lesson learned is that outside help does little good in the absence of sound policies and diligent self-help actions by the developing nations. To be effective, foreign aid must be used to support forces for reform which are at work in the developing nations, not merely to bail out the forces of reaction. I think we ought to support these forces of reform—let them know that we approve them, and encourage them.

". . . agriculture, education, and health have been made the three pillars of our development efforts."

The Need for Responsible Institutions

We have also learned that development cannot be achieved by technicians alone. The indispensable prerequisites for development are *political* leadership and responsive political institutions.

John Adams once observed that "Power always thinks it has a great soul."

We, as a great power, must beware the impulse to try to impose upon nations with far different traditions and histories our own political institutions in carbon copy. The world doesn't have to be trade-marked: "Made in the USA." In fact, we don't want it that way. We want diversity in the world, just as we have diversity in America. We don't want a Communist monolith or an American monolith. We want a world of many peoples and cultures and civilizations that enrich one another by virtue of their diversity.

But, at the same time, we must not hesitate to help other peoples—when they ask for help—to develop their own institutions, tailored to their own experience, which will meet the needs of their people.

Nowhere is this more imperative than in Vietnam today.

In Vietnam, a developing country, we are resisting Communist military force with force, and succeeding militarily. We are aiding the South Vietnamese in economic development, and succeeding economically. But the corner will not be fully turned there until *political* progress matches military and economic progress.

A new and powerful force is about to challenge the Viet Cong and North Vietnam—a freely elected, representative government in South Vietnam. It is an ever-growing probability that such a government will soon come into being. And that probability, I believe, is causing Hanoi and the National Liberation Front to have some second thoughts.

The barrage of threats, intimidation, and propaganda launched by North Vietnam and the Viet Cong against the

election for a constituent assembly last fall was a miserable failure. The people of South Vietnam *did* vote in overwhelming numbers. A constituent assembly was elected. These are not miracles, but they are solid steps towards peace, toward independence, and toward victory—not so much a victory *against* an enemy as a victory *for* freedom.

I believe the cause of peace will best be served if we patiently and perseveringly continue the course we have set for ourselves in Vietnam.

I say to you, in all sincerity, that nation-building and peace-building take time—time and sacrifice.

We must continue, as the President has said, to "fight a war of limited objectives" to halt aggression before it can spread. We must continue, with our allies, to mobilize manpower and resources for economic and social development. We must continue to press forward with pacification in the countryside. We must continue to help the South Vietnamese people build representative and responsive political institutions. And, at the same time, we must continue patiently and diligently to seek a just and lasting peace.

The world knows that we have the courage to resist aggression . . . that we keep our commitments. The world should also know that we have the even greater courage required to walk the extra mile which could bring peace to the long-tortured nation of South Vietnam. Yes, now is a time for self-discipline and for statesmanship. We Americans in this time of testing, must prove equal to the exercise of those qualities.

The Long-Run Process

We have, I think, learned another painful lesson: that development is a long-run process. We delude ourselves if we expect quick or easy returns or instant tranquility. The most important changes are often those which take longest.

Development assistance has hitherto been regarded primarily as a weapon in the cold war. In that context, show-

"But participation—full participation of the citizens—is the vital ingredient which . . . makes possible peace and progress . . ."

piece projects often diverted resources from such important investments in nation-building as education, rural development and public health.

Participation, Peace, Progress

Today—at the direction of your President—agriculture, education and health have been made the three pillars of our development efforts. And they will continue to be—even though they may not bring quick or flashy or dramatic results.

Today, as we face the challenge of a world of poverty and need, we increasingly realize that three elements, above all, are necessary if nations are to survive and grow.

These three elements—participation, progress, and peace—often conflict with one another. Even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace—in the sense of domestic order—can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

Progress—the more abundant and equitable provision of material goods and services to the citizens—can be achieved through technocracy.

But participation—full participation of the citizens—is the vital ingredient which, in the long run, not only insures the social stability which makes possible peace and progress, but also unleashes the full talents and energies of peoples who seek a better life.

Finally, may I say this: I think we must realize today that the business of nation-building *is* a marathon, not a 100-yard dash. What is more, it is a never-ending marathon. For the building of peace and of peaceful progress will be with us throughout our lifetimes, and the lifetimes of our children as well.

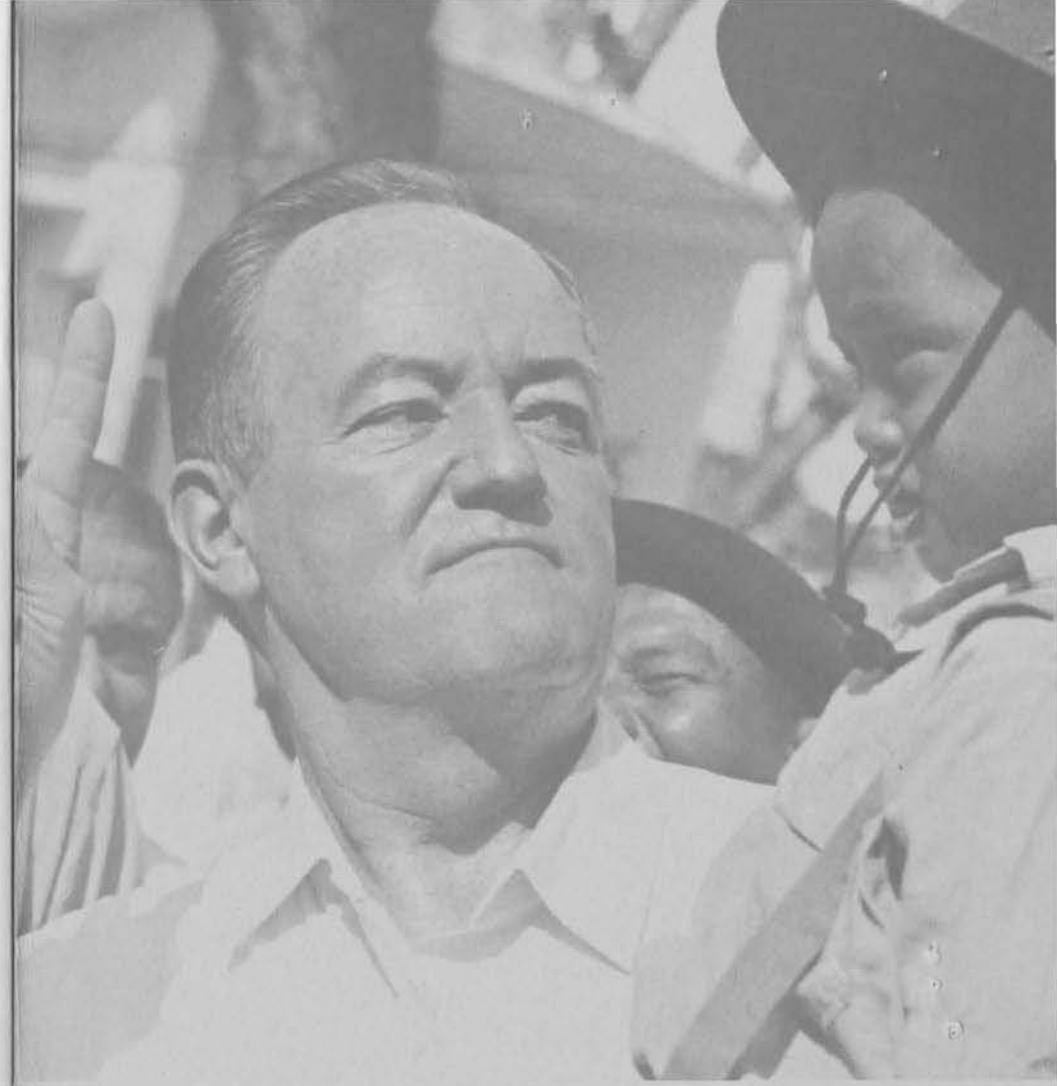
If we abdicate our responsibility . . . if we drop out of the race, who else will lead?

Our nation produces a third of the gross national product of the world. We, among all nations, are rich. Our

nation has interests which touch every corner of the globe. We, among all nations, have world-wide concerns. But—far more important—our nation, among all nations, is one which professes belief in the equality and brotherhood of man. Ours is a nation which seeks the common good, not only within our own borders, but in the world.

We must last out this marathon because it is in our own interest. We must last it out because of the perils involved if we do not. But we must, above all, last it out because it is right that we do.

I believe that we can, and that we will.



"We must continue to help the South Vietnamese people build representative and responsible political institutions. And, at the same time, we must continue patiently and diligently to seek a just and lasting peace."

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NEW ENGAGEMENT

THE OPEN DOOR

By Hubert H. Humphrey, *Vice President of the United States*

Delivered at the 26th Green Foundation Lecture, Westminster College, Fulton, Missouri, March 5, 1967

President Davidson and Chairman of the Board of Trustees, John Dalton, Vice President Stinson, my good friend, Governor Hearnes, my friend, Senator Long, Congressman Curtis, members of the faculty, members of the community of Westminster College, students and neighbors.

First, may I just make one casual observation. Not long ago, I was visiting another one of our great colleges, and the President of that institution said to me as we were going through the ceremonies of the presentation of Honorary Degrees, "I want you to know that on this faculty we have (I think he said something like) sixty-six earned degrees, earned doctorates, but I am very happy to present you with an Honorary Doctorate." I want Dr. Davidson to know that once you've been Vice President of the United States, even for two years, you've earned it, and I am most grateful, humbly grateful, and highly honored to be included amongst the Honorary Alumni of this great college. This college and this occasion is vested with tremendous tradition.

Exactly 21 years ago today, Winston Churchill spoke these well-remembered words:

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent."

"The continent," of course, was Europe.

When Churchill spoke here, a new phase in history had begun—that post-war conflict, centered in Europe, which was to become known as the cold war.

It is my belief that we stand today upon the threshold of a new era in our relations with the peoples of Europe—A period of new engagement.

And I believe that this new period, if we do not lose our wits or our nerve, or our patience, can see the replacement of the Iron Curtain by the Open Door.

When Churchill spoke here on March 5, 1946 there were many in this country—and elsewhere—who would not accept his stark characterization of the state of affairs in Europe.

But Churchill was right. And he was right to speak out.

The beginning of wisdom, the foundation of sound policy and action, is to face the facts.

What were the facts in March of 1946?

Western Europe lay helpless and prostrate after terrible war—literally dependent for her survival on the protection and goodwill of the United States. The political institutions, the economies, the peoples of Western Europe stood helpless—save for the United States—in face of the imperialist impulses emanating from the East.

There, Stalin had literally erected an Iron Curtain between the nations and peoples of Eastern Europe and those of the West. On his side of that curtain he saw all as occupied territory . . . the spoils of war. And his further intentions were declared and clear.

What are the facts of March of 1967?

Western Europe stands today second only to the United States as a free and powerful center of economic and social well-being. Because of their brave initiatives—and with our help—the nations of Western Europe stand able once again to assert their own role in the world.

In eastern Europe the captive states of 21 years ago

are once again reaching toward *their* own identities. The monolithic control which smothered and held them in the grip of terror is today diminishing.

The Iron Curtain itself—although firm and impenetrable in many places, as in Berlin—has become increasingly permeable in others. Goods, ideas and people have begun to criss-cross the European continent.

There is reason to believe that the new leadership of the Soviet Union finds the Iron Curtain not only a crude barrier to the West, but also a costly impediment to their own well being and progress. The Soviet Union of 1967 is a powerful, productive and modern nation. There is a growing realization that a closed society is an admission of weakness—that a closed society inhibits progress. Surely a system that can produce a Sputnik-missiles and satellites must find an Iron Curtain a relic of the pre-computer, pre-scientific mentality.

Perhaps then we are right when we observe that the Iron Curtain is as antique and obsolete to the modern Soviet Union as the armored suit of the Feudal Baron of the Middle Ages.

Science and technology have pierced the eroding Iron Curtain. It is being replaced by a web of communication—the transistor, the computer, the space satellite—these are the building-blocks of modern communications.

Scientists, engineers, and technicians flew back and forth—overleaping the old barrier with the jets of contemporary air travel.

The arteries of Ease-West trade fled over stronger and ster.

All of these physical changes, all of these profound economic changes may well be the precursors of political change.

The essence of the situation today is this: The European family—long-separated . . . long set against each other, yet still a family—is becoming reacquainted and is moving toward more normal relationships.

The Soviet Union, recovering by heroic effort from the frightful loss of human life an resources which it suffered in the war, has grown greatly in its capacity and its inclination to satisfy the material needs of the Russian people. No one who cares about the human condition can fail to rejoice at this fact. And its aggressive behavior has been tempered.

All these things have happened. Yet they did not happen by accident.

They have happened because we followed the course Winston Churchill counseled 21 years ago at Westminster College.

They have happened in large part because, in the fact of Stalinist tyranny, we in America brought our power and protection to rebuilding the European continent.

They have happened because we helped and encouraged our European partners in their unceasing efforts toward self-renewal.

They have happened because—in Berlin, in Greece and Turkey, yes, and in Cuba—the Soviet Union was ought to recognize that brute force—or its threat—uld no longer be an acceptable means of attaining political goals.

If today the Soviet Union takes a more prudent and cautious course, it is—for more than any other reason—because together we and our Western partners have in these two decades stood firm and fast.

During this time, too, a constructive force has been at work in Western Europe—releasing the constraining bonds of old hostilities and closed institutions to the fresh stimulation of competition and cooperation across national boundaries. That constructive force has been the will of the peoples of Western Europe that they should unite.

Their desire for unity has been most manifest in the building of the European communities, and of the initiatives of an increasing number of nations to join those communities.

This, too, has had a powerful influence on the positive changes which have taken place. And we have supported it.

Some today see Western European unity endangered by a rising wave of nationalism there.

And there are those who fear that the renewal of a narrower nationalism in Western Europe must be accepted as an inevitable and immutable fact—that we must resign ourselves to the abandonment of our support for unity, and to the acceptance of a return of power politics among nations.

There are a small few in other countries who conclude that the "realistic" next step toward a settlement of European problems can therefore only be by bilateral agreement between the Soviet Union and the United States—over the heads of our Western partners.

I do not believe this is "realism".

Neither do I believe a realistic settlement of European problems can be achieved by European nations without *our* participation, and that of the Soviet Union.

It is precisely now—at the time when new opportunities lie ahead—that we must retain cohesion with our Western partners—and they with us. If the cold war is to end . . . if the Iron Curtain is to be lifted, we shall need them and they shall need us.

The task now, in light of a new situation, is not to throw away what has been successful, but to build constructively upon it.

I believe that the people of Western Europe will reject concepts of narrow nationalism and of national adventure, and will continue to move forward toward unity—toward a unified Western Europe open to expansion and conscious of its need to strengthen its ties with the nations of Eastern Europe.

I believe, too, that they will reject any severing of their ties across the Atlantic—ties built firmly on common cultural heritage, on common experience, on common interest.

For our part, we do not mean either to abandon our friends or to dominate them.

We know that American power continues to be necessary to stability in Central Europe.

We know that difficult and intractable problems—such as arms control and the reunification of Germany—must continue to involve both American and European effort.

In our alliance, the task is this: to transform what was built on fear and common threat into a vital, working instrument built on hope and common opportunity and common responsibility.

It must be an alliance *for* peace and peaceful progress, not simply *against* the spector of invasion from the East. It must be an alliance *for* promotion of social and economic welfare, not simply *against* a communist threat.

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For, as the President has said, the times require "A shift from the narrow concept of coexistence to the broader vision of peaceful engagement."

To strengthen the alliance, we in America must be determined to treat our Western European partners as *equal* partners . . . to consult with them, in the true sense of that word, in every area of common interest . . . and to practice forebearance as they find their way to new forms of cooperation and unity among themselves.

I cannot overemphasize the importance of open and honest consultation and discussion among the members of the Atlantic Alliance.

For, it is precisely now—when there is movement and ferment in Europe—that the temptations are greatest for unilateral action by the individual partners.

As I have said, it is imperative that we retain our solidarity. And to do so, we must all take the extra step to insure that no action should be undertaken by any one of the partners which might jeopardize the welfare and security of all.

We cannot afford the luxury of division.

We cannot afford it in matters of military security. Nor can we afford it in matters of high economic and social concern. That is why:

We must, and we shall, be forthcoming in response to the initiatives taken by our Atlantic partners toward narrowing the "technology gap" between us. For, if we cannot narrow this gap between ourselves, how can we ever hope to narrow the far-greater gap between the Atlantic nations and the poor nations to the south?

We must, and we shall, persevere in our efforts to bring the Kennedy Round Trade Negotiation to a successful conclusion—one in which there is true reciprocity . . . one in which arbitrary and artificial restraints to trade may be removed and from which a far more efficient allocation of resources may result.

The goals of Western European unity and of Atlantic partnership are *not* in opposition to the goal of the Open Door. They are a first necessity in reaching it. They are the key to that door.

As we strive toward these former goals, how shall we proceed toward the latter?

First, we must work together with our Western European partners in encouraging a further development of trade, technological and cultural contacts with Eastern Europe.

This is why it is imperative that we seize each opportunity—such as the East-West Trade Bill now before the Congress—to increase the flow of people and trade to and from these previously closed societies.

We look, for example, toward the time when the nations of Eastern Europe may become members of the GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) and full participants in the work of the U. N. Economic Commission for Europe.

Second, we must encourage the continued evolution of Soviet policy beyond the ambiguities of "peaceful coexistence" toward more substantial forms of cooperation.

We have negotiated a treaty banning nuclear weapons from outer space.

We are working with others to bring about a treaty banning the proliferation of nuclear weapons—a treaty acceptable and beneficial to the nuclear and non-nuclear powers alike.

We have concluded an air agreement with the Soviet Union and have just signed a new U. S.-Soviet cultural agreement.

Through liberalization of credit, and easing of travel restrictions, we hope to accelerate the exchange of goods and people.

We seek early Senate ratification of the United States—Soviet consular agreement.

We shall actively work toward closer cooperation between the Soviet Union and the nations of the West in space, in medicine, in peaceful technology.

We have not responded to the Soviet deployment of a limited antiballistic missile system by immediately beginning to build one of our own. Instead, we seek to convince the Soviet leaders that this would merely mean yet another costly round in the arms race. After the expenditure of many billions of dollars, neither of us would be more secure than when we started.

Our objective is not to step up the arms race, but to slow it down or halt it, to the mutual interest of *all* nations.

Third, we must work toward a settlement of those European problems which have been left unresolved in the aftermath of the war.

At the heart of this is the reunification of Germany.

As I said earlier, this is a matter which concerns not only Europeans, but America and the Soviet Union as well.

It is a matter, too—and this sometimes seems nearly forgotten—important for the people of Germany.

Thus reunification can only take place after the most thorough and careful consultations among all parties involved. Reunification is a difficult goal. But it is a necessary one, if stability and peace are finally to be achieved in Central Europe.

Fourth, no nation can hope to be an island of security in a turbulent world. We must therefore consider how the resources of the industrialized parts of the world can usefully assist the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America so that progress and stability and hope may overcome despair and violence.

It does not require much foresight to realize that the widening gap between growing populations and diminishing food supplies is approaching a time of explosion.'

Shall we sit in complacency, lulled by creature comforts, until we are engulfed in chaos? Or shall we act, now and together?

It is Europe's problem—*and the Soviet Union's*—as much as it is ours, and we must consult together, plan together, and combine our wisdom and resources to help work toward security and peaceful development in the poverty-stricken parts of the world.

Those who have launched the technological revolution—a revolution without ideology—have the responsibility to see that its benefits are more widely shared by others.

For poverty breeds disorder, and hunger breeds violence. And it has been the lesson of these past few years that it is precisely in the poverty-stricken and hurt parts of the world where a conflict might arise which would draw the super-powers into disastrous confrontation.

Fifth, *we must continue to develop and strengthen international institutions which will provide a framework of law and order in the world*, in which nations of all ideologies may find common and peaceful grounds for settlement of disputes.

Churchill said aptly, that "Jaw, Jaw is better than War, War."

Most important of such institutions is the United Nations.

The United Nations, among other things, is an unmatched buffer zone between conflicting interests and ideologies. It is a place where reason and compromise may interpose themselves before major nations reach the point of no-return.

It is the invaluable "middle man" . . . the honest broker necessary when normal contacts fail.

And it is also an invaluable instrument of peace-keeping in places around the world where major powers might otherwise feel it necessary to inject themselves.

There is no denying that the Soviet Union, as our Western partners and ourselves, has a vital interest in the strength and health of an institution which may serve as a force for order and restraint among us.

Let us examine these things:

—Greater exchange at all levels with the nations of Eastern Europe;

—Active pursuit and encouragement of "peaceful coexistence" with the Soviet Union;

—A European settlement including the reunification of Germany;

—Joint efforts with our former adversaries in helping the developing countries;

—Building a system of international order in which these same former adversaries are our partners.

Would any of these things have been at all imagineable when Winston Churchill stood here 21 years ago?

When the final realization sank in on the last doubter that an Iron Curtain indeed *was* being erected across the heart of Europe, how many of us had reason for hope that in 1967—so short a time later—it might be possible to begin replacing it with an Open Door?

In the center of free Berlin there stands today a stark ruin—the skeleton of a church, preserved to symbolize eternally the depravity of war.

It is our hope that the Iron Curtain may one day, too, lie in ruins—its remnants a symbol of a time that mercifully ended.

A great act in the human drama lies at hand: Through a new engagement in Europe we have the chance to shape a commonwealth of progress dedicated not to war but to peace . . . not to doctrinal conflict but to constructive reconciliation.

We have the chance, as President Johnson has expressed it "To help the people of Europe to achieve together

—A continent in which the peoples of Eastern and Western Europe work shoulder to shoulder for the common good;

—A continent in which alliances do not confront each other in bitter hostility, but instead provide a framework in which West and East can act together in order to assure the security of all."

Therefore, I leave you with this: Who is to say, if we in the West stand together and in unity, where the next two decades may lead?

Who is to say, if our rich and powerful nation exerts the enlightened leadership of which it is capable, what bright new fulfillment may lie ahead for the human family?

Our guide could be no better than that set forth here 21 years ago by Churchill:

"If we adhere faithfully to the charter of the United Nations and walk forward in sedate and sober strength, seeking no one's land or treasure, seeking to lay no arbitrary control upon the thoughts of man . . . the high roads of the future will be clear, not only for us but for all, not only for our time, but for the century to come."

So, today we honor the memory of this great stateman, and as we commemorate the twenty-first anniversary of his historically significant address, let us lift our voices to this spirit, to Sir Winston, and to the World, and let us say that we in America are ready to play our role.

Thank you.

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