

# PROGRESS IN PEACE AND TECHNOLOGY

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*An Address by*

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

*Vice President of the United States*

*Before the*

Tenth Annual Goddard Memorial Dinner

WASHINGTON, D. C. — MARCH 15, 1967

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*Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey is chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, the top advisory group to the President of the United States on aerospace matters.*



## PROGRESS IN PEACE AND TECHNOLOGY

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President Johnson said not long ago that there are three places one should not make a speech — one is at a rodeo, another is at a barbecue, and the third is at a cocktail party, and I'm beginning to think that a fourth one is at the Tenth Annual Goddard Memorial Dinner, if I have to follow such superb entertainment.

However, you are not going to have to listen as long as I had contemplated, but twice as long as you had hoped.

### CHAIRMAN

I'm pleased that my friend, Jim Webb, told you that I have some responsibilities both as Chairman of the National Aeronautics and Space Council, and as Chairman of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development. Those are very imposing titles. Dr. Ed Wenk, who is Executive Secretary of the latter Council and Dr. Welsh, who is Executive Secretary of

the former Council, are monitoring everything that I am saying.

If you will just pardon my humility for a moment, you will note that when the Congress gives the Vice President anything to do — first it was the Chairman of the Space Council and now it's also the Chairman of the Marine Resources Council — I have to wonder. I don't know whether a fellow should develop any sort of martyr complex or feel that he is being persecuted but every time the Congress gives the Vice President anything to do, it's either out of this world or at the bottom of the sea. I thought I had friends.

I told President Johnson the other day when I took on that work in oceanography, I said, "Well, Mr. President, I've been checking the geography of the old globe. The oceans consist of 71 percent of the surface of this earth of ours. The land mass is 29 percent, and you have

a reasonably small portion of that 29 percent. I am in charge of the 71 percent. Then I just added that my fish give him less trouble than his people.

#### SUCCESSION

I don't think I've had so much fun since I went to the circus with the kids, but I did notice that when Jim Webb introduced me and others said hello that there is a different attitude about the Vice President these days than there used to be.

When I was here about two weeks ago and came in, the Marine Band almost struck up "Hail to the Chief." They didn't quite make it. They did "Hail, Columbia." But when I used to come in, I was lucky to get the D. C. Police Band. The whole reason for this change is the 25th Amendment to the Constitution, the Succession Amendment. I told the President that while he was out in Nashville, Tennessee: "There will be no coup tonight, Mr. President." I told him we were going to play square, even though we have a number of the high-powered officers in government right here on hand.

#### GEMINI

I believe it was just about a year ago tonight that Gemini VIII was in trouble. I was arriving here when the radio flash came in that there was some trouble with the Gemini capsule and the Agena. And we were wondering just what would happen that night, and as I was talking, notes were being fed up to me, one after another, from the back here, letting me know just exactly what was going on, and at the same time permitting the President of the United States, who indeed is responsible for these matters of our national security and national policy, to make whatever announcement should be made. How lucky we are that those two wonderful men, Astronauts Armstrong and Scott, were able to perform with high skill, and to have that Gemini

VIII flight end successfully. How fortunate we are to have had such great success with the entire Gemini program.

#### ROBERT HUTCHINGS GODDARD

This is my third consecutive opportunity to give the Goddard Memorial speech. I am very pleased to be here to honor the memory of a very great man, Robert Hutchings Goddard, and also to salute all those who have received awards and citations. They are well deserved and well earned.

Two years ago you invited me here to see if I knew anything at all about space, and I think you found out that I was at the elementary level. Last year you invited me back to see if I had learned anything more about space. I think I had. But I just haven't been able to figure out why I'm here unless you are trying to prove to me that there is something stable and consistent in the life of a Vice President. I do think this Nation does need a few elements of consistency. In fact, I have even gone so far of late to say that they ought to make the office of the Vice President permanent. I mean its present occupant. In fact, I went the other evening to a bipartisan gathering and offered myself to both parties. As yet we haven't heard. It's sort of like sending messages to Hanoi. We have had no response.

#### THREE MAJOR POINTS

I want to visit with you about three things that I trust are on your minds. The first thing I want to do is to assure you that this Administration, your government, is determined that our space effort will go forward without slowdown and with a determination and with a full commitment to keeping our country first in space — preeminent in space, science, and technology.

Secondly, I want to challenge the space industry. I want every one of you to become more involved in solving our

problems here on earth. I know what marvelous things have already come to us as spinoffs from your efforts. I have about eight pages of examples right here that I am not going to read to you or talk to you about. But there is so much more that you can do to make our society a better place in which to live. There is so much that your systems approach, your experienced management approach can bring to solving problems of transportation, air and water pollution, transit, communications, education, neighborhood development, crime control. In short, you can make this environment here on earth a better place in which to live. And I might add, you can do it at a profit.

And finally, I want to talk to you as Americans deeply concerned about our great country — not as Americans just concerned with the problems of space, but also as Americans concerned with the most crucial of international problems of the present. I refer to our deep, painful, costly, and yet vital involvement in Southeast Asia.

First then, I will dwell briefly on space — a subject on which you are well informed. Then, I will talk about the issue of Viet Nam.

#### TRAGEDY AND HOPE

Of course, we cannot help but keep in mind that this is an occasion for remembrance with sorrow, and also with great pride of three gallant men and three of my friends and your friends, Astronauts Grissom, White, and Chaffee. My, what wonderful men! These were splendid young Americans.

So let me just say to their wives and families — on behalf of the President and the Administration, I can assure you that we have not lost heart — that we will not falter, and that we shall move forward with renewed determination and commitment in our exploration of space. I'm sure that Congressman Miller and his associates

here Congressman Teague, Congressman Karth, Congressman Mosher, and others can give you the same assurance on the part of the Congress of the United States. We've only begun to explore what God has given us in the infinity of space.

#### NASA

Now let me say a word about our NASA team in which I have such great confidence, and I want Americans everywhere to have the same confidence and I believe they have. The record justifies it. It is this team which has enabled us in just nine years to put 16 astronauts in orbit for a total of 1,996 man-hours. That's no mean accomplishment. It is this team which has made it possible for our astronauts to put in over 12 hours outside their spacecrafts. It is this team which has enabled us to map the moon and make an unmanned landing upon it. And it is this team which has probed Mars and Venus and sent spacecraft to study the sun. Above all, our entire aerospace team is insuring that we are second to none in space. I repeat — second to none — and every American ought to have that as his goal. Not second, but first in whatever we endeavor to do.

#### NO SINGLE GOAL

I know that we all like great drama, but I think it's important that we should now note that there seems to be general agreement among the preeminent experts in the field of space science that this country no longer needs a single major dramatic goal as a spur to its space efforts such as, for example, that great commitment of 1961 to go to the moon. Rather there is the sober realization that this nation of ours has matured in its space effort and has developed the technology and the understanding to push forward in space in a balanced and selective manner. This is the recommendation of the President's Space Advisory Committee. It called for a balanced space



program including both the extension of earth orbiting capabilities and eventual manned planetary exploration.

## TECHNOLOGY GAP

I believe that most of our competent scientists, engineers, and managers in the space endeavor would agree that that outlook, that perspective, is sound. Now I said there were many space benefits over and beyond what we can readily see and one of them that is always appealing to me is this broad benefit of the improvement of our technology, our engineering capacity, and our scientific competence. I spent some time in these recent months studying what is happening between the so-called "have" nations and the "have-not" nations. That has been a matter of interest for me for some 20 odd years. But in recent months I have been spending time looking into what we refer to as the "technological gap."

There may be many reasons for this gap but regardless of the reasons, the gap does exist. That gap may be somewhat exaggerated; it may be over-dramatized. But I think it is a fact that in at least two key areas, namely the computer and electronics, the United States is far out in front. And why? Because of the advent of the space program. It is also because of the fantastic development or commitment of this country in research and development by your government and because of the upgrading of our great institutions of higher education. Yes, if you please, it is because of the challenge to our whole educational structure that today the American educational structure offers a broader opportunity and a great opportunity to more and more minds so that we can benefit from the exploration of the unknown.

The commitment to basic research by both our government and industry has fostered our success. I am a refugee from a classroom, a Professor of sorts. I always mention it because elective of-

fice is too precarious to really depend on. I want to keep my credentials alive. And this basic research is the pool of knowledge from whence we draw, and the applied, the practical day to day research and development, is dependent to a large measure upon basic research.

## PARTNERSHIP

We have a good balance between basic and applied research. We have moved ahead with a whole new system of education — what we call the inter-disciplinary approach where departments and universities had once thought they were sovereign members of the United Nations and have now begun to understand that they are but a factor — they are but an integral part in a larger whole.

We've learned to move ahead in what I call a working partnership between government and industry and the university. And that great working partnership which has made possible our endeavors thus far in space is needed for every other thing that we tackle from here on out. There isn't a single problem confronting this Nation today or this world that can be handled by the resources of any one group alone. The problems of our cities are too vast today for the federal government alone or the local government alone or private industry alone. Together they are manageable.

We have a working partnership — the theme of the last third of the 20th century where the old animosities and the cheap old demagogism are put aside — and where we have to pool our resources without the loss of identity of each. This is where we learn how to cooperate rather than to dominate; where we learn how to supplement rather than to supplant. This is the new philosophy. The new approach to the meaning of the problems of the last third and, I emphasize it, the last third of the 20th century. Every one of us who is worthy of the trust of his government or his business

or his university or whatever institution he is associated with ought to be thinking about Century 21 because if you are not thinking that far ahead, you're going to lose contact with reality.

The rapidity of change — the pace of change — is so rapid, so fast, that we must contemplate at least a decade — two decades — a generation, two generations — ahead in order even to be in step with what is going on. So science and technology have become two of the great arms of strength of this Republic. But science and technology must be humanized by ethics and morality. Our task is not merely to develop the scientist and the technician, but the human being *per se*, so as to make science and technology the servants rather than the masters.

## JOINT EFFORTS

I said there was this second challenge of putting what we have learned in this space program to work to solve other problems, and here I want to get right down to the practical day-to-day — I guess you've got to call it politics, or should I say just learning to live with each other.

From time to time in the Congress of the United States someone says that the space program ought to be cut so we can have more money for health, for cities, for roads, for airports, for water pollution control, etc. I believe they are wrong. I am going to make the same suggestion to you that I made to the mayors of the cities not long ago. I work with the local government officials at the request of our President. I said before a meeting of hundreds of mayors: "Instead of your spending your time and energy running down the space program or saying that the way to get some more money for your streets or your housing is to cut this program, why don't you go to Congress and fight for your own programs? Work for what's in that budget for you."

I also said, "Then put in a good word for what the space program is now, can be tomorrow, and means to this nation." In other words, join together. The budget is a well thought out political financial instrument for the advance of this nation. It is not sacrosanct, but it offers a pattern of development.

It's time that people in space made up their minds to show interest in the programs of others — in water pollution, air pollution control, cities and urban problems, communication, transportation, slum clearance. Make them your problems, too, and stand up and be counted for them, or you will be counted out. I guess that is as direct a way as I can put it, and I've been around this city for a long time. I told some friends of mine in Oklahoma City at the National Farmers Union: "I want you to remember something. You are a minority." I happen to think that they are a very important minority. I come from a rural part of this nation, but even if I didn't, I happen to think that food and fiber are important. But I said you have to present your program in a way that not only appeals to your rural neighbor but to the Congressman from Long Island as well as from San Diego. Don't be parochial or provincial. Show as much interest in the other fellow's problem as you want him to show in yours. If you are disinterested in his efforts and his goals, you can rest assured that you'll be counted out because you don't have the votes.

And it just adds up that way in our Congress too. Moreover, I want to say the same thing to you.

## THE SPACE PROGRAM

I am the Space Council Chairman.

I'm for the space program.

I think it has given tremendous growth, power, wealth, excellence to the United States of America.

I think it is one of the greatest things



that has ever happened to our educational structure.

I think it is one of the great motivating forces for efficiency in industry.

I think it has upgraded the quality of life in America.

But, I also know something about Congress. I was Majority Whip of the Senate for several years. I have lived there for 16 years. I've been in this town going on my 19th year, and it's going to be tougher this year than it ever was before because there are other demands — international and domestic.

I want the space people to show that we've learned from space how to manage some of the problems that we have right here on earth and that the experiments and the experimentation that we have had in space are invaluable for solving the great domestic, economic, social problems that confront us in rural America, in urban America, in every one of the 50 states of this Union.

#### INTERNATIONAL LEADERSHIP

I want to say a few words about a topic that is close to my heart and of vital concern to all of you. I am talking to husbands and wives — not to scientists and their ladies. I am talking to fellow Americans. Your nation today is involved in a very serious international confrontation. The business of this country since 1945 has been organizing the peace. We've been trying. We've had to learn a great deal. Remember, we came in as an isolationist nation and became an international nation. We became a nation of international leadership and responsibility, not by design, not by wish, but almost by accident. To the everlasting glory of this country, we fulfilled that opportunity rather well.

We've learned that leadership is not necessarily going it alone even though at times that is necessary. We've learned that leadership is really getting others to walk alongside you every day in the same

cadence, in the same step with the same goal and the same purpose. Now, some people today are somewhat encouraged because it appears that, for example, the Soviet Union, which only a few years ago was threatening to move across Europe, has become a much more cautious, prudent, and responsible power. For this we should be grateful. Whatever can be done for their people today to ease their lot, we ought to applaud. Whatever advances they can make in the field of peaceful development, we ought to cheer.

But, my fellow Americans, if it is true that the Soviet Union, as a super power, a great power, and a great nation, is more careful and more prudent, it isn't because when Joe Stalin said at the end of World War II, "I want a part of Iran," that we said, "take it." Rather, it is because we said, "No." And it isn't because when they asked for the North-east Province of Turkey and were ready to move to take it, that we stood aside and said, "Go to it." If European Communism is more responsible, prudent, and cautious and we are at the edge of a *detente* as some people hope we are, it isn't because we said, "Let Greece go Communist." Or, "Let Berlin fall." No! It's because we stood firm, and because we exercised the responsibilities of international leadership.

And we had to do the same thing in Korea at terrific cost. And we had to do it again in Cuba, with great danger on the horizon. Better than one-half of the population of this country of ours does not recall by memory the events that led up to World War II. Half of the population of this country has no recollection of World War II. Therefore, is it any wonder that sometimes there are those who can't quite understand why now we must take a stand some place else? They are not to be scorned or even chastised because some of us can recall how we reacted ourselves in the 1930's when even

men of great influence and power in this country stood aside as Hitler moved across the face of Europe.

#### COURAGE

I'll never forget Franklin Roosevelt's memorable speech in Chicago when he said, "Let us quarantine the aggressor." It was the most politically expensive speech that Franklin Roosevelt ever made. He lost 81 seats in the next Congress because of that speech. He wasn't wrong, but he paid the price for courage and leadership.

It is difficult to make the hard decisions. Think of President Truman, for example. At one time, he was one of the most unpopular leaders in America, but he was right. He was courageous. He was farsighted. He had those elemental qualities — those fundamental qualities of greatness, character, judgment, decency, humanitarianism and fearlessness. His mind wasn't cluttered with innuendos and half truths. Thank goodness we have had men like that!

#### AGGRESSION CHECKED

Now there are those who believe we ought not to be in Asia. There were those who didn't think we ought to be in Europe. There are those who believe that if we are there, we ought to be there only if it isn't too costly. There were those who felt that way too about Europe in the 1940s.

They are entitled, of course, to their point of view. But I think it should be said that four presidents have seen the necessity of this Nation being in South-east Asia — not as a conqueror, not as an imperial power, not for land, not for domain — but because the same relentless force of conquest, which once sought its own way in Europe, seeks to force its way in Asia.

We are attempting to prove once and for all in the other half of the world that aggression unchecked is aggression un-

leashed — that the aggressor has an insatiable appetite in Asia, the same as other aggressors had in Europe.

I might add that a nation that is a world power such as ours has to have more than a half-world interest and knowledge. It is not enough to have information and understanding of other people around the whole globe. Over one-half of the population of this world is in Asia. The three wars in which this country has been involved in about the last quarter century have been in Asia — Pearl Harbor, Korea, and now Vietnam.

A year ago I was in Asia in the month of February, and that was a time when things turned for the better. A year before that in February 1965, Southeast Asia faced Communist conquest. In February 1966, the line had been drawn. In March 1967, a competent, well-equipped, well-fed, well-trained combat-experienced, highly mobile, heavy firepower, military force is winning battle after battle in the fields of South Vietnam. The tide of battle has changed, but this is not a military struggle alone. This is a military, political, economic, and diplomatic struggle. And therefore, we must succeed on all four fronts.

Our objectives are limited. Not the conquest of another country, but the protection of one. Not the securing of territorial invasion, but the stopping of infiltration and aggression and the protection of the right of self-determination. And make no mistake about it, those objectives can be achieved and are being achieved.

It is my view that the only danger to the success of our effort today in South-east Asia in cooperation with allies would be our own indecision — indecision in our own ranks, our own lack of clear purpose or determination.

Much has already been achieved since I spoke to you a year ago. A hundred million people have freed themselves from the yoke of Communist tyranny.

This was in Indonesia—a nation that had a Communist party of 3 million members and Communist front movements of 25 million. Today, that country is a free country again, a member of the United Nations, a partner with other free nations.

It has stopped its war with Malaysia, which was taking hundreds of lives. What a dividend this is. What a dividend for humanity and for the cause of human freedom in all of Southeast Asia! It is so often forgotten by us, but Malaysia was struggling for its own freedom—seven years of struggle with Communist guerrillas. Today, they are free and independent. There is a regional development in Southeast Asia.

Japan is beginning to take a new interest in the affairs of Asia. There is the beginning of the Asian Development Bank, and the educational conference at Bangkok. One thing after another in the right direction.

#### PERSPECTIVE AND CONFIDENCE

Oh, my fellow Americans, we will have the same perspective in this Southeast Asia effort as you have in the space program when you say, "Look how far we have come." But look what tomorrow will offer. Look what we did in the Gemini program. Look what we can do in the Apollo. Look at post-Apollo plans. Look what we can do as we explore man's environment in his solar system; his home in the universe.

And there isn't a space expert here who doesn't say the space goals can be reached and that we're winning. We're making progress.

Why, then, do we not have the same faith in the same people, with the same talents and with the same determination that free men and free institutions dedicated and determined have made progress in a small vital area thus far can continue to make progress until they too can have the sunlight of freedom just as

the astronaut seeks to explore the infinity of space. I think we should.

#### HISTORIC DECISIONS

Now, I want to leave you tonight, saying that it's my personal view, and I think it is the view of those who are closer to this matter than the Vice President of the United States, that this nation is once again making one of the great historic decisions of this Republic. We've had to stand firm in other days. We've had to draw the line on enemies at other times. We have always looked to the future, not with bitterness and hatred, but with hope and promise, and your America tonight as it fights in far-away places seeks not to destroy nations, but seeks to build them.

#### STRIVING FOR PEACE

Your President recently spoke before a legislature of one of the sovereign states of this union, and there again he offered the olive branch of peace to the Asian aggressors. There again he said, "We will go any place—anywhere—at any time to negotiate an honorable settlement. All we ask is for the opportunity of peace with honor."

But he made it equally clear that we shall not appease, nor shall we sell out—that this country has committed too much in its history and in this time to be untrue to the principles of democratic freedom.

I'm happy to come here and talk to the men and women who have helped make America this strong and this great. Let our accomplishments in science and technology be for the peace of the world. No nation wants peace more than ours. No nation has more to gain from peace than ours, and no nation is willing to make a greater sacrifice for a just peace than ours. All we ask is that we have the steadfastness of purpose to attain the conditions that are conducive to that peace, and then a brighter day will come.



**AEROSPACE INDUSTRIES ASSOCIATION**

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# COUNCILS OF GOVERNMENTS: METROPOLITAN LABORATORIES

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

Excerpts of filmed remarks for the  
National Conference of Councils of Governments  
Washington, D. C.

April 3, 1967



The First National Conference of Councils of Governments was held in Washington, D. C., April 2-4, 1967. One of the highlights of the Conference was the keynote address by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey. The Vice President delivered his remarks to more than five hundred delegates from forty-four states and fifty councils of governments who attended the Conference. He also served as official host for the meeting, which was sponsored by the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments in cooperation with the National League of Cities, U. S. Conference of Mayors, National Association of Counties, American Institute of Planners, and Urban America, Inc. The Ford Foundation provided financial assistance.

The Vice President's address constitutes the most important statement yet made by an official of the National Administration on the urgent question of developing adequate political institutions to cope with the challenges of our burgeoning metropolitan areas. As such, it holds great meaning for officials at all levels of government, as well as for concerned citizens throughout the United States.



Walter A. Scheiber  
Executive Director  
Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments

## COUNCILS OF GOVERNMENTS METROPOLITAN LABORATORIES

Working with the groups that have sponsored this conference has been a rewarding experience for me. It has brought me into closer contact with the men and women who really make America what it is, who truly provide the governmental and institutional touch the lives of our almost two hundred million citizens.

### Councils of Governments:

Standing with me here today are representatives of the Council of Governments. I have been deeply interested in upgrading the quality of local government and as a result, I have been particularly effective in my work with state and Federal governments to solve our urban problems.

### Metropolitan Laboratories

In all respects, I have come to feel that the solutions to our urban problems were to be found in Washington. We are here now, and we should, not only to the solutions to our problems but to the people who live in these areas that we have been working to solve.

### Remarks by

Today's conference is of an unprecedented nature and great significance. There is clearly a need for a regional council of government in our country. Over fifty metropolitan areas of the Nation have already combined their resources and their talents by forming such councils. The states of Michigan, Minnesota, Texas, Maryland, and Connecticut, as well as a few, are considering the enactment of legislation to encourage the formation of councils of government. The Congressional response in this direction is clearly demonstrated in the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1965, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1966, and the State Cities Act of 1966. Such legislative encouragement is necessary to encourage the formation of councils of government.

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

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Working with the groups that have sponsored this conference has been a rewarding experience for me. It has brought me into close contact with the men and women who really make America what it is, who truly provide the governmental services which touch the lives of our almost two hundred million fellow citizens.

Beginning with my experience as Mayor of the City of Minneapolis, I have been deeply interested in upgrading the quality of local government to enable it to work as a full and effective partner with state and Federal government to solve our urban problems.

In all candor, I have never felt that the solutions to our urban problems were to be found in Washington. We can help here, and we should, but ultimately the solutions to any problem is with the people; and in this instance that means back home where you live. Backed--yes, supported--yes, by whatever assistance can come from your national government, but the solutions must be found within your own institutions and under your own leadership.

Today's conference is of an unprecedented nature and of great significance. There is clearly a trend towards regional councils of government in our country. Over fifty metropolitan areas of the Nation have already combined their resources and their talents by forming such councils. The states of Michigan, Minnesota, Texas, Maryland, and Connecticut, to mention a few, are considering the enactment of legislation to encourage the formation of councils of government. The Congressional mandate in this direction is clearly demonstrated in the Federal Aid Highway Act of 1962, the Housing and Urban Development Act of 1965, and the Model Cities Act of 1966. Such legislation encourages the formation of what we call councils of governments--the regional, the metropolitan approach.



A fine example of this concept is presented by one of your conference hosts, the Metropolitan Washington Council of Governments. I wish to commend those who have inspired this Association and have given it direction. It has been a pioneering organization and it has blazed a new path of governmental operation. Next week will mark the 10th anniversary of its founding. This Council has contributed greatly to progress in the field of public safety, environmental health, regional planning, and all other vital areas of municipal services. You will find, as you participate in the discussions and the meetings of this conference, how very important it is that we approach these areas of services on a regional or metropolitan basis.

You will be zeroing in on the basic problems that are confronting all of you, whether you have an on-going council or are seeking ideas on how to get started and how to avoid mistakes. You will be asking questions such as: "What can the councils do? How can they be set up? How can they develop community support?" In other words, "How can we overcome the old habits -- old forms of thinking and of municipal action--and move into an entirely new concept, that of a broadened, cooperative program--the council of governments?" And, "What is the role of the central city, of the suburbs?" All of these topics merit your serious thought and consideration. Some of the answers will come from this conference.

In the context of the unique conditions of your community, you will be trying to find what, if any, may be the best type of metropolitan council of governments for your area. You will discover, if you don't know it already, that there is no secret formula; there is no "pat" form that a council of governments should take. Councils of governments subscribe to that unique American concept: what works is what's best, and what you find you need is what you ought to adopt.

Many different views have been voiced concerning the formation and the administration of these councils. These differences are understandable and are very significant. We ought to understand what each of us is trying to do and ex-

change this information so that we can gain from it. Councils of governments are new institutions. They are experimental. They are a new development in the American scheme of government. It should be remembered that there is no country on the face of the earth that has as much experience in local government--or, I should say, as much "know how" in the field of local government--as our own. It is on this broad base of understanding and experience that we build to meet the problems of today and tomorrow, and remove from ourselves the prejudices, limitations, and inadequacies of the past.

The strength of the American federal system is the scope and the encouragement that it gives to experimentation and innovation-- experimentation and innovation in the fifty separate laboratories of our states. Now we have the opportunity, within the flexible framework of the council of governments, to try out new approaches in developing areawide governmental institutions in over 200 metropolitan areas, rather than in fifty states. We have a host of laboratories in which to experiment, and we have competent technicians in the field of government who know how to work in those laboratories. My plea to you is to be creative and imaginative, to be pragmatic and to experiment, to see what works--knowing full well that what we have now is not adequate for the problems and the needs of today.

You understand why there is a need for building new institutions in our metropolitan areas. You understand it because you live with the problems. President Johnson said in his 1966 State of the Union Message: "I think we must work together...and find ways in which the multitude of small jurisdictions can be brought together more efficiently." This is not merely a suggestion. We have to make progress in the art of self-government. This would be important if for no other reason than that the regional approach to the solution of metropolitan problems will bring economies of substantial proportions. If you really want to go to your fellow citizens and tell them that you have learned how to make the tax dollar do a better job, you must think in terms of the regional approach--

the council of governments concept. This, in turn, helps us maximize the use of our national resources to bring about sooner the achievement of our metropolitan goals.

Only 20 percent of all local governmental units in the country are located in metropolitan areas, but the average number of units within a metropolitan area is 87. Chicago has over 1,000 local units. In all of these governmental jurisdictions, the job of coordination, of bringing all units together to work for common purposes and metropolitan regional goals, is without question a very challenging one. It is in these densely populated centers that the need is the greatest for coordinating services and for establishing clear lines of responsibility. Frankly, we owe this to the taxpayer. The taxpayer cannot afford the luxury of a multiplicity of governmental jurisdictions that chew up his tax dollars while providing anything but adequate service.

Although the number of local governments throughout the country decreased in the five years ending in 1962, the number of local governments in metropolitan areas increased during that same period by over three percent. Why? Well, new cities, villages, towns, and special districts were created within metropolitan areas. Metropolitan areas contain not only two-thirds of the nation's population, but also the bulk of its productive resources.

I sometimes sympathize with our business leaders when they try to cope with the unbelievable number of rules and regulations that keep pouring out from the hundreds and thousands of local and state governmental jurisdictions. Don't you think that we have the ability and the capacity to do a better job in the organization of law, regulations, and administration? I know we do. Solving metropolitan problems will help us achieve our national objectives of promoting the general welfare and economic growth.

Of the better than \$17.5 billion of total Federal aid to state and local governments next year, about \$10.3 billion will be spent in urban areas to help close the growing gap between their needs and their resources. This is a substantial increase. It is an increase of almost \$6.5 billion for metropolitan areas,

or 165 percent over the amount of Federal aid provided to urban areas in 1961. So, the Federal government is at least sharing the resources in a more generous fashion. But the question is: what are we doing with these resources, how are we putting them to work?

The council of governments concept is winning great support as the most practical, yet politically acceptable, device for metropolitan development. The council of governments prevents an overlap of functions. Resources are pooled so that local governments can be full partners in local-state-Federal relationships, thereby lessening the load on the state and the Federal governments. Above all, local prerogative--that is your local standing and your local autonomy--is maintained in areas which have traditionally been under local jurisdiction. You don't lose your identity in a council of governments or in the regional approach. Rather, you give real meaning to that identity by making your part of the metropolitan area better able to serve the citizenry in a more modern and efficient manner. In short, it is through this concept that all forms of government can fully realize their potential. However, the framework must be changed since problems are no longer just citywide--they are metropolitan wide. You know it and I know it. It's about time that we come to grips with the facts rather than deluding ourselves with the fiction of the past.

The structure of government should be flexible enough to meet the demands and the opportunities that a developing society presents. The society of a vital, upwardly-mobile people changes and expands. For a government to keep pace, it must change, expand, and adapt itself to the needs of its people.

Thomas Jefferson said: "The only legitimate objective of government is the health, the happiness, and the well-being of the people." I ask you today: Are you fulfilling the objectives laid down by Thomas Jefferson? Jeffersonian democracy has a modern meaning as well as a historical meaning. It means that institutions of government must be relevant and they must pertain to the needs and the challenges of the times in which the people live.





## "FREEDOM IN THE MARKETPLACE"

Remarks of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey  
on the occasion of the 175th Anniversary of the  
New York Stock Exchange, on the steps of Federal  
Hall, May 17, 1967.



## QUOTATIONS FROM THE VICE PRESIDENT'S TEXT

"I think it is fair to say that this Exchange has been an important—even indispensable—part of our national life ever since its birth."

"Freedom in the marketplace and freedom of ideas are partners in the venture of political freedom."

"The important thing is that most people in our society—perhaps for the first time—agree on our overall economic objectives... steady economic growth, reasonable full employment, price stability and an equilibrium in our balance of payments."

"Our GNP has grown over 50 per cent in the last seven years. This, my fellow Americans, is much more amazing than the exploration of space or the achievements of science."

"We ought never to minimize the tremendous impact of economic success. This

American economic system of ours knows no equal. It is our strongest weapon in the war of ideas."

"I don't mean to imply that we have yet reached a point in the field of economics where we know exactly what policies to follow at all times, but I do know that we have learned much."

"Let the record be clear: there are no jobs without investment, and there are no sound investments without jobs."

"We have made another investment which is even more reliable—we have invested in our people... It is this kind of investment in human resources, combined with investment in material resources, which has brought our America the reputation of high efficiency—of being able to 'deliver the goods'."

"I am an optimist for good reason—because of this exciting adventure in which we are engaged, the adventure of creating a society both of individual opportunity and of general welfare. I don't believe in selling this country of ours short."

"The old demagoguery of pitting labor against management, capital against workers, is for a bygone age. The modern statesman owes it to his nation to lead people of all races, creeds and colors, of all economic groups, in a common unity for common purposes."

"I do not advocate or believe in a welfare state, but I do believe in a state of opportunity that makes it possible for everyone to realize human welfare."

"The full creative capacities of this country are yet to be released. We are just beginning."

## INTRODUCTION by G. Keith Funston, President, New York Stock Exchange

If I may insert a very personal word on this occasion, I would like to say that my years here on Wall Street have been the happiest I have experienced. I'm proud to have been a part of this exciting, significant and satisfying community—and I'm proud of the thousands of splendid men and women who represent the Stock Exchange and its firms here and across the nation. I can't begin to enumerate the many pleasures and satisfactions so much a part of my job.

But surely one of the foremost pleasures has been the interesting people with whom I have come in contact—all kinds of people, in many parts of the country. And one of the most stimulating and memorable relationships it has been my good fortune to develop is with the distinguished figure who is a feature of our celebration.

I liked this man from the very beginning of our friendship, for any number of reasons. He is more than a fellow midwesterner with a background much like my own; he

and I were even raised in neighboring towns in the same state, South Dakota, and nourish an enduring fondness for that loamy land.

In recent years the entire nation, not to mention the free world, has come to recognize the eloquent and untiring faith of this man. He has roamed much of the globe articulating those values we hold dear—democracy, free enterprise, opportunity, the abundant life. And in our own terms here on Wall Street he is a vigorous supporter of the capitalistic system, the profit motive and the investment concept.

Out of his own experience, in fact, he had to meet a payroll, and eke out the profit of a small retail drugstore.

We are fortunate, very fortunate, to have managed to catch this eminent American between critical trips essential to the national interest. Ladies and gentlemen, it is an honor to introduce the Vice President of the United States—The Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

(Applause)

Thank you very much, President Funston.

May I first of all pay my personal respects and greetings to a very distinguished fellow American, the truly great Governor of this great Empire State, Governor Nelson Rockefeller.

*(Applause)*

Governor, it is a great honor to be with you, with the gifted and energetic progressive mayor, Mayor Lindsay, and with the remarkable man that serves as your Attorney General, Louis Lefkowitz.

Chairman of the Meeting, Past Chairman Walter Frank, President-Elect Robert Haack, and fellow Americans who have gathered at this birthday party, the 175th birthday party of the New York Stock Exchange.

It is a special delight for me to be here.

When I heard the band strike up, when Governor Rockefeller rose to speak, I thought I heard them play, "Hail to The Chief," but he called it off right away. He reassured me, I want you to know.

*(Laughter)*

There already has been much said that I had intended

to say, which will in no way inhibit me from saying it again.

*(Laughter)*

To the members of the New York Stock Exchange, I extend the nation's greetings, and good wishes on this birthday.

As a long standing capitalist, as a proprietor of a family drug store (Humphrey Drug Store, the stocks of which are not listed on the Big Board), it was with great pleasure that I accepted the invitation to be here today at this historical site.

I have been reading the history of this site, and I remember reading as a student how in 1792, as was mentioned before, some 24 merchants and auctioneers, who had been transacting their business in the shade of a buttonwood tree here in Wall Street, entered into an agreement to join together and bring their business indoors.

I know that our First Lady deeply regrets the loss of that buttonwood tree, but I think she would agree that its loss was in the long-term public interest and that

your predecessors were right to come in out of the rain. You have been doing better ever since.

In fact, since 1792, you have done all right.

### Part of National Life

I think it is fair to say that this Exchange has been an important—even indispensable—part of our national life ever since its birth.

The New York Stock Exchange is not normally thought of as a haven for revolutionaries, but I know, for example, that among the very first securities handled by the Exchange was an \$80 million issue of stock authorized to help pay for the costs of the Revolutionary War. So don't any of your members of the Exchange accuse me of being too liberal. You started the whole thing and made it solvent.

A free market, this is what this great institution represents, a free economy. It is an essential element, as Governor Rockefeller has so wisely pointed out, to a free society.

Freedom in the marketplace and freedom of ideas are

partners in the venture of political freedom. Here at Federal Hall, American constitutional government came to a reality in the inauguration of our first president, President Washington, and here in this vicinity the free marketplace known as the New York Stock Exchange was created that buttressed and underscored the great adventure in political democracy that was to be ours.

Fifty-five men in 1789 met in Philadelphia to write a constitution, which came into reality here in New York. Twenty-four merchants in 1792 met here and created this association which today is the New York Stock Exchange. The history of political and economic freedom are one and inseparable as is demonstrated by the fact of our presence here today in this rich and abundant and free nation.

I cannot help but remember the experience that my friend Keith Funston mentioned just a moment ago. And I can't help but remember the deep impression made on my own thinking as a result of the visit I made as a United States Senator with members of the Exchange in 1962. (And I might add that this Exchange seems to go



into the Midwest a good deal; Bob Haack is from Wisconsin, Keith Funston from that great center of enterprise, culture and political influence, Ramona, South Dakota, and Hubert Humphrey from Huron, South Dakota, a metropolis compared to Ramona, I want you to know.)

*(Laughter)*

As we visited back in 1962, all of us were then concerned about the break in the market and the low level of economic activity. It was following that meeting with Governors of the Exchange and President Funston, after a stimulating exchange of views, that I publicly declared, as a United States Senator and the Majority Whip of the Senate, for a much needed tax cut (a tax reduction that ultimately came into being) to release the dynamic energy of the American enterprise system.

That was a time when basic changes were taking place in the thinking of many people.

It was only eleven days later, in fact, that President Kennedy made his famous Yale speech on economic myths.

Until that time political leaders had tended to believe

that during periods of low economic activity, if revenues went down you simply raised taxes.

Now, of course, we all know that in reality a tax cut would spur aggregate demand, and that the business community would respond by increasing investment. Let the record be clear: there are no jobs without investment, and there are no sound investments without jobs.

They are one and inseparable.

*(Applause)*

Today we are now in the 75th consecutive month of economic expansion—which I believe is nothing short of an economic miracle. Ladies and gentlemen, recorded history knows of no other such experience. It is an incredible development.

I don't mean to imply that we have yet reached a point in the field of economics where we know exactly what policies to follow at all times, but I do know that we have learned much. And I do say that we are moving ahead in improving our statistical-gathering machinery, modernizing the marketplace, and learning in greater depth the effects of both fiscal and monetary policy.

### Economic Objectives

The important thing is that most people in our society—perhaps for the first time—agree on our overall economic objectives and that we should keep working to achieve:

- *steady economic growth;*
- *reasonably full employment;*
- *price stability;*
- *and an equilibrium in our balance of payments.*

These ought to be the basic economic objectives of any modern technological society, but unfortunately, they have not been and, in many places, they are not.

I do feel, however, that our system—a system which has been called by some people a "People's Capitalism" and by others a "Creative Capitalism"—should be able to stand as a guide and standard of excellence to other economic systems throughout the world.

There is no better way to teach than by precept and example.

May I suggest to my fellow Americans that we ought never to minimize the tremendous impact of economic success. This American economic system of ours knows no equal. It is our strongest weapon in the war of ideas.

*(Applause)*

Why do I say it? Because this system, our American capitalism, does more for more people than any other system devised by the mind of man.

Our American capitalism does this because a commitment has been made by both the public and the private sectors in this country to an environment in which investment can be made, and a high-growth economy.

It is this commitment that has made possible an increase in our gross national product of over \$260 billion since 1960. Our GNP has grown over 50 per cent in the last seven years.

This, my fellow Americans, is much more amazing than the exploration of space or the achievements of science.

*Our gross national product is today equal to that of all the NATO countries and Japan combined.*





*Our GNP is twice that of the Soviet Union.*

*Our GNP is ten times that of a communist China which must feed and clothe 700 million people.*

*Our GNP is ten times that of all Latin America.*

We can ask ourselves then, what is the formula? What is the secret?

Well, I believe that we can say that our economy has grown because of a continuing level of high investment in new plant and equipment.

But it has taken more than investment in plant and equipment to translate this public/private commitment into growth and expansion.

We have made another investment, which is even more reliable—we have invested in our people. We have invested in research and in our education and manpower programs, in the nation's brain power and skills, in the health, talent and productivity of our citizens.

It is this kind of investment in human resources, combined with investment in material resources, which has brought our America the reputation of high efficiency—of being able to “deliver the goods”.

Your success, may I say, in this marketplace, makes it possible for us to invest in these human resources. There can be no social progress without economic progress.

It is this kind of investment which will in the future not only keep America prosperous and competitive, but, even more significantly, help make America a happier, a freer, and a more just society.

These are the national dividends of our system.

I know I am an optimist by nature. I am often accused of it, but I might say we need a few more optimists. We have plenty of pessimists.

I am an optimist for good reason: because of this exciting adventure in which we are engaged—the adventure of creating a society both of individual opportunity and of general welfare.

I don't believe in selling this country of ours short.

*(Applause)*

I think it has much to offer.

*(Applause)*

I don't believe you prove yourself to be a wise man or a great man by minimizing magnificence, and this is indeed a magnificent society that we have created.

I do not advocate or believe in a welfare state, but

I do believe in a state of opportunity that makes it possible for everyone to realize human welfare.

*(Applause)*

### **Just Beginning**

Ladies and gentlemen, I have reason to believe that we will be able to sustain this progress.

The full creative capacities of this country are yet to be released. We are just beginning.

Why do I say this? Because there is a growing feeling of mutual trust and confidence of all parts of our society.

The old demagoguery of pitting labor against management, capital against workers, is for a bygone age. The modern statesman owes it to his nation to lead people of all races, creeds and colors, of all economic groups, in a common unity for common purposes.

We have America's unmatched creative capability. We have America's unbelievable capacity. We have this nation's peculiar genius in responding together to changing needs and changing times, and that's why I believe that it is right to be an optimist.

The Vice President chats with Keith Funston (right) and Robert W. Haack, Mr. Funston's successor as Exchange President, at a luncheon following the ceremony.



And we have, as represented here, a people filled with faith in themselves and in the future.

Some 43 years after your founders abandoned their Buttonwood Tree, Alexis de Tocqueville, writing of America, described the qualities which I believe typify our nation even more today than then.

Americans, he wrote, "have all a lively faith in the perfectability of man, they judge that the diffusion of knowledge must necessarily be advantageous, and the consequences of ignorance fatal; they all consider society as a body in a state of improvement, humanity as

a changing scene, in which nothing is, or ought to be, permanent; and they admit that what appears to them today to be good, may be superseded by something better tomorrow."

Our task together is to build those better tomorrows. We have the tools and the means and the knowledge to do it, and I know as surely as I stand on this historical place, that the tomorrows will be better, because we have willed that it will be.

Thank you, and congratulations on your birthday.

*(Applause)*

1792



1967

FILMED REMARKS  
FOR PAN-PACIFIC CONFERENCE  
ON URBAN GROWTH

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
Vice President of the United States

Honolulu, Hawaii

May 1967





Remarks by

Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey

for the

Pan-Pacific Conference

on Urban Growth

Ladies and gentlemen, first let me pay tribute to my good friend, Governor Burns, for his foresight and deep sense of public service exemplified by his calling and working on this very significant conference. From the beginning, I have followed the development of your program with great interest, and was so impressed with the preparations made by Governor Burns, HUD Secretary Weaver, and AID Administrator Gaud, that on my recent European trip I recommended a similar conference for those nations with the United States. I regret most sincerely that I cannot be with you today. It is always a special joy to come to the state of Hawaii, and particularly to Honolulu, but this pleasure will be denied me because of official duties in Washington.

I am particularly interested in the conference since I traveled in many of the countries represented just a little over a year ago. These travels left me deeply impressed. The Asian sense of beauty is so unique that I became one of a long line of Westerners who left the Orient filled with wonder and awe. Of course, architecture in the United States has already been influenced by the East. One of our greatest architects, Frank Lloyd Wright, visited the Orient early in his career, and in later life admitted that much of his work was influenced by ideas and knowledge gained in the Far East.

For centuries we have known greatness and beauty in many of our cities the world over. Why is it, then, as we move into the last third of the 20th Century, we hear the cry to solve what is called "the urban problem"? We hear much about urban ugliness. Is it because we are faced with problems that are significantly different from those of the past? Indeed, the rate of population increase in the world does present a new problem, but really only in magnitude. We know that the world population will double between now and the first decade of the 21st Century.

One student of urban growth has said that "The world needs the equivalent of one new city every seven hours, and of a kind which brings new dignity." But even a challenge such as this

presents us with the same problems that we already face today, only once again in greater magnitude. For example:

- how to rid the cities of slums;
- how to eliminate unpaved streets, and to provide adequate drainage and sanitation facilities;
- how to plan for and achieve orderly growth.

However, one difference from the past is that we are becoming increasingly aware of the scope of our urban problems, and we have taken the first positive steps to find solutions. We have begun to untangle the traffic that clogs our city streets--and that, by the way, is a problem the worldover; to push back the smog that blocks out the sun; to clean up our lakes and streams; to provide better educational opportunities for our children; to improve health facilities; to retrain and to provide jobs for those who need them; and to build adequate housing for everyone.

We all want our cities to be clean, pleasant, and efficient, and they ought to be. Cities ought to be mankind's best achievement, combining his culture, his science, his technology, and his sense of material and spiritual values. But just as important, we want a proper spiritual and cultural environment that fosters a free society and the greatest possible development of the individual.

Now this is a distant and complex goal, and we know we can move forward only one step at a time. But that first step is very important, and it is that first step to which we need to dedicate our energies. We have found no panaceas, no instant answers. Each success has come only after much hard work and planning. Failures have not been unknown and false steps have been frequent, but we are making progress and we have learned a great deal from our mistakes and from our experiences.

Perhaps, in the last analysis, it is this that gave birth to the Honolulu Conference: the recognition that the road to success is a terribly expensive one in time, in money, and in energy, and because it is such a difficult and expensive one, no country can afford to travel it alone. It is easy to see that unless countries share their experiences with each other, every step must be a trial step, every experiment must be a tentative one, and the costs will obviously be much greater.

It is readily apparent, of course, that the problems we encounter in New York, Chicago, or Honolulu are not identical with those confronted in Bangkok, Kuala Lumpur, or New Delhi; the problems of Karachi and Lahore are not exactly the same, nor are those of Tokyo and Kyoto. Nonetheless, there are similarities in the problems present in all of these cities. It is widely recognized that there are few, if any, urban growth problems unique to a single country or city, and therefore it is incumbent upon each of us to encourage the exchange of ideas and experiences with others who share these problems.

When Governor Burns first envisaged this conference nearly a year ago, and approached the Department of Housing and Urban Development and the Agency for International Development to act as co-sponsors, it was because he foresaw the advantages to be gained from just such an exchange of ideas and experiences. In other words, we can learn so much from each other if we will but visit and talk.

A conference was planned which would draw together technical experts and responsible government officials identified with Asian problems of urban and regional growth. The objectives of the conference are: to identify the problems of urban growth common to the areas represented, and to encourage a more comprehensive approach to finding a solution for those problems; to demonstrate how available domestic resources may be effectively mobilized to attack urban growth problems, and to examine how resources currently being used can be used more effectively; to promote the adoption throughout the Asian area of appropriate planning and institutional techniques; to emphasize the need for immediate action to meet the growing crisis; and to seek means for future cooperative actions in the Pacific and Asian area in solving urban problems.

These kinds of objectives, it would seem, are typical of the objectives of many conferences, perhaps too far reaching, perhaps too broad in their scope. Yet these objectives present a new and unique challenge, because for the first time in history it is becoming both technically and economically feasible to provide adequate housing and all of the other things we associate with great cities. And now that these solutions are evident, people are demanding that we political leaders put them to use. We should ask ourselves

whether we have the will to accept change. There are new goals in sight, yet it is only through relentless pursuit that they will be achieved.

Let me say also that the problem is broader than building and rebuilding cities. It centers on people and their needs. We must provide the food to feed the people in our cities; we must have adequate medical facilities to assure their good health; there must be educational systems to provide them with skills, abilities, and motivations. In addition, we must be concerned with the development of raw materials needed to build great cities. These are just some of the concerns that are ours.

In closing let me again say I am truly sorry I cannot be with you. What a great, exciting experience it would be to share in your conference! I am pleased that this distinguished body of persons has been assembled to discuss this critical area of our collective domestic concerns. We shall await your recommendations, your findings, and your proposals. It is encouraging that we can work together for better urban conditions, and I can assure each and every one of you that the United States will give you the fullest cooperation and assistance possible. I wish you well in your endeavors.



2 1 3

June 3-4, 1967



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SOUTH DAKOTA STATE UNIVERSITY

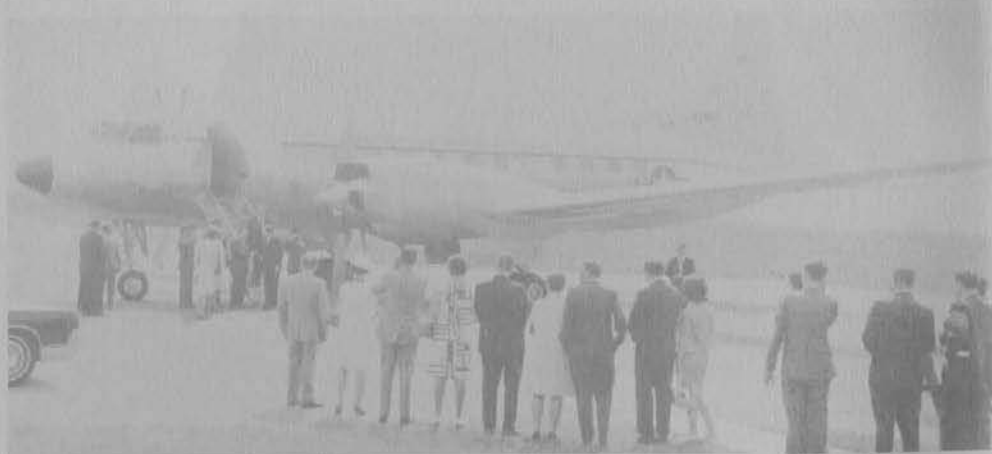
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# June 3-4, 1967

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81st Annual Commencement  
South Dakota State University  
Brookings, South Dakota

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- In the Cause of Mankind
  - "... the Dreams of the Future"
  - 'Pinned' and Commissioned
  - "... with Loyal Hearts and True ..."
  - "To Educate the Whole Man"
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## In the Cause of Mankind

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*In a recent speech our Vice President, Hubert H. Humphrey said:*

*"All we hope for America—all we seek for our children and grandchildren, all we desire for mankind—is dependent on the excellence of our educational system. . . . we believe—above all else—that every person, whatever his condition or status, possesses the right to achieve all of which he is capable of becoming."*

*These words boldly state a basic belief that appears in many of Vice President Humphrey's writings and addresses. That quality education for all who can use it is the key to all other goals of our civilization. This University also embraces the belief.*

*For more than three-quarters of a century South Dakota State University, like other land-grant institutions, has worked to achieve the ideals of high educational standards with equal educational opportunity. We are proud to have participated in creating a great tradition—the worldwide growth of "democracy's colleges."*

*The honor we bestow this evening on the Vice President of the United States is the highest we can grant. But the even greater honor of the presence at our Commencement ceremonies of the distinguished champion of the land-grant tradition reminds of our obligations. As we confer the honorary degree, Doctor of Science, on Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey, we re-affirm our convictions in and rededicate our efforts to the philosophy which we share with him: Education "in the cause of mankind."*



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## "... the Dreams of the Future"

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*The following transcript is a full, true and complete record of the Commencement address by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey given at South Dakota State University, Brookings, South Dakota, June 4, 1967. — Cecilia M. Beirne, official court reporter, Third Judicial Circuit, State of South Dakota.*



I am somewhat overwhelmed by the beauty of the setting. I have given many Commencement addresses, I always enjoy them, even though the audience is not always in the same frame of mind, and I thoroughly enjoy coming to college campuses and university audiences.

It adds to the meaning of life, the spirit of joy in life; but I can say to this audience with the utmost sincerity that I have never experienced a more moving occasion than this, a more beautiful scene, and a more hospitable and warm reception.

My friend, Senator McGovern, said, as we saw the graduates coming into this great outdoor amphitheater, "We see before us a part of the heart of America."

And it is true. The best, the best is here. And because I know the best is here, I am somewhat terrified as to what I am going to do about it. I am accustomed to speaking, but never at the right time, on the right occasion, with the right message.

Dr. Briggs was kind enough to mention that I was once a college professor, and there may be just a little bit of self-protection in my coming back to college campuses, because you know how precarious elective office is, and I may need work.

I have a great love for South Dakota State University. I can teach in either the social sciences or pharmacy.

I am like that chap applying for a teaching job in geography. He didn't know that the board of education was split on whether the world was flat or round. Finally the superintendent who was interviewing him said, "I have to ask you a question," and he said, "the board is split on the subject of the globe and geography. Some believe the earth is flat, and some believe it is round. How do you feel about it?" He said, "I can teach it either way."

So I believe that I have now lent some credibility to my teaching qualifications. Then I always tell the students that I am a soft grader, which arouses public opinion in your behalf.

Truly I am honored to be at your 81st Annual Commencement, in the presence of your Governor, one of your Senators, and the Board of Regents and members of this distinguished faculty.



South Dakota should be very proud of this fine University, and I know that it is. I am very proud to have my roots here in this state, and I am very proud to have a member of my family graduating from this fine University. In all truth, I am very proud to be here.

I don't quite know just where to start talking to this graduating class.

Maybe I had better tell you what Bob Hope told the Georgetown University graduating class a couple years ago. And I am entitled to talk about Bob Hope. His birthday is just two days later than mine, and his wife's birthday is on my day. But he said this, and I quote him, "My advice to you graduates who are about ready to go out in the world—Don't Do It!"

But after having said that, I thought it over and I am afraid you are going to have to go anyway. There are those who want to stop the world and get off, but we have had a little trouble getting it stopped. Some of us are trying to escape it, and as chairman of the Space Program I want you to know that I do not volunteer for the first flight to the moon. I have a couple other candidates for that. Besides the astronauts, I mean.

I want to quote to you from a letter that Thomas Jefferson wrote to his great friend John Adams. By the way, you remember that John Adams and Thomas Jefferson were inveterate, hostile political enemies during their active political years, and then they became the dearest of friends. So if you happen to see a Republican or Democrat

around who seem not to be getting along, don't choose sides too soon, because they are apt to become close friends and turn on you. But Adams and Jefferson grew to truly love each other. Actually, when one heard of the death of the other, he also died, on the same day.

Jefferson wrote, "I like the dreams of the future better than the history of the past." And I can't think of a better subject for Commencement, because Commencement is about the future. The past is over, and you can't do much about it. Most people won't even remember the grades you got, good or bad. You are starting a whole new chapter and I think that statement of Jefferson's is so characteristic of America, because we are a people of the future.

In fact, we are the future, and as we look ahead, you are the children of tomorrow. Always remember that.

Very few people are interested in what you did yesterday. We are primarily concerned about where we are going, not where we have been. We have always been futuristic. In fact, our forebears left the Old World determined to create a new society based on new premises and new ideas, the premise of self-government, human dignity, natural rights, God-given rights, life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

So today I am going to talk about that future, and I am going to be somewhat prophetic, even though I don't qualify as a prophet.

It was just 30 years ago this summer that I left my friends and family in South Dakota and set out to continue my schooling at the University of Minnesota after having been out six years, and I want to give a word of advice to some of you men. I know it is great to get a scholarship and a fellowship, but it is even better to get a wife who will help put you through college, which is what I did.

Muriel got a job in Minneapolis and so did I, and we went back to school and it was great fun.

Your parents and your grandparents have told you all about those days of 30 years ago, and I am sure you don't believe it. My youngest son called me not long ago and said, "Dad, I am in trouble."

I said, "What is the trouble?"

He said, "I have to get a paper in right away on the depression.

Do you know anything about it?"

I said, "Good grief, man, I have been telling you about that depression for the last five years. Haven't you ever listened?"

He said, "Oh, I just thought it was some more of that talk, and I haven't paid much attention to it. If you have any pamphlets or books on it, will you send them out?"

So you see, things become relevant when they become pertinent to some objective in your life.

Those 30 years ago are as clear in my mind, and I am sure they are in the minds of some of you here, as breakfast this morning. Those were the days of 25-cent wheat and unbelievable dust storms. And I want to say a word to the members of the faculty here who teach economics. I learned more economics in one South Dakota dust storm than I have in seven years of University life. And I will never forget it either.

But here we are 30 years later. Brookings looks different, South Dakota looks different, and it looks better, too. This is a new South Dakota. It is vital and young, it is vigorous and growing. Its economy is expanding and it is one of the leading states in agriculture and mineral development. There is new industry and arts.

We have come a long way in 30 years. I know the Governor is proud of his state. I heard him talking about it in Washington at the Governors' meeting with the President, and for a moment I thought he was from Texas.

I think the Governor will tell you I said to him, "Take it easy,



there is only one Texan here."

I want you to know he did a good job, too.

Well, you forged ahead and South Dakota today can really say it stands among the prosperous states of our nation; at least, it is more prosperous than ever before.

**B**ut I don't want to talk about those last 30 years because I can't do anything about them. I would like to forget those 30 years and think about the next 30.

The next 30! The last third of the 20th Century! If that doesn't make some of you feel a little older than you felt when you came in here, just draw a deep breath.

And remember that this group sitting in front of me is going to see that last third of the 20th Century. You are going to be in the full bloom of life. You are going to be in charge of things around here. You will be "The Establishment" and some of us that get in our second childhood will perhaps pick at you. Maybe I can put it this way, you are going to be in charge of our country and my Medicare, and I want to be sure you are doing well.

Aldous Huxley, the British novelist and quite a skeptic and cynic in his own right, expressed an opinion that I want to share with you. It is an opinion many people have these days. Here is what he said: "I have peered into the future, and it won't work!"

Well, I am a little different than Huxley; I looked into the future and I believe it will work.

I happen to believe the future is not already predetermined by some metaphysical or deterministic law. I think the future is what we choose to make it. As I said across the length and breadth of this land, it is all right to study ancient history—but don't live it! Make your own history. History is in your hands, you can make it!

The purpose and the great end of life is not knowledge alone, but it is action; and you are called upon in this generation—and in all generations—to act, to make the kind of America you want, to build the kind of world you envision!

There is no doubt at all that we live in a period of unbelievable crisis—but we always have. There were never any real "good old days." They get a little better the further you get away from them—

but this is a crisis period—the nuclear age, the space age, Southeast Asia, the Middle East.

I am reminded that the Chinese have a way of writing the word "crisis" by two characters. One of those characters, one way you look at the character, signifies danger—and then you look at the other and it signifies opportunity. The choice is yours.

You can go around constantly feeling that you are in danger and see the very life spirit drained out of you, or you can look at this world as it is today and say, "What an opportunity." What an opportunity to do better! What an opportunity to change it! What an opportunity to build on it!

There are two kinds of people, people that see problems and difficulties—and people that see the same set of circumstances but see challenges and opportunities. You have to make up your mind which you want to be.

The very sciences and technology that literally threatens mankind's destruction and existence—and we have that technology today—and Senator McGovern knows about it, and so do I—that same science and technology that we see on this campus can make life more liveable, make it better, and make the promise of a good life a reality.

The task of statesmanship is to avoid catastrophe, to avoid nuclear war. And I think we will, because I believe mankind has an almost uncontrollable desire for survival; and if we can avoid nuclear war, then what of the tomorrows? If we can't, then don't worry, it is all over. You won't be here!

If we can, we can predict with reasonable certainty the America of the year 2000. I want to look ahead to the year 2000. It is not far, not far at all—just around the corner.

**I** think this is the time to point out what H. G. Wells said about this great business called education and civilization. Wells said something like this: "Civilization is a race between education and catastrophe."

I hope you fellows win, you are educated. I hope you ladies win. And might I add that you owe a great deal to this civilization. And maybe this is the time for me to disabuse you of some mythology.





You have no doubt been told, some of you, that you have earned your way through college. That is a lot of malarky! No person ever paid his way through a university! Who is there that has the resources to buy the works of Shakespeare, the great artists, the accumulated culture of ten thousand years?

Your Governor, and your Board of Regents, yes, and your Senator and your legislators can tell you that for every dollar you spent to get an education, the community has spent 10!

You owe at least two-thirds of your life to everybody else except yourself and your family. You are the privileged ones. So am I. I was given an education by the people of the state of Minnesota and the people of the state of South Dakota. If I live to be 100, I will be able to make at least the first down payment on the principal. Up to then it has been only interest. We are the fortunate ones, and it is to the educated and graduates that the responsibility must rest for the kind of a life that this world is going to have and that we are going to have.

Let me tell you what it looks like to me. And I take these calculations from wiser men than the one speaking to you.

**P**ersonal incomes will double what they are today in the next 30 years, at a minimum. The work week will be about 28 hours. Thomas Watson, the President of International Business Machines, said it will be about 25 hours.

Most people will have at least four or more weeks paid vacation. We will be able to fly to London in less than one hour by ballistic transport. In the year 1972, we will fly there in two hours by supersonic transport, and we will take 400 passengers in one load. It will take more time to get the baggage off the plane than it will to get from London to New York.

We will have communication satellites that will literally put a network around this world so that we can speak to each other, so that the family of man is a family. And we will have communication satellites that will make this great State University a "World University" in which the lecture classrooms will have the professors of nations all over the world speaking to the students, and we will have instantaneous translation of foreign languages by machine. It is already being done in the laboratory, and from the laboratory to daily use is an average of 15 years.

I want to repeat what I said, that the classroom in Brookings, in South Dakota State University, not in 30 years but in not over 10 years from now, will have the finest minds of the world literally piped in by communication satellite and closed circuit TV.

We communicate with Southeast Asia now by communication satellite. We can speak from Washington, D.C., to Saigon more readily and with clearer reception than you can call from Brookings to Huron. And we are just beginning.

We will have space laboratories, interplanetary travel.

I was just in Valley Forge, Penn., the day before yesterday, and

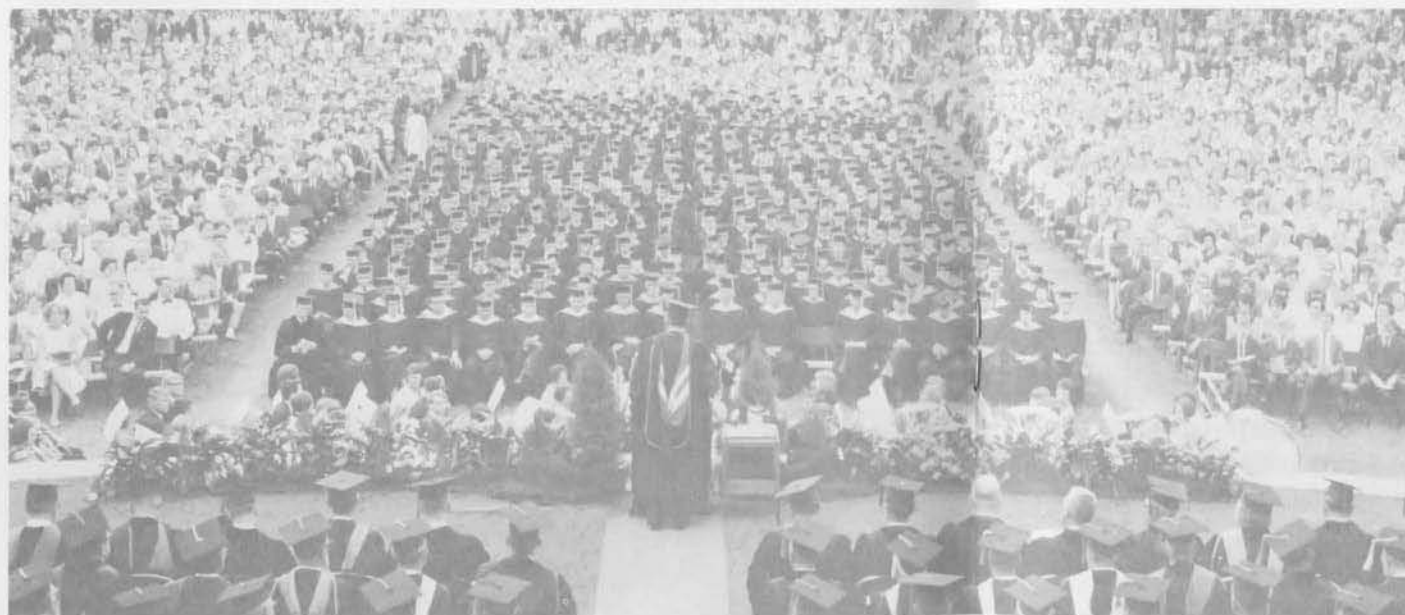




I was looking at the Voyager Project that will take first an unmanned satellite to Mars. And within a few years—before the year 2000—men will visit Jupiter, Mars, Venus and other planets. The Moon—that is for children—we will have that by 1970. We will have at least a station on the Moon by 1971. We will put men into orbit and we will have laboratories there—which we can do now—they will be there 30 days, 60 days, 90 days, 180 days. Professors right from this University—you didn't know it, gentlemen, but you are going to take a trip.

They will go up in a satellite, there will be an airlock on a floating hotel, so to speak, and laboratories in orbit. They will dock—with the Gemini experiences as you have seen, and the Aegena, and the docking exercises—men will walk from the satellite into the laboratory, live in the laboratory, and observe in the laboratory, and study the solar system.

And you ask why? So that man becomes acquainted with his neighborhood, with the children of the sun. And do you realize that we only get a vision of the sun that equals about one per cent of what you can get in space?



Oh, what we can learn! I envy this younger crowd; they are just coming into their own.

And what about disease?

Well, bacterial and viral disease will be virtually eliminated. Hearts and other organs of the human body will be transplanted from one body to another. And, thank goodness, scientists tell us that it is possible within this last third of the 20th Century that death from cancer will be as rare as death from bubonic plague today. Need I tell this audience that one out of every five in this audience will have cancer, and one out of every three will die of it, under present circumstances. What a blessed day it will be when we find the answer to that.

A universal language will have been evolved through the use of automated communication. We will be able to reach remote places like Nigeria and Thailand on television phones.

Housewives will be able to prepare and cook meals in a few minutes by pressing one or two buttons on the kitchen console.

Robots will do many of the menial tasks now done by man. Weather will be controlled, at least on a regional scale. Imagine what that could mean to many areas of America! Some of you wonder why



we spend so much money in the space program. I want to give you a figure, for your press, that just came to mind. We will save more this year—because of the Nimbus weather satellite system which predicts weather with a degree of certainty such as we have never known before—than the cost of the space program in the second year of our space effort, which was slightly over two billion dollars. Once we get real weather predictions, we can prevent floods, and we can save millions and billions of dollars in property loss and in life.

But what about the greater question of peace and war? A reconnaissance satellite whirling around, or literally in orbit, viewing the whole earth like an eye in the sky—or as our enemies call it, “spy in the sky”—will be able to see what goes on on this earth.

Right now, as I speak to you, a reconnaissance satellite 120 miles above this earth can see clearer than you can see from here to the TV tower. It can spot an object no larger than a garbage can or 50-gallon drum and identify it.

What does this mean for disarmament and arms control? It means we can have international inspection. It means we can tell what is going on. Literally there is no place to hide.

And the deserts will bloom.

**W**e were talking this evening at dinner about the irrigation in South Dakota, how wonderful it will be, and what it will mean in new income to this State. But, do you realize what it will mean when the Biblical prophecy that “The desert shall bloom and give forth the fruit therefrom”—do you know what it will mean? And it can be done, and will be done in your time, in the next five years, ladies and gentlemen.

Desalinization of water in 25 years, commonplace. Putting together atomic energy, the sea, the technology. We will be able literally to irrigate the deserts. The food shortage that today confronts mankind for at least 5 to 10 years will be but another page in history.

I really believe that depressions can be eliminated or moderated by a rational control of the economy, by what we call advance warnings.

These are some of the things we see ahead. Man can have a great-



er abundance of food and fiber. How are we going to get it? I told you one way. How else can we get it?

Well, I happen to be chairman of the new Maritime Resources and Engineering Council, and you know what we are doing? We are studying the ocean. Seventy-one per cent of the earth's surface is water, and what do we know about it? We know about the top of it, we know little or nothing about what is in it.

I often joke about the fact that whenever Congress gives the Vice President anything to do, it is either in the space program or in oceanography—either out of this world or at the bottom of the sea.

But it is fascinating. It is a new science, and we are going to farm the sea just like we farm the land, for protein—we are doing it now—this protein concentrate. And we will bring forth minerals, copper, gold, and manganese by the hundreds of millions of tons. We will build buildings on the ocean floor, live there.

It is being done—it is just a matter of whether or not we are willing to make the investment now to do it in a bigger scale. All of these things we can do.

**N**ationalism will be less important in the year 2000. I predict it will have passed its peak as a source of international conflict. And ideology will be much less important as a source of conflict.

Marxism, which plagues the earth today, and which is a colossal failure, will be in its final stages—it is in its death rattles now—or it will be in the stage of senility as a motivative force in human affairs. I believe it is abundantly clear to the objective observer that

time is on the side of freedom and self-determination—not on the side of totalitarianism.

In the year 2000, I see the United States and a greatly-changed Soviet Union as possible cooperating partners—working together in the shrinking part of the world which then remains underdeveloped. We will either work together, or there may be no world.

I have painted a pretty rosy picture but I want to finish by giving you something to take home and ponder because if you think you are going to be living in Utopia after these next 33 years, you are wrong. Every wonder that I have pointed out brings with it something that is not so wondrous.

Here is a small sample of some of the problems.

**W**hat are you going to do with that leisure time when you have a 28-hour work week, and paid vacations? What are you going to do with it? More trouble? More boredom? Another television set and a can of beer?

Or are you going to find ways for cultural development, for creative outlets for what God gave you, that intellect and that spirit?

I might add that the prospects for additional leisure time don't look very good for professors, or for ministers, or for social workers, psychiatrist, governors, and senators, and even Boards of Regents. And it doesn't look very good for Presidents and Vice Presidents. I am afraid the more leisure time, the more we think we have to talk.

It seems peculiar, doesn't it, that we should have problems with leisure time. When Thomas Jefferson lived, 10 per cent of the people lived in cities. The figure is now 70 per cent. By the year 2000, it will be 80 per cent. Does that make us a better America? I wonder.

**T**he cities of the future will face unbelievable problems of water and air pollution.

I left New York City this morning and looked down those great canyons of steel and concrete. There was a fog and a smog, even though the sky was clear and the sun was bright. Man has polluted the air he breathes.

And there are clogged transportation systems. Imagine what it will be like in the year 2000.

So we have problems. In short, the problems of today will be with us, but in an advanced stage—unless we intensify our efforts in meeting them.

And then let me recite another problem that all these wonderful things are going to bring us—the problem of land for recreation. We are going to need much more space, we are going to have many more people. We are going to have people with twice the income, and two to three times as much time to travel.

We now have approximately 50 million acres of land set aside for recreation. The statesman of today will be the man who thinks far enough ahead, like Theodore Roosevelt did, to 150 million acres needed by the end of the century. Of course, when he proposes it, he will be defeated, but he will have made a noble sacrifice.

Or are you going to deny the future generations the touch of nature?

All of us have spiritual needs, and we need, periodically, to get away from the pressures of life, we need to get away from people, we need complete solitude. And I want to put the question to this graduating class and to their families if they have families—will there be enough open space left, will there be enough of nature left, for us to commune with? Not the way we are going.

**A**nd now let me give you the problem that all will face—of privacy. Because the same science and technology that has given us so much has posed a monstrous problem, one that should worry each of us.

One of man's most sacred rights is that of privacy, to be left alone; not to be spied upon, not to have people sneak in on him.

Unless we are very vigilant, in law and practice, that precious right will be gone.

We are witnessing now the step-by-step perfection of the technology of eavesdropping. Man now knows how to use electronic devices to pick up a conversation blocks away, to tap a phone, to read mail without opening an envelope, and to photograph from afar.



Privacy may become a relic of an earlier civilization unless we are determined to respect human dignity.

There was a student at one of the campuses on the West Coast who carried a sign on him that I saw—because everything was being computerized at his college—his grades were being computerized, his courses were computerized, they run everything through a computer these days—and this chap had a sign on him that said: “Don’t bend or mutilate, I am a person.”

We must make sure we treat people as people, and not as just another digital item in a computer.

These computers keep many records. Pretty soon there will be a dossier on everybody. I worry about it.

And what about that great problem of prosperity? Or wealth? Is too much prosperity going to weaken the moral fabric of our society? There are signs that it does. Some of the most difficult problems come from our wealth. And indeed, some of the most disenchanted are the wealthy.

I was reading today in a New York Times Sunday Magazine section the article by Dr. Clark Kerr of the University of California. He was telling of those students who seem to cause the most difficulty, or who seem to be the most disaffected, and the most unhappy, and who are they? The sons and daughters of the poor? Not on your life! They are too busy getting through school and studying.

The good student? No. But the spoiled upper middle class. Prosperity.

And as some people have said, too many have never experienced the reality of work, self-reliance, or self-discipline.

Now there is always the danger that this increasing prosperity will set loose forces that will break down the institution of the family—which can erode the religious commitment—which can create more psychological stresses in society—and ultimately undermine moral values.

To paraphrase Adlai Stevenson—this is how he put it and he had a great sense of humor—“We must be watchful lest, in the year 2000, our litany be the singing commercial on the TV, our temple the

supermarket.” The man had an incisive mind.

These are just some of the problems, but I am an optimist and I have reason to be, because I am an American. I have lived to see a great country do the impossible. I think we are going to manage these problems because we are educating people to do so.

I also think that in managing these problems we are going to do something else. We are going to write poetry, and we are going to compose symphonies, we are going to have great artists, and we are going to be able to have Sunday dinner together. That is part of life, too.

Let me try to put these future years in perspective. Pretend for just a moment, be a child with me, just be a child for this moment. Pretend that you are about to see a movie, such as you have never seen before—one that lasts three years.

This movie shows the earth from creation to the present, with every second in the movie representing 50 years of time.

You are quite bored with the first year of the film, as you see nothing but vapors floating around. It is not until the second year of that movie that organic life appears. Halfway through the third year forms of human life come about, and it is not until 2 years, 11 months, and 3 weeks of the movie have passed that man enters the scene.

When there are only 2 minutes and 20 seconds left in this three-







year movie, we arrive at the point where recorded history began. Then there is a terrific movement. Everyone seems to be rushing hither and yon. Tribes and armies invade, there is war, and there is trouble. Castles are built and destroyed. Huge cities erupt on the landscape. With 40 seconds left, Christ is born. With two seconds remaining Lincoln signs the Emancipation Proclamation, 100 years ago.

In the last second Communism makes its entrance and covers a third of the earth's globe. The automobile, the airplane, and atomic power are invented. The fruits of science revolutionize our lives, and much of mankind is affluent and prosperous. Then, suddenly, the lights go out. Just before the last tenth of a second. Or the last half second.

How does the movie end?

What happens next?

The answer lies within ourselves. It lies within ourselves, because as the great Englishman wrote, "I can not say that I am the slightest degree impressed of your bigness" when he saw America, "or your material resources. Size is not grandeur, territory does not make a nation. The great issue about which hangs the terror of overhanging Fate is, what are you going to do with all these things?"

What are you going to do with that last half second of that three-year movie, or that last three-fifths of a second?

Graduates of 1967, and graduates yet to come, you will have to write the answer to that yourself. This is one production you will have to complete. You don't have much time, but you have everything to work with.

Don't disappoint either the producer or the viewer, because it is your work.



## "Pinned" and Commissioned



## "... with Loyal Hearts and True..."

77th Annual Meeting  
South Dakota State University  
Alumni Association

*Neva Whaley Harding, Brookings, class of '97, receives a congratulatory kiss from President H. M. Briggs as the only member of the 70-year class attending alumni events.*



*Several members of the class of 1917 attended their "golden anniversary" reunion. Pictured from left to right, front row, are Ray Cunningham, Ames, Iowa; Mrs. Daisy Eikem, Mankato, Minn.; Henry J. Miller, Berlin, N. J.; Mrs. Virgil Ashbaugh, Durham, N. C.; Clarence Styer, Seattle, Wash.; Charles Rudd, Denver, Colo. Back row: B. Harry Sanders, Huron; Mrs. John Troyer, Martin; Louis Westgate, Adrian, Mich.; Aubrey Sherwood, De Smet; Axel Petersen, Indio, Calif.; Mrs. Joseph Hill, Brookings, and O. Leon Anderson, Billings, Mont.*



*Officers of the South Dakota State University Alumni Association are (from left) Howard F. Aarstad, Watertown, executive board member; Paul E. Brown, Arlington, vice president; Carl O. Norberg, Sioux Falls, executive board member, and Erland W. Gustafson-Clark, president. Graduates of 1897, 1907 and 1917 were honored at the reunion.*



*Orville G. Bentley, center, former dean of agriculture at South Dakota State University and presently dean of the College of Agriculture at the University of Illinois, was honored as a "Distinguished Alumnus." Mrs. Bentley smiles approval as E. W. Gustafson of Clark, Alumni Association president, right, offers congratulations.*



*Members of the class of 1907 gathered for a reunion. Pictured left to right are Mrs. Rilla M. Eells, Brookings; Dr. Cecil Salmon, Hyattsville, Md., and Mrs. Clarence Shanley, Brookings. Not present when the picture was taken was Mrs. John J. Buck, Denver, Colo.*

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## "To Educate the Whole Man"

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*It is the task of the land-grant institution of higher education to enable its students not only to understand and master what is, but also what may be.*

*The land-grant philosophy became reality in South Dakota when the Territorial Legislature passed an enabling act on Feb. 21, 1881, founding the present South Dakota State University. Construction of the first building began in 1883, and opening ceremonies were held Sept. 24, 1884.*

*The following instructional chairs had already been named in 1885: Practical agriculture, natural science, mathematics, engineering, veterinary, English literature and science of language, military, practical business, political and domestic economy, modern languages and music.*

*South Dakota State University today is the largest institution of higher education in South Dakota and composed of six colleges—Agricultural and Biological Sciences, Arts and Science, Engineering, Home Economics, Nursing and Pharmacy—and the General Registration Division. It is the first institution in the state to hold full accreditation for doctoral programs from the North Central Association of Colleges and Secondary Schools. Full accreditation has been granted for doctoral work in Agronomy, Animal Science, Agricultural Economic and Plant Pathology. Preliminary accreditation is offered in Chemistry and Sociology, and doctoral programs are now also offered in the College of Engineering.*

*First regular commencement exercises were held Aug. 9, 1888, for a class of three. Graduates to date number in excess of 16,000.*

*Enrollment in 1884-85 numbered 17; students on campus today exceed 5,000.*

*President Hilton M. Briggs is the thirteenth in a line of succession beginning with George Lilley (1884-86). Dr. Briggs has served since June 4, 1958, and says of South Dakota State University's mission:*

*"There was a time when muscle could meet the challenge of tomorrow. Today's challenge, however, will be met by the mind, specifically the educated mind . . . Our mission hasn't changed, although the world has."*







Remarks of  
Vice President Hubert Humphrey  
At The  
United States Naval Academy

June 7, 1967



OFFICE OF THE SUPERINTENDENT  
UNITED STATES NAVAL ACADEMY  
ANNAPOLIS, MARYLAND 21402

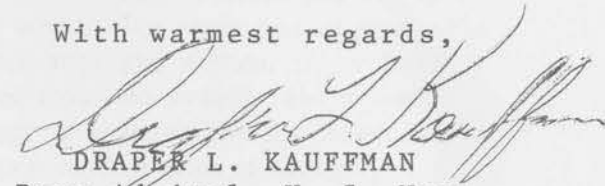
Dear Members of the Class of 1967

Last June you culminated your four event-filled years at the Naval Academy with the Graduation and Commissioning Ceremony held in the Navy-Marine Corps Memorial Stadium.

Certainly the highlight of that ceremony was the stirring speech delivered by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey who pointed out your duties as history makers for this generation. I am sure you will long remember the Vice President's timely remarks.

His speech is reproduced in this booklet as a memento of your last "June Week." I trust it will act as an inspiration for you in the years to come.

With warmest regards,



DRAPER L. KAUFFMAN  
Rear Admiral, U. S. Navy  
Superintendent

I was for a moment somewhat perplexed as to how I might address you and how I might open this ceremony, at least my part of it. But I am very fortunate today to be able to begin my message to you with a message from your Commander in Chief, a message from the President of the United States. And it is my honor and privilege to read it to you.

"It is a pleasure for me to extend my best wishes as you complete your college education.

"You are graduating into a society in which you will be warmly welcomed. Our country has never had so great a need for highly educated men and women. Never have young Americans moved from the campus into a world offering so broad a range of opportunities for individual fulfillment and contribution to the welfare of humanity.

"Your generation of students has been distinguished by its fresh and vigorous concern for the quality of American life and its commitment to American democracy. Perhaps the greatest opportunity awaiting you is the challenge to make this a life-long commitment.

"Today, Americans from every walk of life are striving together to shape a society that can offer a meaningful and

rewarding life to all of its members. Never have so many of our countrymen been so deeply dedicated to eradicating the old evils of ignorance, poverty, and bigotry from every corner of the land.

"Through your years of study, you have prepared yourselves for positions of leadership in this quest for a better America.

"I congratulate you, and urge you to take full advantage of that opportunity."

Lyndon B. Johnson

Gentlemen of the Class of 1967, it is to you that I direct my remarks. In the spirit of that message, let me call your attention to the future.

My friend and your friend, Bop Hope, in addressing the commencement at Georgetown University some years ago said something like this. He said, "We are sending you out into a world. You are being asked to go into a troubled world." And then with his unique sense of humor he said, "my advice is, don't go."

But gentlemen you have no choice. And my advice to you is go, and go willingly. Go with the same spirit that has characterized your years of study and training here at this great Academy. You are indeed an honored class and you have honored the traditions of this great institution and the Navy and nation it serves so well.

For you the future is one of dedicated service. It is a future of sacrifice in the great tradition of the Naval service—a future of duty, of responsibility, of leadership for which you have been uniquely prepared.

Leadership today is not a luxury. Hardly is it a privilege. It is indeed a burden, and it is one that you must and, I know will, bear willingly.

So I commend to you that future because you can fashion it. Fashion it as you will. I am interested in your generation for several reasons. You are going to have an awful lot to say about the next 33 years of this 20th Century. This is the last third of the 20th Century. Only 33 years from now our familiar 20th Century will end and a new century will begin. You are going to be in charge of many things including my Medicare, so I want you to be sure that you know exactly what your duties are.

There are those who predict that we'll never make it alive through this century, much less the next. They predict that nuclear Armageddon is bound to come, these men of little faith.

But there are others, and I am proud and happy to say that I am among them, who believe that the year 2000, which is just around the corner, can bring not only a new century but the beginning of a new millenium of human hope, of human aspirations, and happiness. It is this characteristic of cautious optimism, prudent optimism, which I hope that you will maintain forever. Because the history of this republic commends it to you. What the future offers will depend in large measure on what we Americans do with our times.

A discussion of present and future progress these days almost always seems to be stated in terms of scientific and technological wonder or horror . . . comfort or cataclysm.



We seem to be people of extremes in speech and description. Then, too, the future is generally characterized largely in terms of the quantitative: How much? How many? How big? How far? How fast? We constantly equate our country with gross national products, television sets, scientific papers, jobs. Might I suggest that there is something else to the future besides this.

A noted Englishman, author, prophet, and cynic, Thomas Huxley, wrote these words when he visited us a century ago: "I cannot say that I am in the slightest degree impressed with your bigness, or by your material resources, as such. Size is not grandeur, and territory does not make a nation. The great issue, about which hangs the terror of overhanging fate, is what are you going to do with all of these things?" And my fellow Americans that is the issue.

With our power, with our wealth, with our history, with our incredible science and technology, with our learning, what are we going to do with all of these things? Today more and more Americans are asking Huxley's question of themselves. With our power and resources and our great creative capacity magnified a thousand times, what are we going to do with all of these things?

Now if the achievements of America are to be no more than the hardware of science and the machinery of technology and the extension of material abundance, I do not believe that we will have fulfilled our mission, or our destiny. We will, in fact, have made only a minor contribution to mankind.

Because other societies also can make that contribution.

But more important than machines, and the wealth that they produce, are the people—the quality of the people and what happens to the people who inhabit this earth, and to the rights that they possess or should possess.

Gentlemen of this Class of 1967 you are the custodians of those rights, as well as, may I say, the guarantors of even greater rights.

Let me say a word about this drama of the extension and attainment of what we call the rights of man. If a future historian were to set out to trace the preservation and the realization of the rights of man in this millenium, he would be able to describe a pattern of progress. He could start, for example, with the Middle Ages where only the ruling classes had any rights. He could dwell on the significance of the Magna Carta, defining the rights and the duties of kings and barons, and becoming the symbol of the rule of law for succeeding kings.

And he would note, I suppose, the enactment by the British Parliament in 1689, of what they called their Bill of Rights, which declared the rights and liberties of British subjects under the crown.

I would hope that that historian would give a full page and preferably a full chapter to the American Constitution of 1789 and the amendments added by the first Congress in 1791, and how they became known throughout this country and throughout the world as the American Bill of Rights. They would be spelled out as we know them so well on the his-

torian's page: The right of free exercise of religion, of free speech and press, the right to assemble and to petition the government, and the right to be secure against unreasonable searches, the right of trial by jury, and more.

That historian of the future would relate two patterns of development which have followed in your time, in my time. How America itself, through the Congress and the courts, has refined and extended all of these rights to all of its citizens, one of the great achievements of American democracy. And how other people have been inspired by this example and how they have learned and fought for the same rights.

Remember, gentlemen, rising expectations are a reality at home and abroad and it is to the eternal credit of this republic, which you symbolize, and are sworn to serve and protect, that rising expectations shall be fulfilled.

Now then, what of the future? What will our future historian report as the role of America in extending the rights of man as this millenium, the 20th Century, raced to a close?

Permit me to suggest a hopeful, hypothetical paragraph in that new history book yet to be written. In the bland, detached prose of the scholar, that historian might write the following words about our United States in the year 1967:

Here's what I think he will say: "It was a time of crisis and challenge for the United States. While seeking to improve its own standards for its own people and to redefine its own rights at home for its

own people, that nation was tested as never before, tested as it sacrificed to protect and extend human rights to other areas of the world, as it stood guard at the gates of freedom. This will be the measure of its greatness."

And then in conclusion, we would hope that that historian would set down this final line in that paragraph:

"America met the test."

Now there are those who say history cannot be made; that it must be accepted; that it is somehow or another preordained. But we Americans have never looked upon human history with fatalism or a sense of despair. We have never written off the future to the winds of chance and the whims of nature. As I have said to many a student whom it has been my privilege to work with, it is good to study history, you should and you had to, but gentlemen, it is even better to make it. Make it in your own image. Make it in your own time. Make it with your own hearts and spirits and with your own hands. But you and I know that before the act of the making there must be the vision.

In the past we equated man's rights with protection against coercion by his government.

The protection of the people against abuse by authority in the world we know today—in a world where destruction is only a half-hour away, as the intercontinental missile flies—we all know that man's rights are affected by forces far beyond those possessed by his own immediate government.

We are no longer just children of America. No longer just citizens of this republic. We are people of the world. The events of this week underscore this fact of interdependence. We know that every major event—or trend—taking place on this earth sends ripples outward to all places. And sometimes it's like a tidal wave that engulfs nations and people.

The world is what Wendell Willkie said it was—one world, and it will ever become even more so, smaller, more constricted, much more your world.

If we wish man's life therefore to be nourished and not to wither, then I submit that we must move beyond the goals of merely helping mankind resist incursions on his life by his immediate government. We must move beyond the business of the protection of rights to a much more positive doctrine. We must move to the assertion of rights and the extension of them.

In short, we must help man become not just protected, but liberated—emancipated so that he can realize his potential.

Now does this seem to be a new and revolutionary doctrine? You know you have to be careful these days. Well, let me say frankly to this graduating class, it is revolutionary. But it is hardly new. It is, in fact, the doctrine of Thomas Jefferson. It's the doctrine that proclaims "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness" as the inalienable rights of all men.

Gentlemen, you are about to be commissioned in a proud service with the high honors of this republic. Life is more than mere existence and survival. The liberty we want is not only to be proclaimed; it must

be practiced. And the happiness that Jefferson spoke of and that we know of is found in the rich life of men who are both secure and free.

We know through our own experience that the rights of man are never real unless they are constantly reasserted. We have seen what happens to them when they are left to fend for themselves.

We know that the rights of man are a never-ending unfinished business, just as America is a nation never-finished, a destination never quite reached.

The quest for the rights of man can never end at our own doorway. Nor can they be pursued in any narrow, nationalistic, protective sense.

Therefore, I hope you will not consider me presumptuous, gentlemen, if I say here and now that we Americans must dedicate ourselves to a new Bill of Rights and Responsibilities for the 21st Century—rights and responsibilities, pillars of freedom, which fit new times and new circumstances. The times and circumstances of your time, of your future.

What are some of these? They are familiar to you because we build on the past.

The first right, gentlemen, is the right to peace—so that man may live and hope, free from the threat of those who would march to power through brute force. This is a precious right for which you may well give your life.

The right to justice—so that man may stand before his peers and his society on a truly just and equal basis with his neighbor.

And the right to free expression—unfettered, so that man may speak and be heard, despite the deci-



sions and beliefs of any temporary compact majority.

The right to the search for knowledge—for education, so that no man may remain another's slave through the denial of potential skill or education.

The right to public accountability—so that man may remain the master of the state, rather than the state the master of the man.

The right to a meaningful role in society—so that man may follow his own cadence, set his own step and live with self-respect and dignity among his fellow citizens.

And gentlemen, the right to full opportunity—so that man may lift himself to the limits of his ability, no matter what the color of his skin, the tenets of his religion, or his so-called social class.

The right to a wholesome environment, clean air, clean water, safe streets, and a decent neighborhood.

The right to public compassion—so that he may live with the knowledge that his health and his well-being and his old-age and loneliness are the concern, not only of himself, but of his society.

The right to movement and free associations—so that he may freely move and choose his friends without coercive restraints.

And the right to privacy—so that man may be free of the heavy hands of the snoopers, the watchers and the listeners.

The right to rest and recreation—so that the necessity of labor may not be permitted to cripple human development, and the experience of cultural relaxation and fulfillment.

Gentlemen, these are some of the rights that we seek and there are more, I am sure. But this is a big order in itself. We must continue to seek these rights, to make alive every one of them and make them real for ourselves and for others. But these rights will not be achieved at home, or in the world, without the constant exercise of responsibility by those of us who are fortunate enough to possess most of them.

Then what are the responsibilities of modern man? Many Americans like to talk of rights, but hesitate to speak of responsibilities. Citizenship includes both. Freedom requires both.

The responsibility to participate, to participate in every aspect of life—lest critical initiative and decisions be left to those who would bend them to their own use.

The responsibility to speak out—lest silence in the face of injustice be interpreted as its acceptance.

The responsibility of public service—which you and the armed services symbolize—lest service be to self rather than to fellow man.

The responsibility to support the rule of law—lest the law of the jungle at home and abroad become the pattern of human behavior.

The responsibility to protect the ideals that we believe in in the face of force—lest ideals be lost and violence become a habit, and spread throughout the earth.

The responsibility to respect and defend the rights of others—lest freedom become license, and opportunity be changed into coercion.

And these responsibilities, I might add, are no-



where more clearly spelled out than in those two remarkable documents for the future: The Charter of the United Nations being tested now once again and the recent Encyclical of his Holiness, Pope Paul VI, where he reminds us of our duties and tells us that development is but another name for peace.

Both of these documents point the way to your future responsibilities, the responsibilities of our blessed America and all other free nations. They point the way to the creative, constructive work that will be necessary if peace with freedom is ever to be achieved. And that peace with freedom means the work of nation building, of peace keeping, of self-sacrifice in the cause of mankind.

I know there are certain self-styled realists who believe that both the United Nations Charter and the Pope's Encyclical are the documents of dreamers. Unrealistic they say. But I say they are not only realistic, they are essential. For it is more unrealistic, gentlemen, to expect man to survive through the years ahead if the purpose of these historic documents goes unheeded. Man has created the means of his own destruction. He must now create the moral force in his own spirit for his own salvation.

Now a final thought. I have been speaking to you of rights and responsibilities. And who better should hear the message than you whose service will be as the guardians of those rights—so heavy a responsibility.

Rights and responsibilities represent pillars of freedom. They truly are the superstructure that makes our life worthwhile. But in essence my remarks have been directed also to the necessity for

the security of peoples and lands in this modern and yet changing world. The two are intrinsically linked. Security in the broadest sense of our aspirations is not possible without freedom and freedom is not attainable without the security of peoples and nations. Security is the physical well-being of man. Freedom is the realm of his mind and his soul. We can never focus our efforts on one without the attention to the other.

And what better moment is there to focus attention upon those things of the mind and the spirit than at a time of graduation. At a time of commissioning when you take on a new life, new responsibilities and the guardianship of our precious rights.

The pillars of our nation's freedom for me are not therefore to be described only in historic, academic, economic, military or even moral terms. The pillars of American freedom are the people of this nation—all of them. Our strength rests on the individual dignity and the freedom of the almost 200 million Americans; Americans of all persuasions, creeds, races, ages; Americans who quietly support the majority and Americans who on occasions dissent from it; but Americans all.

Gentlemen, if the freedom of any American is denied him, our total strength is diminished. Our total national freedom becomes unbalanced and thus incomplete. Our American freedom therefore is only as secure as the freedom of our most obscure and humble citizen, and I happen to believe that freedom in the world is only as secure as the freedom of the newest, the humblest nations and the people within it.

Carl Sandburg, the great American poet, wrote these words: "Who shall speak for the people, who speaks for the family of man."

Gentlemen and fellow Americans, I think that we as Americans can give only one answer. We have spoken and we shall continue to do so, for we are a nation of nation-builders, not nation-destroyers. We are life-givers, not life-takers. We are educators, not tyrants. We are the children of peace, not the parents of violence. And we must never lose sight of this our heritage, of our purpose. I give you the words of the wartime president in World War I, Woodrow Wilson, statesman and scholar, man of spirit and will—words that I believe ring with eternal truth and words for us to live by; and words which I hope will be in your hearts and minds and spirits through the days of your life.

"America," said Wilson, "will come into the full light of day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of humanity."

This is our purpose. This is our goal. And I am happy to look out upon an audience and a graduating class, the gentlemen of the Class of 1967, and know that you gentlemen have a better appreciation and realization of Wilson's dream and hope than any generation of Americans in the history of our country.

I salute you. I commend you and may the Good Lord bless you in all the days of your service.

Thank you.



# MARINE FRONTIERS

An Address by Hubert H. Humphrey  
Vice President of the United States

At the Conference on Marine Frontiers, sponsored by the  
New England Council and the New England Marine  
Resources Information Program at the University of Rhode  
Island at Kingston





Senator John O. Pastore was praised by the Vice President as "Rhode Island's most illustrious son." The State's junior Senator, Claiborne Pell, was cited by the Vice President for his "long interest in ocean-related activities, particularly his far-sighted sponsorship of the Sea Grant Act." The Vice President also noted the presence of Governors and Congressmen from New England States and congratulated them on their leadership on today's marine frontiers.



The Vice President's speech before several hundred business, professional, and educational leaders from all the New England States was the 12th major address he had delivered on marine sciences during 1967.



Following the Vice President's helicopter tour of the area, Thornton N. McClure, acting president of the University of Rhode Island, welcomed Vice President Humphrey to the Rhode Island Memorial Union.



National press, radio, and television covered the Vice President's talk. He emphasized that New England constituted a modern marine frontier, beyond which all of the Nation awaited progress from the scientists and engineers who today are among our "marine frontiersmen."

## MARINE FRONTIERS

Hubert H. Humphrey

Vice President of the United States

I can't think of a better place to discuss "Marine Frontiers" than at a university, in the company of leaders from the business, professional, and academic communities—because each of you is constantly working to conquer these frontiers. Our Government, as you well know, is deeply immersed in science and technology. Large sums of public funds have been extended to our universities and institutions and to our industrial establishment to expand the boundaries of science and technology. And the marine frontiers, like other frontiers, are yielding because of the close teamwork between Washington and the States and local communities, as well as industry and the academic world.

I can think of no State more appropriate for such a discussion than Rhode Island. You can be justly proud of the efforts of your legislators and others in the scientific area. Senator John O. Pastore, as Chairman of the Joint Committee on Atomic Energy and as an important Congressional leader, speaks for progress with an important and respected voice. No man in public life has done more to improve our science and technology, to maintain our national security and position of world leadership, and to help strengthen our economy—in short, to enrich America and make it a better place to live.

Your junior Senator, Claiborne Pell, also richly deserves

our appreciation and praise for his long-standing interest in ocean-related activities. He has helped to accelerate our entire marine science program. The Sea Grant Act, which he introduced and guided through Congress, promises to do for oceanography and marine resources what the Land Grant College Act did for agriculture a century ago. Our thanks must also be extended to Rhode Island's Representative Fernand J. St Germain, as well as to many other members of Congress from the other New England States. The six States of this region are leading the Nation in science and technology. The regional approach you are taking is spearheaded by the New England Council, a progressive organization which brings together all major segments of the economy for a coordinated attack on problems of mutual concern.

Professor John A. Knauss, your presence here today symbolizes the leadership of the University of Rhode Island and your sister New England universities in science and technology generally. We in Washington are especially indebted to you for your public service as a member of the President's Commission on Marine Science, Engineering, and Resources. We shall be watching with interest the growth of the New England Marine Resources Information Program at this university.

## Marine Frontiers and New England

It may seem paradoxical, at first glance, for me to stand before a New England audience and talk about "Marine Frontiers" because the sea's vital role in the history and development of New England is a part of our American saga. The sea has been at the very center of New England's concerns since the landing of the Pilgrim fathers. Today, virtually every known water-related activity takes place on New England's coasts and in its estuaries—commercial fishing, shipping and ship construction, naval activity, ocean industry, municipal waste disposal, sport fishing and all kinds of marine recreation, and scientific oceanography.

Let me elaborate on two or three of those activities.

Commercial fishing in America started here in New England. I think a viable fishing industry ought to be extended here and one of the primary responsibilities of the Marine Sciences Council, and the Commission, as well, is to develop ways and means to stimulate a sound expansion of our great fishing industry—from the catch through processing and distribution. Our Nation should be in the forefront of the world's fishing industry, but we have let it lapse. New England's long experience in fishing makes it natural for you to lead this industry's resurgence.

New England has also been at the center of shipping and ship construction on the national level. We recognize as long overdue a broadened and expanded maritime program on which shipping and shipbuilding industries, maritime labor, Congress, and the Executive Branch can agree. When such a program is evolved, it will have great impact on the economy of this region.

New England also is the home of extensive Naval activities, which reminds us that national defense is one of our most

important uses of the sea. I was impressed by the great Naval facilities I saw at Quonset Point today. The *Lake Champlain* is a favorite aircraft carrier of mine. New England's Navy yards and many of its industries are all related to the sea. At the same time that our land frontiers have moved to the west our sea frontiers have remained important on the East Coast while they have become important, as well, on the Gulf and West Coasts.

The waters off New England offer ever-greater scope for marine activity of social and economic value. Recreation, sports fishing and boating, and scientific oceanography are three marine activities that are booming everywhere, especially here in New England.

This fabulous land of ours is blessed with vast resources, whose extent is yet barely known! New technology now permits us to explore and recover minerals on the continental shelf. I predict that we will, during the next few decades, find that we have "acres of diamonds"—not necessarily literally, but surely figuratively—under our feet, and many of these riches will be on the continental shelf.

What a day in which to live! I pray that I can live to the year 2000 because what's going to happen in the next 33 years will make us appear to have been standing still in the last 300!

## One America, One People

We are on the threshold of a fantastic outward thrust. Our task as citizens—if we are to achieve our social and economic potential—is to keep this world in one piece, not blow it to pieces. Our task is to keep this America one America, not a divided America—not an America in turmoil, not an America in violence, but an America united in affection and respect and dignity. One America, one citizenship, one people. If we

can rebuild our national unity, rededicate ourselves to the proposition of human dignity and the worth of the individual, we can ride the succeeding waves of the fantastic outward thrust of progress in the 1970s and beyond.

Our science and technology can help us ride those waves to achieve a better country and a better world. I do not need to tell those of you here about the potential of the sea—but so few people know just how great it is. Go out and tell the world about the opportunities on our new marine frontiers!

I think food from the sea will be an important aspect in the solution of the world's hunger problems. These problems must be solved for humanitarian as well as practical reasons. In our land and in other developed countries, we must increase our commercial fishing efforts at all stages of food from the sea, from catch to table. At the same time, food from the sea can help solve the protein deficiencies suffered by millions of children around the world. Many of these children live within sight of the sea. Fish protein concentrate (FPC) is a non-toxic, odorless product, easily stored and transported, clean, palatable, and nourishing. FPC can be added to a child's diet for as little as a penny a day. We have made the technological breakthrough. Our next step is to help some developing countries build plants to produce FPC to feed their own people.

Then there are new prospects for heavy minerals from the ocean bed. Not long ago I was down in Florida, where there is a fantastic deposit of manganese ore right off the coast. Any Nation that can put a man on the moon ought to be able to put a man on the bottom of the ocean to mine that manganese. I think we'll do both—economically and beneficially to all men—and I think we'll do them before I get my Medicare!

Food and minerals are just two examples of the rich potential of the oceans and the marine environment. Our ever

expanding population demands that we realize as much of this potential as possible.

A little more than a year ago, Congress adopted a far-reaching and unprecedented policy to establish a unified and intensified program in marine sciences. It directed the President to develop such a program with the advice and assistance of the National Council on Marine Resources and Engineering Development, of which I am proud to be the Chairman. The Council is a Cabinet-level body advising the President, setting priorities, coordinating the efforts of 24 Government agencies, and providing leadership for the national program in oceanography, in close cooperation with States, institutions, and industry.

## Two Great Problems

From that perspective and without minimizing food or minerals from the sea, I want to devote the rest of my remarks to two other great problems. Neither of these confronts us with irreversible doom; rather each is a positive challenge—in a very real sense, an opportunity. They are (1) the conflicts of interests in the use of our shoreline and (2) the pollution of our streams and estuaries.

First, the conflicts of interests in the use of our shoreline. I saw today some of the many beautiful beaches in Rhode Island. I wonder if you know how fortunate you are. I come from the Land of 10,000 Lakes, and we are proud of those lakes. But I have to be frank with you: many of them are polluted today, ruined because of man's indiscretion and lack of concern. Your Atlantic beaches, on the other hand, are still largely clean. Here in the East, a TORREY-CANYON-type accident—damage to a tanker with devastating oil pollution—could, however, ruin Narragansett Bay. Nature put these beaches here for people—to give us the wholesome recreation



that a busy and hardworking people need to enjoy, so that after a weekend or vacation you can return to normal duties refreshed and energized. So we must take care not to destroy our beaches, through pollution, from any source, or through neglect, or through conflicting uses no matter how legitimate.

The estuaries and shorelines of our country already support a vast economy. Offshore oil is a major contributor to our economy; dredging of sand, gravel, and shell from estuaries and the continental shelf contribute significantly to our environmental development; those and other great industries provide jobs and wealth for our people and their communities.

When we think of our marine environment, we tend to visualize the Pacific Ocean, the Atlantic Ocean, the Gulf of Mexico, or the Indian Ocean, or the Caribbean Sea. Though we speak in these vast terms, the most useful and important portion of that environment—both actual and potential—is the cities with their harbors and estuaries, the beaches and boating facilities, the centers of shipbuilding and shipping, the waters to the edge of the continental shelf, the Great Lakes, and the adjacent shoreline lands. We call this vast area the coastal zone, and it's where the people and the seas meet. The coastal zone is right here at our fingertips, ladies and gentlemen, for us to do something about. It includes the nursing and feeding grounds for most of our commercial fish and all of our shellfish, a \$400 million industry. It forms the inspiring setting in which we build homes, resorts, and cities.

In some parts of the country, thanks to modern desalting technology, the coastal waters are beginning to serve as the sources of fresh drinking water. I recently dedicated, in Key West, Florida, a great desalinization plant—the largest constructed so far in the world. It produces 2,600,000 gallons of

fresh water a day. The water is supplied at half the price that the community was paying before that desalinization plant was completed. By 1970, there will be a desalinization plant in Los Angeles producing 150 million gallons a day for Southern California. With atomic energy we will be able to take the salt or brackish waters of the sea and make them into fresh waters, generate power, manufacture fertilizer, all at reasonable costs.

Look at the social values of providing clean, safe water to people who need it, say on the desert. You enable people to live where no life was possible before. With the same atomic energy with which you desalt the water, you also provide fertilizer. With the fresh water and the fertilizer, you can make the desert bloom, bringing jobs and money to tribal people, strengthening nations, making peace more likely. Make no mistake about it, where there is constant want for food, there is no peace. Where there is food, there is no want. And the seas can provide health, water, food, jobs—the basic needs which give us enhanced opportunity to realize peace for mankind. Of course that is simplifying a very complex situation, but such a positive use of technology would give us an encouraging potential for progress.

That prospect may seem far removed from the interests of you people in New England, but I don't believe that it is far removed. Many of the products and technology to create oases in the arid lands overseas—and in parts of our own continent—are even now being created in New England laboratories and plants.

But primarily I want to emphasize our shorelines and estuaries and what they mean to you in New England. They mean recreation; they mean tourism; and they mean economic development—and those features of life are not prospects; they are real.

The coastal zones can contribute to more than just economic development. They can enhance human values as well. All of the activities that I have mentioned compete for the available marine resources, and this competition is steadily growing. While some of them are mutually compatible, some of them are in contest and in conflict.

The second great problem I want to mention is the pollution of our streams and estuaries. We use these waters in many ways, one of which is waste disposal. By abuse and misuse, we have turned some of our streams and estuaries into dangerous sewers. I am deeply concerned because:

- Man does not have the right to despoil nature's gifts.
- Each of us has a responsibility to guard our natural heritage.
- We were put here on this earth as stewards, not as exploiters.
- We were put here as builders, not as destroyers.

This is the most important point I want to make to you today: We were put here on earth to add to what nature and Divine Providence has given us, not to take from it! And Americans have a particularly great obligation in this regard because our marine frontiers are so extensive, our society and our economy are so complex, our heritage is so great, and our aspirations for our children—and all the children of the world—are without limit!

Each essential use of the shoreline serves a practical purpose, but each use also has important social and economic costs. For example, pollution introduced into an estuary by the great cities and harbors, or by drilling and mining, can ruin the seafood and recreational resources in the coastal zone for

miles around unless we anticipate problems and take steps to alleviate them. The developer who fills land to build houses, or the dredger who is concerned only with navigation, can destroy, for all time, unique wildlife habitats and shellfish beds. Future generations could then ask, "why didn't past generations care and act more wisely?"

We now know that our valuable shorelines and water resources are vulnerable, as well as valuable, and once they are committed to certain kinds of development or exploitation, their value for alternative uses is often permanently destroyed.

Man discovered long ago that undesirable by-products could be carried out of sight by streams and rivers. That didn't matter so much in earlier years, because most of our wastes were biologically degradable. But today we have different kinds of wastes, mineral wastes, that come from industrial processes, that are not soluble or biologically degradable. These new wastes are an increasing factor in the waste-disposal problem. The total waste load is growing at such a pace that it is exceeding the self-cleaning capacity of the streams. In fact, many of the rivers in America today are already polluted, and large public investments will be needed to save them.

We have the knowledge and the technology right now to take a series of steps to reverse this trend towards more and more stream pollution. In a moment, I will list these steps. First, however, let me emphasize that we must have a social decision—a determination to reverse a socially undesirable trend. You and I are the people who will have to do it. I was pleased to note, here at the University of Rhode Island, with your integrated science program, that you have a water quality laboratory on the way. Setting standards for water quality in estuaries is an essential first step toward reversing the pollution of our streams. These standards will vary with the uses to which a given estuary is to be put.

We must resolve, through intelligent social processes, the conflicting interests in the use of our shoreline. As a corollary, we also must halt and reverse the pollution of our streams and estuaries. Those are the two key thoughts I want to leave with you today.

### **To Develop Wise Choices**

We urgently need more conferences like this and more organizations like the New England Council, which bring together the best talents of an area, to develop the means for making wise choices. These choices must yield a compatible set of uses. These must be wise choices that do not destroy natural resources but rather complement such resources and the communities and industries dependent upon them. They must be choices that judiciously balance development and conservation in dealing with competing demands for shoreline and water resources.

There are three steps to wise choices . . .

**We must have a much better picture of our total maritime resources.** I am happy to say that we are acquiring that picture. An inventory of the Nation's estuaries is proposed in bills now before Congress. Legislation calling for a survey of our beaches, from the standpoint of erosion problems, has also been introduced.

Meanwhile, the Marine Sciences Council—the short name for the NCMR&ED—is sponsoring case studies of competing-use problems. These studies are focused on present and projected uses of the Chesapeake Bay and of the Seattle-Tacoma Harbor area. We regard these as pilot projects from which generally useful approaches may be developed for wide application.

**Secondly, we must start now to utilize marine technology in cooperation with other on-going public programs.** Urban

renewal in coastal cities, for example, by a merger of technology, marine sciences, and public programs can have a very great potential for enhancing the quality of our lives.

The port facilities and the harbor slums which occupy many urban waterfronts are remnants of a transportation technology that is now completely out of date. Many breakthroughs—containerization, hydrofoils, air cushion vehicles, super-tankers (a 500,000-ton capacity tanker is on the ways in Japan right now)—these breakthroughs make it possible to disperse port functions from the crowded city's edge or even to move them entirely offshore. Such developments mean that, in many cases, the waterfronts of yesterday can be made over into genuinely pleasant residential areas or the most sophisticated retail and industrial areas, healthy and safe for everybody to live in, shop in, work in, and enjoy. They mean that nearby harbor beaches, which have been used for port facilities, can be made available to millions and millions of our people, particularly our youngsters, who are now confined to the ghettos of concrete, steel, and brick. In short, such technological developments mean that we can go back to our Nation's heritage. Our oldest cities and their seaports can be made over into our newest, most modern, most desirable, exciting, and interesting places to live!

**Third, we must press ahead in the marine sciences to solve the related problems of conflicting uses of our shoreline and the pollution of our estuaries and streams.**

We must set standards of water quality in the estuary. These standards should be set on the basis of quality needed for known specific uses.

Next, we must set standards for the emission of wastes by sources that discharge them into the estuaries and their tributaries. This means that we have to reach reasonable

agreements with the producers of wastes—both municipalities and industries—on maximum permissible rates of discharge.

Finally, we also must reduce the volume of such wastes. This can be done by improving process-control to reduce the production rate of wastes, treating wastes, and disposing of them on land, or, hopefully, reclaiming them for beneficial purposes. In the long run, reclaiming and re-using waste products may provide the most practical answers. We can possibly devise incentives such as tax incentives or other economic benefits to encourage waste treatment and control. Whatever it takes, we must do it, and no part of America has a greater stake in our success than a great coastal area, whose water is its greatest resource.

### **To Awaken to Danger**

My fellow Americans, we have got to wake up! We have let wasted human resources accumulate until today social fermentation threatens our Nation. And we are about to find ourselves in the same hot water in terms of waste products that affect our other resources—our water and the air that we breathe. Modern science and industry, for all of their blessings, have brought this curse. But the same science and industry, with the cooperation of many institutions and individuals, with responsibilities public and private, can remove the blight, just as the scientists who split the atom to make devastating bombs have also learned to apply atomic energy to save lives and to give us all a better life.

Science is not wrong; industry is not wrong. Neither science nor industry has an intrinsic morality. The question is what does man do with science and industry? What are his ethical

standards? Does man have a moral purpose? If he does, then he can use science and industry to create and enhance the good life. If he does not, our technology and our science can destroy us. It's that plain and simple, and it is later than you think.

At the current rates of pollution, this Nation could literally choke itself to death in both air pollution and water pollution unless the men in this room and your governments—Federal, State, and local—and your universities, and your industries, and all the associations which bring those interests together—unless you, individually and collectively, make up your minds that we cannot afford this disaster.

We Americans immerse ourselves in talk about our rights. What about our responsibilities? There is no right without a responsibility. There is no liberty without a duty. They are companions and rights become meaningless and indeed are lost unless those who pride themselves in those rights are willing to accept their share of responsibility for the defense and protection of rights for others as well as themselves. So we need citizenship participation in every aspect of these problems on the marine frontiers.

Problems like pollution control and competition for use of the shoreline cannot effectively be handled by either the public sector alone or the private sector alone. No one level of government seems likely to be able to deal with them adequately. And it would be an undue burden on the private sector to expect industry alone to abate pollution to which the rest of society so profusely contributes.

In the Marine Resources and Engineering Development Act, the Congress called for "... effective utilization of the scientific and engineering resources of the nation, with close cooperation among all interested agencies, public and private." And it directed that the programs should be "... conducted by departments and agencies of the United



States, independently or in cooperation with such non-Federal organizations as States, institutions, and industry . . ."

These important phrases recognize that the Federal Government cannot and should not go it alone in the marine science area.

Federal involvement in a social problem is frequently dictated by the geographic scope of the problem, the burden of cost, or the benefits, especially where the benefits are clear but widely dispersed.

A few examples are the National Seashore Park System, experimental desalinization, mineral resource surveys, search and rescue services, and ocean weather services.

The Federal Government also has a natural role in scientific research and development and in the identification of irreplaceable environments which must be protected at all costs.

But in those regards the States have increasingly important responsibilities as key channels of communication—through their governors' offices—between their communities and the Federal Government.

This is a two-way communication, which keeps Washington informed of local problems and plans, and provides Federal advice, information, and financial aid. State governments can also conduct and coordinate State-wide or multi-county projects on their own.

Most of our problems of conflicting demands, involving the shoreline or pollution, are local or regional problems.

The citizens of the affected region stand to benefit the most from ameliorating a particular condition, and so it is logical that major responsibility for doing so should rest with them.

But technically trained personnel are usually scarce on the local level, and it is vitally important that the State govern-

ments make available their own technical resources, as well as those of the Federal Government.

### **To Involve the Private Sector and Non-Profit Organizations**

Finally, the private sector has a vital role in the protection and development of our marine resources.

The cooperation of industry is essential for any pollution control program. The ingenuity of industry is essential to develop processes and equipment, to produce the tools, and to market them to the organizations that can use them.

Universities have a particularly important role in solving technical problems and providing new scientific knowledge.

Public-minded conservation groups must continue to play an essential "watchdog" role.

Fortunately, we already have some important new agencies, such as the River Basin Commissions, which under some circumstances provide a structure within which all of these organizations, both public and private, can work together.

Similar agencies might be created to deal with coastal problems. In fact, I would urge you of the New England States to consider this regional approach to the role of the private sector in marine science affairs. This is the principle on which you already are operating—I am merely asking for an extension of the principle.

The sea is still as mysterious, unpredictable, and inviting to us as it was to the ancients. Yet, today, we are deeply aware of its great practical potential. Modern marine science offers us fresh opportunities both to learn the secrets of a challenging frontier, and having learned, to enhance the quality of our lives, both physically and spiritually. These are our marine frontiers.

This address was delivered at a Conference on Marine Frontiers sponsored by the New England Council and the New England Marine Resources Information Program at the University of Rhode Island, Kingston, July 27, 1967.



# THE CHALLENGE OF OUR CITIES

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

*Vice President of the United States*





Excerpts of addresses by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey to the Congress of the Cities in Boston, August 7, 1967, and the National Convention of the National Association of Counties in Detroit, August 8, 1967.

**T**oday I speak to you not as a former mayor, not as a former United States Senator, or even as your Vice President. I come to you not as a partisan, but as a concerned American, a fellow citizen. Our Nation is in trouble. We meet today at a time when the fabric of American democracy is strained and torn in many places. We face nothing less than a national crisis.

### **An American Crisis**

Why? Because we are an urban nation. Seventy percent of our people now live in cities, and the figures indicate that by the year 1977, 80 percent of our people will be living in cities. What happens in our cities happens to America. It is by the quality of life in our cities that the character of our civilization will be judged. It is in our cities that American democracy will either succeed or fail, survive or perish.

It is the crisis of a nation which must now determine whether or not the American dream—the dream of a free and equal people, living together in happiness and harmony—will be or will not be achieved.

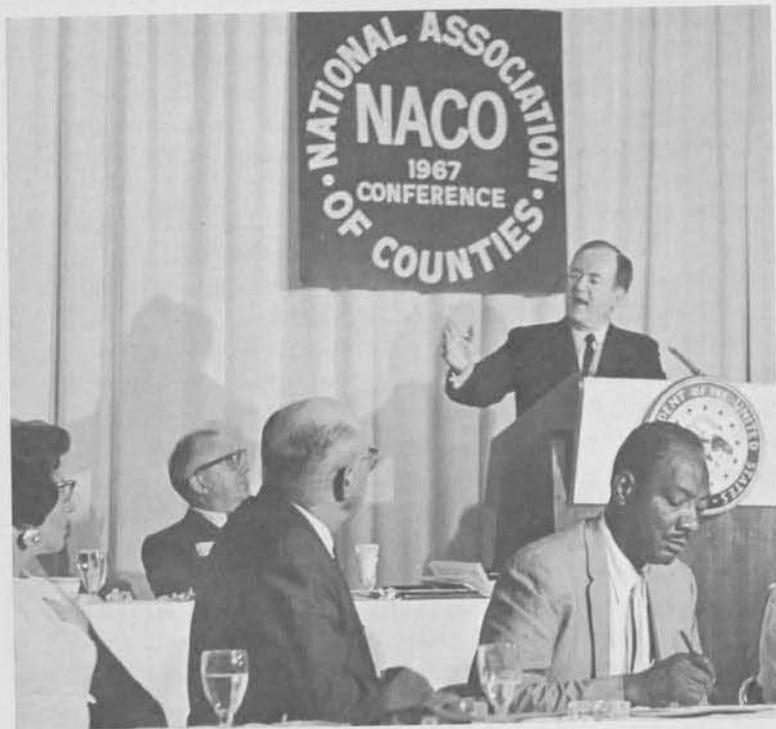
Make no mistake: People all over this world are watching us. A few may be taking pleasure from it. But most are watching because our crisis is, in fact, their crisis. They are watching because the American dream is, in fact, their dream.

This is a time in our history when we must squarely face up to the responsibilities of American citizenship. We all jealously guard our rights as Americans. We point with great pride to our abundance of our national economy. But every right carries with it a commensurate responsibility. There is no freedom without duty. There is no role of leadership without responsibility. As our rights expand, and our material wealth increases, so also do the responsibilities and the duties, not just of governmental officials, but of every American.

Abraham Lincoln put it well when he spoke in another time of crisis. He said, "No personal significance or insignificance can spare one or another of us. The fiery trial through which we pass will light us down in honor or dishonor to the last generation. . . ." And then those immortal

words that every school child remembers, "We shall nobly save or meanly lose the last best hope on earth." Those are not words of mere sentimentality, they are words of prophecy.

Do these institutions that we cherish so much really serve the interests of the people? Can they cope with the fundamental problems of American society today? Unless we can answer with a resounding "yes," history will and must record that we did not nobly save, but rather meanly lost our democratic heritage.



## What We Must Do

If we presume to stand in this world as the friend and helper of new nations, we must demonstrate our capacity and willingness to help our own people.

If technical assistance and long-term, low-interest loans are needed for overseas development, surely they are needed here at home.

If massive investment of private capital is needed in the new nations, it is needed in America's slums and rural poverty areas.

Our goal in America, as everywhere, must be not merely welfare and compassion, but opportunity and human dignity.

We must set priority on such fundamentals of nation-building as decent shelter and housing, jobs for those willing and able to work, education and training.

*And whatever it will take to get the job done, we must be willing to pay the price.*

## Law and Order

There are three things we can and must do.

The *first* is to re-establish law and order in this country. We believe in constantly evolving social progress. But it is part of the creed of this land that our progress shall be peaceful. It is also part of our creed that justice shall be served. There is no justice for anyone—least of all for the oppressed citizen of the ghetto—in senseless violence and lawlessness. And therefore we who bear public responsibility, owe it to those we serve that law and order shall prevail.

I know of no statement better than that issued by four of America's most responsible civil rights leaders—Dr. Martin Luther King, A Philip Randolph, Roy Wilkins, and Whitney Young, Jr.:

"Killing, arson, looting, are criminal acts and should be dealt with as such. Equally guilty are those who incite, provoke, and call specifically for such action. There is no injustice which justifies the present destruction of the Negro community and its people."

There can be no freedom, no representative government, no equal opportunity, no social justice, in an environment of mob rule and criminal behavior. Where the law of the jungle rules, the 99 percent of our citizens who are innocent victims of the violent few can enjoy no protection.

The injured have no avenue of appeal where mob rule prevails. Under these conditions, society itself dissolves and representative government is in peril.

## Eradicating the Slums

The *second* thing we must do is the hard, frustrating work

of rooting out the conditions which have led to the slum and the life of physical and spiritual poverty within it.

This crisis consists of much more than lawlessness, violence, and looting. Perhaps it can best be described with simple words like hopelessness and despair. These words express a widespread pattern of inadequate opportunity, of frustrated ambitions.

## Rising Expectations

It is, in fact, a feature of the revolution of rising expectations which we so readily acclaim in other nations and so slowly accommodate in our own. Paradoxically, the troubles in some ways are a result of progress, because as things seem to get better, there is always a period of restlessness and turbulence.

For the last 15 years the United States has made unprecedented progress in the whole area of human rights and civil rights. The legal right of every American to vote has been assured by Federal law. Segregated schools have been declared unconstitutional. Public accommodations have been made legally available to all. But do these liberties really have substance for all of our citizens? Do they guarantee real individual opportunity, the starting point of the great American dream?

Remember that, coupled with this precious freedom, there must be the opportunity to make something of that freedom. Far too often, the promise of legal rights has only made the lack of real opportunity more bitter and more frustrating.

What do fair employment practices mean to a man who can't get a job or who lacks the skills to even hold a decent job? What does school desegregation mean when education in many of our cities, without regard to region, is inadequate? What does the promise of open housing mean when a poor family can't even find decent low-income housing in most of our cities?

These rights, when they yield no practical benefits, can mean more frustration, less sense of personal dignity, more hostility, and less identification with the value of the larger and richer society. There was a time when the poor suffered quietly. They were out of sight, out of mind, many of them

lost, in a sense. But those were the days before television.

## The Impact of Television

Television has changed America. You can no longer hide the good or the bad. We are going through a period when, for the first time, Americans are seeing a war fought on television. And the same television that brings the war news also brings a vivid portrayal of what goes on in this country. So the child of the slums knows how you live, how I live, where we live, the fun that we have, the jobs that we have, the incomes that we have, and the dreams that we have.

Today every slum child watching television is forcefully reminded that there is another America, different from his own, and to him it is an America from which he is practically excluded.

## The Neglected Slum

We all know that in the slums, the garbage pickup is at best infrequent, if it occurs at all. I said to a group of my colleagues in government only two days ago in Washington, "Get in your car and go to Southeast Washington, and then go to Northwest Washington. They are both in the Federal City. Take a look at the streets. Take a look at the sidewalks. Take a look at the garbage. Why is it that in Northwest Washington there are receptacles for scrap papers and none in Southeast Washington? Why is it in Northwest Washington the streets can be clean and the sidewalks can be solid and stable, and in Southeast Washington the streets are in havoc? There are people living in both places."

You know that, in the slums, the streets are dirtier than anywhere else in the city and less frequently swept. And in the Northern cities, the snow is often plowed away last in these areas. The incidence of crime there is the highest, but the vigor of law enforcement there the least. Housing is decrepit, obsolete, broken down. If we were as interested in enforcing our building codes as we are in our traffic laws, if we would put as many tickets on the landlord who refuses to take care of his house as required by the law as we do for the fellow that overparks his car downtown, we would have different cities. Make no mistake about it.



There can be no question that, if the fundamental economic, educational, and social ills which undeniably exist in some of our urban slums were cured, the agony of frustration and hopelessness which now exists for some would be largely eliminated.

Let me make myself crystal clear: if there were no disorders, if there were no violence, if our cities rested in total calm, the slum would remain a blight on the conscience of each of us. It is the scarred countenance of America.

There is no room for slumism and all it stands for—for poverty, for crime, for ignorance, for disease, for a family of ten in one room, for segregation and discrimination, for bitterness and despair.

How do we square the slum—this ghetto of people outside American society—with our Constitution, with our Bill of Rights, with any of the things we believe in?



## Opening the Ghetto

If this is so, then how do we break open the ghetto? How do we let in the light and air of hope and opportunity? How do we let out the people trapped within it? Here are a few suggestions: jobs, education, training and retraining, decent, low-cost housing, convenient mass transit; creative use of tax and other incentives to bring private investment into the center city; crime control, recreation, health services; participation by people in the life of their community.

It means getting trained people, with their sleeves rolled up, into the problem areas to help these new American immigrants become real citizens. And it means the creative, carefully conceived programs we certainly must have to get the job done.

## A Beginning

I don't mean to suggest that nothing has been done to meet this crisis. Much has been done. Job Corps, VISTA, Head Start, Upward Bound, Model Cities, Medicare, the Youth Opportunity Campaign—all these things have been added to our vocabulary, and to our society, in a period of literally a few months.

With the measures passed by the historic 89th Congress, we have the basic building blocks with which to eliminate the slum and build a stronger nation. But what has been done and is being done is clearly not enough. At best it is only a beginning on which to build, on which to grow.

## Support for Legislation

I would like to suggest that the first thing that we can do to build further is to make sure that the legislation now before the Congress—and there is a long list of it—be promptly enacted, and that the outstanding requests for Federal funds to be shared with cities and States be promptly granted.

Let's look at crime for just a minute. Is there anything we can do about it? Law enforcement is primarily a local responsibility, but it is also the responsibility of all of us. The police power rests with the States under our Constitution, but that doesn't exonerate anyone from ultimate responsibility. The President of the United States proposed months ago the Safe Streets and Crime Control Act. This proposal came from the report of the National Crime Commission.

This bill will provide Federal grants to support local programs of crime prevention, police training, and improved correctional facilities. It is designed to help extend adequate police coverage to all of the neighborhoods in our cities, so that the law will be both adequately enforced and worthy of respect.

The President has also proposed a sale of firearms control



bill, and narcotics control legislation. What kind of nonsense is it when anyone is able to go out and buy automatic weapons? I like to hunt pheasants, but I have never known a submachine gun to get one. Our firearms controls are totally inadequate. And narcotics legislation needs to be strengthened in light of the surge of dope peddling and addiction in this country. I doubt if there is one mayor who considers this legislation unnecessary. These bills must be enacted, and we need your help.

There are key existing programs which need to be funded to make substantial contributions. Take the sad case of rent supplements. We asked for a modest program and we got nothing. And what do rent supplements do? They permit private housing for the poor, worthy of human dignity. But Congress has refused to appropriate a penny.

Take the case of metropolitan development grants. Congress gave not a cent. The request for urban research funds was chopped off by 75 percent. Now, if you know all of the answers for your city, we don't need any urban research funds; but we just don't know all the answers.

The request for urban information and technical assistance funds was reduced by two-thirds, and this is money for smaller cities which can't afford to buy the high-priced talent that is frequently required for urban planning.

The President requested an extension of the Economic Opportunity Act, but neither House has acted on the bill at all. You would think there were no poor!

Open housing, whatever your views may be, is entitled to a hearing.

## Rat Control

The House of Representatives just eleven days ago had an opportunity to do something that would be of practical importance. But the rat extermination measure was laughed out of the House of Representatives.

We appropriate millions of dollars for the screw worm and boll weevil, but when did calves and cotton become more important than children? The Commodity Credit Corporation and the Department of Agriculture and the Congress see to it that we don't have too many mice and rats in our grain. But that same Congress was unwilling to appropriate

one nickel to see to it that rats would be kept out of the tenements and the slums, although we know how to do it. I think it is time that you become somewhat righteously indignant.

But we have a chance. The Senate is going to consider this bill, and I want you to be heard. A nation that prides itself on deodorants and toothpaste and cigarettes ought to be able to do something about rat legislation. I have never been for rats of any kind in any way. You can take a strong stand against rats.

## Model Cities

Then there is the Model Cities Act—I would like to call it the New America Act—a Marshall Plan for urban America.

I think, though, that very few people realize what this Model Cities Act is all about. It offers a framework within which we can create the grand design for a totally new urban America. It's like a basic structure, a constitution for a new city.

This act provides for major private sector entry into housing for the poor, genuine participation of neighborhood residents in directing community rebuilding, comprehensive planning for blending physical and social development, and unique breakthroughs for applying space technology and the so-called "systems approach" to the cities—in other words, the most modern and progressive measures for urban development.

It provides for a working partnership between all levels of government and private enterprise. We can't really do anything in this country unless we put everybody together on the same team. Government can't do it alone.

This act does for the cities, my dear friends, what the National Aeronautics and Space Act did for the space program. This is your act. Go to work on it. It can provide for the rebirth of our cities, their physical structure and human structure.

The House of Representatives cut two-thirds of the funds requested by the President for this unique national program. The request wasn't too big in the first place; it was bare-bones minimum. Two-thirds of it has been cut out. I want to

know if you are going to do something about getting it restored. Any nation that can afford to put a man on the moon can afford to put a man on his feet right here on earth. I don't want to be misunderstood. I think we can do both. And if I can get as much enthusiasm from our people for a Model Cities program as we have for the lunar program, we'll have things moving.



We're in competition with the Russians to get to the moon. What about being in competition with the whole world to make the finest society that mankind ever dreamed of on the face of this earth right here in the United States of America?

I feel that a sense of urgency is lacking on Capitol Hill. Join us now in insisting that this sense of urgency be paramount in the hearts and the minds of every single member of the Congress of the United States.

I believe that this delay, this go-slow, take-it-easy, hold-off-and-take-another-look attitude aids and abets frustration in our urban slums. It denies to every level of government the tools and the resources required to combat slumism. And, my fellow Americans, if we can get as excited about the curse and the evil of slumism as we do about communism, then we are going to make progress.

But even all these programs—given full funding—will be only shovelfuls of sand on a forest fire if they are not administered with energy and imagination.

As you know, all these new programs require State, local, and private cooperation and participation. The problems of America today are so big—so complex—that *all* our governmental and private resources must be brought to bear upon them, in the most efficient way possible—and on a continuing basis. These problems cannot be solved with the tools and the methods of yesterday. They require modern-day efficiency in both government and private enterprise.

You can improve cooperation with regional and local offices of all Federal agencies to insure that all programs in your area are coordinated to produce the greatest possible impact.

As part of this, States and counties, cities and villages must reexamine their structures. Constitutional reform and modernization of county and municipal government are no longer subjects for academic debate and editorial discussion. They are imperatives if our democracy is to survive.

### What Can Be Done Now

Finally, there are things we can do right now with the resources we have at hand. During the last few months, many of you have received from me, as Chairman of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity, bulletin after bulletin about your appointing a Youth Opportunity Council. The young people of your city need you. We have reported to you imaginative programs which are working well across the cities, and you have received those bulletins. I hope you haven't filed them away. I know you get a lot of mail. But take a look at them.



We have suggested ways in which public facilities, such as National Guard armories and other facilities, can be used by you. The National Guard has restated its rules and regulations. That armory in your town is available to you for a recreation program.

We have strongly urged that Youth Councils in our cities and counties continue to function throughout the year, that summer job programs be expanded and extended to provide free-time employment for youngsters throughout the year.

### **Job Opportunity**

Your police, fire departments, and sheriffs' offices can hire and train as many people as possible from the disadvantaged areas of your communities.

Let me say a word here about Civil Service regulations. They are not handed down from Heaven. They're written by some lawyer. They can be rewritten. Everybody doesn't need a college degree. Everybody doesn't need a high school diploma. There are some people that have done quite well even without them. There is a difference between education and good sense. Some people are undereducated but still have a lot of sense. Look for these people. Find them, and bring them into your services.

### **Police Relations**

You can reeducate your present police force in community relations. Tie your college in with your police department. And if you don't have one available right there at hand, go to your State university. Ask it to set up a police training course. Every State university in America could have a training course for police officers as a part of good community life. Put our universities to work. These are all paid for by you and the other taxpayers. The men on those campuses are experts, many of them. They want to help. Get in touch with them. You can request—and I might add, in a very plaintive voice, you can demand—from your community more police and more support for your police. Let's ask the American community to respect the police officer. He has the toughest job in the world. And let's train this police officer. Let's give him a sense of dignity and self-respect. Let him know that the community is be-

hind him. Let's try to build conditions in our community so that he doesn't always have to be the law enforcement man, but rather one that helps promote law observance.

There is no way to have better policing than to have a man on the beat who gets to know what is going on in that community. You need people in contact with people. You need the police officer out there on that beat who can go talk to the priest or the minister or the rabbi or the community worker or to the parents before the trouble sets in, rather than your just waiting until the car comes roaring in, sirens shrieking, red light ablaze, and two officers jump out. Then, you've got trouble.

I know it takes more men; I know it is going to cost more money. But it will be a wise investment.

You can adopt the Crime Commission recommendation that community service officers be added to your urban police forces. You can and should recruit returning Negro veterans into your community services. They are fine men, well trained. Recruit them into the whole spectrum of community services, not just police services.

You can establish realistic lines of communication with the minority leadership in your communities. In all too many cases, we have abetted men of violence by our reluctance to deal with men of reason.

You can urge your local business communities to help establish training programs, and see to it that these job training programs really meet the needs of industry in your area. Check on these three programs: your Neighborhood Youth Corps, your industrial training program, and your on-the-job training. Are all positions filled? Are the programs running smoothly? Unemployed young people need jobs—jobs in private industry which will give them self-respect and income.

Schools ought to be in service 12 months a year. I predict there would be a whole lot less vandalism and property destruction of a school that is put to use than one that is padlocked.

If you find problems, I ask you once again, if you don't know where else to call, call the general practitioner of the Federal Government, the Vice President of the United States. I don't claim to be an expert, but I do know how to



open letters, and how to read the mail and answer the telephone, and I do know where the Government is and where it operates and how it operates. I want to help you. I want to be your "business agent" in the National Government. And I think I can help you if you will work with me.

## **Human Relations Commissions**

County and metropolitan human relations commissions are important. I am told there are only six county human relations commissions with staffs in the entire Nation. Staff that commission. Have it work with others throughout your metropolitan area.

## **Councils for Civil Peace**

And in this regard there is something else that can be done right now.

I would like to propose today that all 50 States consider formation of Councils for Civil Peace at the State and, where possible, the metropolitan level.

A State Council for Civil Peace could include representation from all racial and religious groups in the State, the State attorney general's office, the National Guard, law enforcement agencies, and officials of local government.

It could provide a State community relations service designed to prevent violence, and to gain community cooperation and hear the voices of those who have gone unheard. It could set up a coordinated early-warning system so that coming disorders might be detected in advance and, perhaps, be stopped before they begin. It could establish a central communications network.

A Council for Civil Peace could provide, for those who would be the innocent victims of violence, an opportunity to forestall that tragedy and to bring to bear their knowledge, their information, and their sense of citizenship.

A State Council for Civil Peace would, in short, help give every American State and community the means to assure law and order to its own citizens.

It would be just as valuable that States take the initiative in forming Metropolitan Councils for Civil Peace—with the same broadly based representation—to do the same job on a community basis. This would be especially important in

those areas where a major metropolitan complex crosses two or even three State boundaries.

Under existing programs, Federal funds could be applied for to help such councils when organized on a metropolitan basis.

All of these are things we can do to build the better communities we would want to build even if there were no trouble.

## **Reporting Our Progress**

I want you to ask your newspapers to help you. If they will be as busy reporting what you are doing for youths as they are what the youths are doing when they get in trouble, you will have a well balanced presentation.

Everybody has a public responsibility today. The communications media have a responsibility to accentuate the positive, to help rebuild America, not just to report its inadequacies. If the American people knew as much about the Reverend Leon Sullivan of Philadelphia as they do about some of these other persons that are out causing trouble, then we would have a different picture. This one man alone, as Mayor Tate can tell you, has helped save the lives of literally thousands of people through job training. But you have to search and search to find out much about the Reverend Leon Sullivan. Instead, H. Rap Brown and Stokely Carmichael get the news.

## **A National Responsibility**

When I think about the responsibilities of city government, I can't help but be reminded of the words of the late President Franklin Roosevelt, who said, "The test of our progress is not whether we add more to the abundance of those who have too much; it is whether we provide enough for those who have too little."

That philosophy applies very well today. We want all of our neighborhoods to be wholesome and healthful, to have good public services, public schools, hospitals, and community agencies. But where there are poor people living in poor housing and in poor neighborhoods, that is where the greatest effort must be concentrated. It is they who need the best schools, the best public transport, the best housing code and



behavior patterns of a lifetime will not be changed in a month or two.

The ghetto of the heart, mind, and soul, as well as the physical ghetto, will not dissolve in the warmth of good intention and wishfulness. It will be eradicated only when each of our citizens stands equal and proud before the law and his neighbors. It will be eradicated only when the people trapped within it are able to lift themselves into self-sustaining, productive citizenship.

I have said that it is the American dream which is being tested today.

That dream lives, even in the hate and fever of our slum street, deep in the people who dwell there. And it lives, too, in impoverished rural America where the life can be depressing and grinding for the rural white as it is for the urban Negro. (For if the urban Negro is an immigrant, the impoverished rural American is in a sense a refugee.)

The American dream has lived and has been nourished by the difficult, step-by-step, day-by-day patient, persevering progress made over many generations.

Laws have been passed. Promises have been made. Hopes have been raised and raised again. Programs have been started. Restlessly and relentlessly, we have moved forward.

Now we are at the testing place. We are at the place where jobs, where housing, where education must be available for those who seek them not in a token, but in a real way.

Hopes raised must not be dashed. Expectations risen must not be left to wither. The dream of our country must not be denied.

And if we do succeed—and I believe we shall—the light that will shine forth in the world once again from America will not be the light of a nation aflame, but the light that has shone forth from the beginning from a people whose message to the world has been, and remains, this: "Give me your tired, your poor,/Your huddled masses yearning to breathe free,/The wretched refuse of your teeming shore,/Send those, the homeless, tempest-tossed, to me;/I lift my lamp beside the golden door."

Those are the words inscribed on our Statue of Liberty.

Now is the time to live by them.

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Address by  
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey  
at the  
Eighty-seventh Annual Session  
National Baptist Convention

SEPTEMBER 8, 1967  
DENVER, COLORADO





Vice President Humphrey Addresses National Baptist Convention



Dr. Jackson, Lieutenant Governor Mark Hogan, my friends of the National Baptist Convention and my fellow Americans.

I am going to talk very candidly to you. As I said to Dr. Jackson, "I can't claim to be a Baptist. I guess I must have slipped from grace somewhere along the line, but I was brought up a Methodist, and I do have a little hallelujah spirit in me."

The first thing I want to do tonight is to express to you, the delegates to this Convention, and to all the others that have joined us here, the sincere and personal thanks of the President of the United States, Lyndon Johnson, to Dr. Jackson for his remarkable leadership.

The Reverend Jackson is a man of great and abiding faith. Faith in you. But, first of all, faith in God, faith in his country. Dr. Jackson has not only led a spiritual, abundant, fulfilling life, but he has shared that life and faith and hard work and dedicated leadership with better than six million members of the National Baptist Convention in the United States of America.

I think that every convention, every meeting of Americans brought together in 1967 around the theme of moral and spiritual principle, must convene with a new sense of urgency and seriousness.

## EXCITING TIMES

We live in perilous times, but we live in the most exciting of times, too, and I didn't come here tonight to spread doom and gloom. I am a man of faith and optimism.

Through the events of the past several weeks and months in the streets of our cities, we have heard once again the voice of the ancient prophet, who said: "The fathers have eaten sour grapes and the children's teeth are set on edge."

It's a tragic irony that these outbreaks have occurred in the 1960's, at a time when we have seen more and faster progress than ever before in extending equal opportunity to all Americans; at a time when the Constitution of the United States is a Constitution for each and every one of us, when second-class citizenship has been struck down and first-class citizenship is here.

Never has due process of law served so well to redress the legitimate grievances of America's minorities. Never have free speech, free assembly, free press so actively served the cause of justice. Never have the power and resources of Government been so heavily concentrated on the removal of inequality in our society.

But I do not look at the world through rose-colored glasses, I do not live in a fool's paradise; I know the Kingdom is not yet here. I know that the income of the average Negro male is still far below that of the white male. I know it is still true that too many Negro children, because of poverty, are reared in homes without fathers. I know it is still true that in this land of prosperity some Negro—and white—families do not have enough to eat. Poverty knows no race.

I know it is still true that all too many Negro children do not have equal educational opportunity. But I also know something else: More has been done in the last five years to correct these injustices than in the preceding two hundred.

## MARCH TOWARD EQUALITY

There are great changes taking place deep down in American society. The American Negro is marching steadily, peacefully in most cases, with patient determination toward the goal of social and economic equality.

And I should add that every American owes the Negro a debt of gratitude for his infinite patience and his devoted patriotism.

We have a Negro Justice on the Supreme Court. We have this week, by appointment of the President of the United States, a Negro Mayor of the Nation's Capital. We have a Negro United States Senator, and a Negro member of the President's Cabinet. A Negro commands a warship in the United States fleet, and Negro men are in command of our integrated fighting troops. The Negro soldier in Vietnam is giving an account of himself that will stand in the annals of American history for heroism and courage.

Yes, things are changing. There are Negro Vice Presidents of the Bank of America, of Pepsi-Cola, and of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company. There are Negro Meth-

odist Bishops presiding over white pastors in New Jersey and Iowa. Negroes serve in state senates and state legislatures right here in Colorado and in Georgia and California and New York and other states as well. Connecticut has a Negro Treasurer and Illinois a Negro Chief Auditor.

There are successful Negro doctors and lawyers and athletes and artists and musicians throughout America. We see Negro hostesses on the air lines, and Negro clerks in banks and at the air line counters. Negro colleges swarm with recruiters from big businesses every year, looking for trained young men and women.

## JUSTICE FOR ALL

Why have these changes occurred? They were inevitable in a free society because you can't have liberty for some and not for others. But they have been spurred by other reasons, too—by a massive, peaceful civil rights movement that brought the injustices of racial prejudice and oppression to the attention of an American people who basically believe in fairness and justice. These great success stories have occurred because the highest court of our land, the Supreme Court, truly represents justice for *every* American.

They have occurred because a courageous President and—let me underscore it—a man from the South, Lyndon Johnson, has given unrelenting leadership and commitment to social justice and equal opportunity for every American.

And they have occurred because of unprecedented legislation passed by the Congress—legislation for civil rights, health, education, job training, for development of human resources.

We have made a lot of progress because Americans of all colors and creeds have worked together, marched together, talked together and prayed together.

Together we set out to build a freer society for all Americans.

Together we have borne the pains and the drudgery of eradicating a legacy of prejudice and poverty.

Together we have come part of the way on a very long and difficult journey.

## MEN OF FAINT HEART

I know that there are today some men of faint heart, both white and Negro, who wonder if our journey is really worth while. Some white Americans say we have gone too far and too fast. They want to put on the brakes, or even retrace our steps. These same Americans would punish a few criminal rioters by withholding opportunity from the vast majority of law abiding, patriotic, God-fearing American citizens.

At the same time, we hear the cynical call of black militants, who speak a strange word of hopelessness at a time when hope has begun to rise. They would retreat to a never-never land of hot black anger.

Let me make it clear what my position is: America in the 1960's cannot, must not, and will not tolerate separatism or go-slowism. We can't do it if we are to reach our destination of a democratic society.

I say to those who preach the doctrine of separatism. "Don't deny me and my friends the chance to walk alongside of you and be a part of you." We cannot and we must not fall into the trap of extremists, black or white, who want to force us into a divided society based on race, a society that denies the Christian tenets of human dignity, the brotherhood of man and love of one's neighbor.

## EQUAL OPPORTUNITY

We cannot feebly admit that the moral and spiritual fiber of this nation, which has brought us so far, is now insufficient to embrace the principle of equal opportunity for all of our citizens.

We must remain one people and continue to refine the process of justice and equal opportunity for all. The alternative is less progress, more violence, less hope, more misery.

We shall reach our destination either as one people united in common cause or we will not reach our destination at all.

Events like those we have witnessed this summer quickly bring the words "law and order" to our lips. I think we can all agree here that law and order must be maintained and justice must be served.



The cost in human suffering and damaged property as a result of this summer's violence has weighed most heavily on those who could least afford it. The revulsion produced by violent acts and violent talk could easily destroy our chances for broader civil rights action in and out of Congress, and for more opportunity in government and in private life.

We simply cannot allow the gains that we have made thus far to be squandered because of some ideology of violence and hate, or to be sacrificed for a bottle of liquor dragged through a broken store window.

## LAW AND ORDER

But let us be sure we understand what kind of law and order we are talking about.

We *can*—and we must—put down riots and violence, clean up the debris in the streets, jail the snipers, and silence the guns. The stores can reopen. The streets can be made safe once again.

This is what some people call law and order. But America must do better than that.

We know very well that there is a higher law and a deeper order—the higher law which dictates full and equal opportunity for every man; the deeper order of a community where all men are truly brothers.

Almost 2,000 years ago a young Jew named Jesus—standing on the broad shoulders of the great prophets of justice. Amos and Micah, and drawing heavily upon the Hebrew heritage of one God whose nature is redeeming love—proclaimed to the world that higher law will always be the basis of an abiding order.

He said that all law depends upon this: "Thou shalt love the Lord thy God with all thy heart and mind and soul and strength, and thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

## A HIGHER LAW

Political life in a democracy must serve these basic moral tenets or it is unworthy of the respect of the people. While

we must have law and order in the streets—and we can get that merely by exercising power—our aim is a higher law operating in the American conscience, and a deeper order emerging throughout the land.

While we enforce civil laws that prevent looting, burning and killing, we must also enforce those moral laws that protect children from the indelible stains of a slum beginning and a slum existence, that provide employment to those who want to work, and that assure every citizen of this Republic that his intelligence and commitment to decency—not the place where he was born, the creed he professes, or the color of his parents—will determine his chances in our society.

The American people feel indignant when a store is looted or a policeman is shot by a frenzied sniper; but they must learn to feel the same indignation when a rat bites a child or a church or school is burned by someone with the fires of racism and hate in his heart.

If this higher law is truly to enter the minds and hearts of all Americans, if this Nation is truly to achieve a deeper order, an especially heavy responsibility falls on religious leaders and those who believe in the Old and New Testaments. It is not enough to worship in our churches and send missionaries abroad. It's not enough to sing and pray and deplore the vandalism of unruly teenagers. The prophet Amos said, "It is not enough to play the violin and burn the incense in a solemn assembly."

## NOBLE WORKS

It is up to all of us to do everything in our power to see that the lofty ideal of a higher law is translated into noble deeds and works.

Congress needs to hear your voices loud and clear. There are today programs before Congress which desperately need the support of every American who seeks a constructive, positive solution to the trials of recent years and the past few weeks.

Take, for example, the Model Cities program. This is a program designed to root out slum conditions through a coordinated, well-planned effort at all levels in the public and



private sectors of our country. This is not just a federal program, but one specifically designed to encourage individual action and initiative in all parts of our society.

America needs this and other programs that are now before your Congress. And your Congress needs to hear from you. Those who want to stop progress are speaking loudly and clearly. Those who want to divide this nation on the basis of hate and race are speaking loudly and clearly. The extremists are talking. I ask you to talk and act too.

You know, it was churchmen who led the way in the civil rights struggle. It was churchmen who passed a resolution endorsing an anti-poverty program two years before we enacted it in Washington. Now I turn to you churchmen—ministers and laymen—once again, asking support for these vital programs, which are as important in the 1960's as Social Security and rural electrification were in the 1930's.

These programs are going to help a lot of people, but the most that they can do, and the most that they should do, is to provide a full measure of opportunity for those Americans who do not have it now. Americans do not want welfare. Americans want a chance to make something out of their lives.

Government can build schools and houses. It can offer scholarships. It can provide better health facilities. But when all is said and done, it's up to the individual to use the gifts that his Creator gave him to their best advantage.

## A HEAVY RESPONSIBILITY

You, as shepherds and teachers, have a heavy responsibility—as do I—to see that the people you lead are ready to make the most of the opportunities which are increasingly available to them.

It is from within the walls of your churches that many of the historic civil rights marches of the last decade have set out. Now a new generation must go forth from those walls, equipped to take full advantage of the rights won by their predecessors. This new generation must go forth with pride in their cultural heritage, hope in the future, and the courage and determination to carry on, day in and day out,

the struggle for a better and freer America.

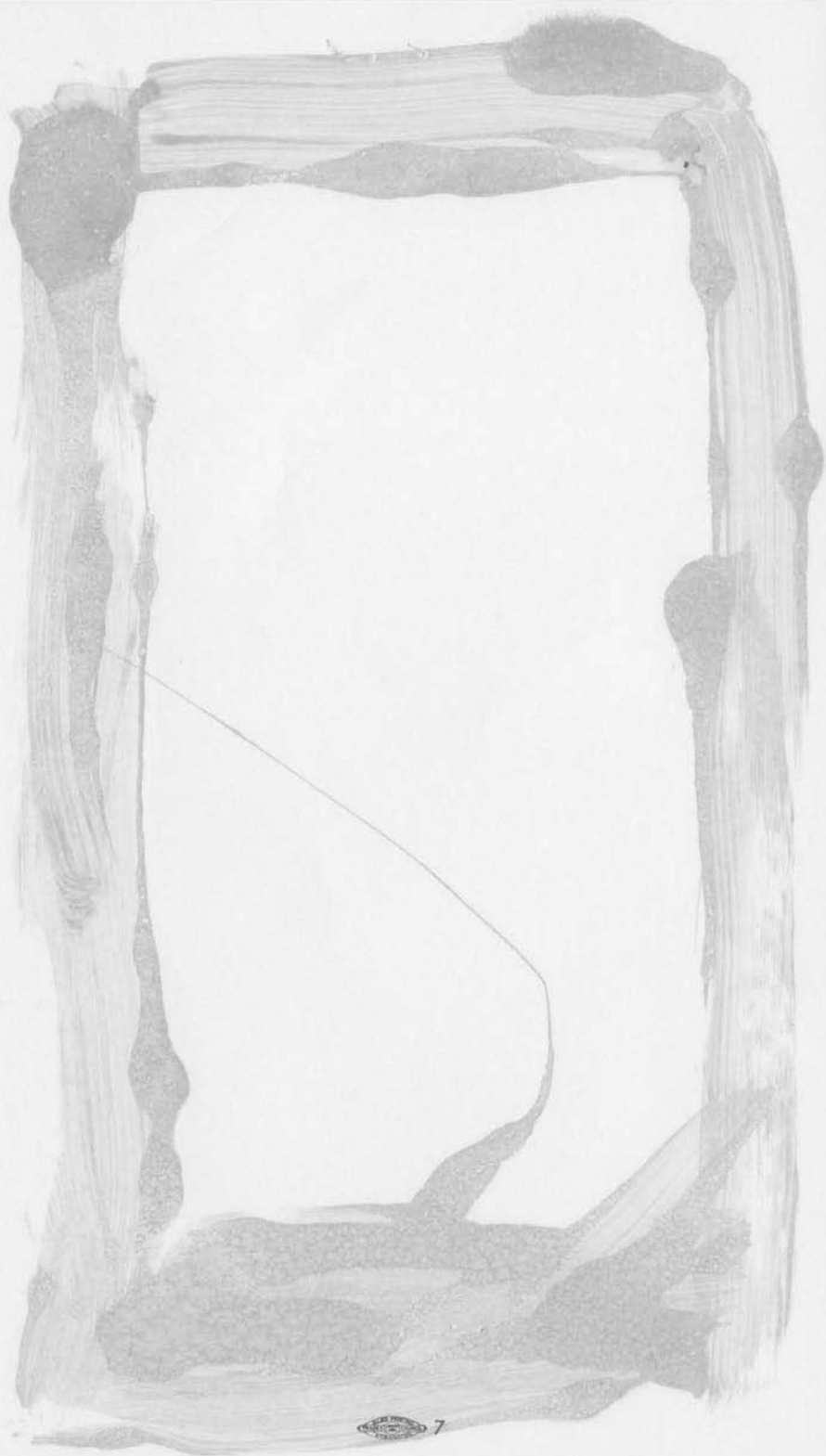
In the words of your beloved pastor and leader, Dr. Jackson, "It is the individuals and not the Government which make the Nation strong."

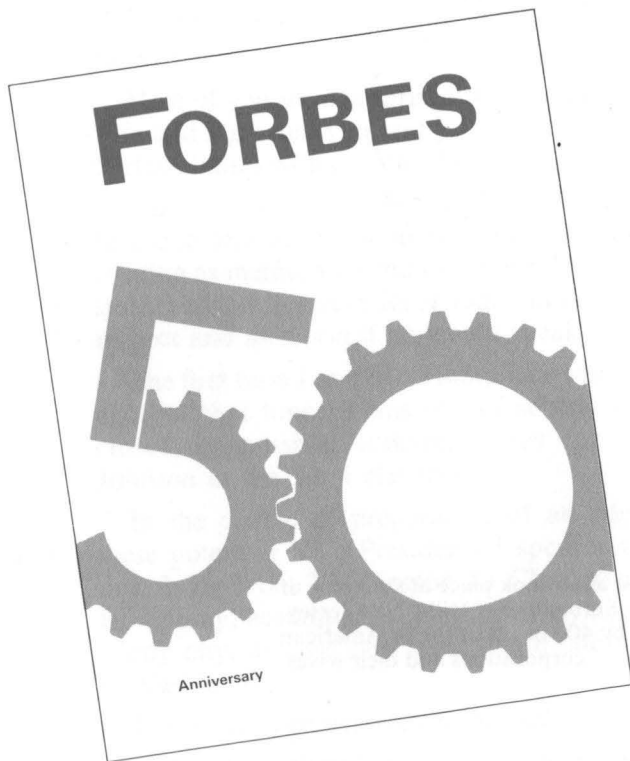
And these individuals must go forth prepared to serve their community and their nation. A great philosopher said, a hundred years ago, "Let a person have nothing to do for his Country and he will have no love for it."

We want everybody to have something to do for his country, something to do for himself, his loved ones, his family. Then he will love his country and he will love his neighbor.

Woodrow Wilson understood the destiny of America well. I shall conclude with his words: "My dream is that America will come into the full light of the day when all shall know that she puts human rights above all other rights and that her flag is the flag not only of America but of all humanity."

My friends, this is no longer only a dream. The dawn is breaking and the sun is rising. The new day is here, and the full light of that day will shine upon every one of us, if we but will it.





Address by  
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey  
at a dinner marking the 50th Anniversary of  
Forbes Magazine, September 16, 1967.

The affair took place at the home of  
Mr. and Mrs. Malcolm S. Forbes in Far Hills, New Jersey.  
It was attended by 400 heads of major American  
corporations and their wives.

*Extract from remarks by Malcolm S. Forbes, Editor-in-Chief of Forbes Magazine, introducing Vice President Hubert Humphrey.*

Remarks:

Most of you were surprised this evening when my wife and I greeted you and you next found yourself shaking hands with the Vice President.

This occasion is for Forbes Magazine an important one and as an important part of making the evening as memorable and meaningful to you as possible, I asked this man for whom I have unbounded respect and affection if he would speak to us.

The first time I met Mr. Humphrey was 3½ years ago. At that time he was one of several being discussed as possible running mates for President Johnson in the 1964 election.

In the course of preparation of an editorial on these potential Vice Presidents I spent a very long day flying from Washington to Chicago with Mr. Humphrey; accompanied him for many hours in the windy city, and we flew back again late that night to Washington.

I came away enormously impressed.

Hubert Humphrey's knowledge about many things was remarkable. He had facts, a viewpoint, thoughts

and conclusions that reflected intelligent consideration rather than political consideration and personal prejudice.

Perhaps the thing that most impressed me was the man's sincerity. Having known and written about so many people in many walks of life and particularly in politics, the ring of sincerity is the toughest to keep and to convey.

So many here tonight, as with so many around the nation, don't know Hubert Humphrey personally; have not seen or heard him close up. Their impressions of him have been formed by bits and clips on TV and radio and from newspaper headlines. As a result, sometimes people tend to think of the Vice President as a voluble talker on any and all things.

As you will note in a minute or two, he certainly can speak well; but he speaks too with informed conviction, and says things that make sense. His wide ranging knowledge of affairs of this nation and the world are an immense asset to all of us.

It is with a heartfelt admiration that I present to you now a man all of you will soon know better and better understand.

He rings true.

I consider it an honor to help celebrate the 50th Anniversary of that formidable "Capitalist Tool"—FORBES. The journal, like its founder and its present owner, has always spoken out for the best in business—for vital, creative, expansive free enterprise.

B. C. Forbes was a man who believed deeply in business, and the greatest businessmen in the country were his friends. But he never hesitated to point out weaknesses in the free enterprise system, and he never mistook the interests of business for the interests of the nation. His formula was the reverse: What is good for the nation is good for business. These are fitting times in which to celebrate the philosophy.

I grew up with a generation which believed that neither the private sector nor government was taking adequate responsibility to protect the interests of the public. Their evidence was all around us: the Great Depression graphically told many of us that our farms, our people, our free-enterprise system itself, had been wastefully exploited, in large part because of excessive laissez faire on the part of the government.

Some did not agree with us; but those who did were a majority, and government became more fully

the champion of public welfare and guardian of the nation's resources—yet it did so while still maintaining the essentially private nature of our economy.

Since then government has recognized and acted on the pressing social and economic problems of the times, and business has also responded. It is fair to say that in no other country have business and industry—through the sheer vitality of economic growth and the benefits it has brought to our people—contributed so mightily to social progress.

Today, as this nation faces a new challenge to its democratic destiny, I believe the balance of public responsibility is visibly—and rightly—shifting back toward the private sector. I do not mean that government is abdicating the duties we have all given it, but rather that the private sector is assuming an unprecedented amount of responsibility for the welfare of the nation at large.

That is right, because the crisis before us is a complex one requiring solutions which are beyond the capacity of a government alone to provide.

It is a crisis of . . .

. . . racial discrimination;

. . . unemployment and under-employment due to hard-to-correct personal inadequacies—lack

of skills, poor attitudes, poor health—rather than to broad economic forces;

. . . inadequate education and training in an age of rapid technological advance;

. . . rapid and chaotic urbanization;

. . . migration of unemployed people from decaying rural areas to the cities;

. . . inadequate housing; and

. . . rising expectations met too slowly.

The unifying ingredient is poverty, which, as the National Association of Manufacturers recently observed, "has become intolerable in this country because it is unnecessary."

History calls upon us today to eliminate poverty in America.

It calls upon us to move past mere welfare programs to a concept of full and equal opportunity for every American.

It calls upon us to make every American a full participant in this prosperous society.

Yes, it calls upon us to perfect American democracy.

Government is not omniscient, omnipotent, or omnipresent enough to meet that challenge alone. (Nor should it be.)

The challenge cannot be met efficiently or adequately without the initiative, the investment, creative imagination, the flexibility, the capacity to work out details of specific problems that are the hallmark of a free-enterprise system.

Moreover the problem of poverty and blighted opportunity will ultimately be solved not just by an application of federal medicine, although that is needed, but through a process of organic growth which gives every American citizen a permanent and useful place in our economy and society.

As most of you are aware, the indispensable role of the private sector has been recognized, for instance, in nearly every major piece of anti-poverty and urban renewal legislation passed under the Johnson-Humphrey Administration.

The Model Cities Program invites private participation in every area of urban renewal. It was passed in the first place with a strong boost from Edgar Kaiser and some of his business colleagues.

The Rent Supplement and Turnkey Public Housing Programs are a way of making it possible for



private institutions to market decent low cost housing.

The Job Corps is one of our newest departures in the human resource development field. It would have been a natural thing to hire a few thousand more civil servants to do the training, but we decided instead to call upon the practical experience and know-how of private business to run the Job Corps camps. Litton Industries and Westinghouse, which are represented here tonight, are now running two very successful Job Corps programs.

But the initiative which has recently emerged in the business community itself provides the most dramatic evidence of growing private sector participation in the war on poverty. Let me mention only a few which are representative:

In Cleveland, Warner and Swasey, Midland-Ross, Republic Steel and others have set up the "Cleveland Revolving Fund" to make loans to nonprofit groups which wish to build low cost housing.

I understand that Westinghouse, United States Steel, Rockwell and others are undertaking a similar project in Pittsburgh aimed at massive housing rehabilitation.

The new Detroit Committee is investigating the whole spectrum of problems which adds up to slums and ghettos. James Roche is on that Committee, and I understand Ford has even established a Department of Urban Affairs.

In New York, U. S. Gypsum has apparently achieved a real success in low cost housing renovation.

Corn Products of Argo, Illinois, found it cheaper to upgrade the skills of its own workers with remedial courses in reading and math than to hire better-trained employees away from the competition. The program was so successful—and so profitable—that Corn Products has set up a subsidiary to market its remedial course. I hear that fifty firms have bought the training program since the subsidiary began six months ago.

Some companies, like Royal Typewriter in Hartford, are beginning to meet their labor needs by purposely dipping into the pool of hard-core unemployed, training them, nursing them over the first difficult steps toward a regular work routine, and making them into productive citizens.

Then there is the Urban Coalition, of which some of you are members. The "Statement of Principles,

Goals and Commitments" issued by the Coalition in Washington three weeks ago stated:

"All representatives of the private sector in the Urban Coalition decisively commit themselves to assist the deprived among us to achieve full participation in the economy as self-supporting citizens."

That was one of the proudest documents in the history of free enterprise.

Finally, there was the dramatic announcement last Wednesday that the life insurance companies of America have pledged to invest one billion dollars in city core areas to build housing and finance enterprises which will create jobs. The President called it an "historic contribution." It is nothing less.

That billion dollars by itself will have an enormous impact. But perhaps the most important impact may be in the precedent this will set for other parts of our free economy which can help meet other urgent needs.

Will this new initiative by the private sector be sustained? Will we achieve that essential balanced partnership between the private economy and government which will enable us finally to eradicate poverty and blighted opportunity from our American society? I think the answer will surely be Yes.

And I think so for several reasons:

First, it is now clear that business people are not only willing to make sizable investments in housing, job training, and other imperative social programs; they are personally devoting a great deal of their time, in hundreds of communities across the nation, to community action boards, to local development agencies, and to direct supervision of social programs their firms have undertaken.

Second, I see an emerging consensus, not only between government and business, but including labor and the responsible leadership of the ghetto communities, about what needs to be done. The formula is jobs, housing, education, and local initiative.

Third, the problem of poverty is complex, but it is not overwhelming in size. The poor constitute only 15 per cent of our otherwise prosperous and stable society. The hard-core unemployed—those without jobs for more than 15 weeks—are only 440,000 in an economy which provided 1.5 million new jobs a year. It will not be an undue strain for this nation to do whatever is necessary to open the doors of opportunity to that small minority.

Fourth, we do not have to start from scratch. We are already well advanced on programs designed to close the opportunity gap in American society.

Among federal programs, the War on Poverty has already created a thousand community action agencies which are now serving half the nation's poor.

The Head Start Program has already prepared two million children, urban and rural, for successful school experiences. Nearly a million youngsters have already received work experience and training through the Neighborhood Youth Corps.

The Job Corps has already sent 60,000 new workers into the economy.

The Manpower Development and Training Act has already provided training for almost 400,000 workers, a large proportion of whom had previously been chronically unemployed.

And these programs have worked pretty well. We've had some trials and errors. We've had our Edsels. But six years ago 20 per cent of our fellow citizens were living in poverty; now, as I said, the figure is down to 15 per cent.

Finally, there is a sizable and quick economic return to be had from the elimination of poverty.

It is the misery factor alone which justifies a War on Poverty. But there is no shame in admitting that the prospect of real economic gain is what makes a

sustained effort by the private sector in this field possible. We all have our stockholders and taxpayers.

We do not have truly accurate statistics to tell us just how much poverty costs each year.

We do know that the poor, according to our current definition of poverty, can spend a maximum of 32 cents per meal per day, and a dollar and forty cents for everything else they need—rent, clothing, transportation, medicine, recreation. This means they are a poor market.

It has been estimated, for instance, that if Negro incomes averaged the same as White incomes, rather than being roughly half the White average, the Negro market alone would be ten billion dollars greater.

In some ghettos the "subemployment rate"—underutilization of man hours available—is as high as 35 per cent. That means lower production of goods and services.

The poor have four times as much debilitating heart disease, six times as much arthritis and rheumatism, six times as much mental and nervous illness as occurs in the rest of the population.

That means more man hours lost, higher social costs.

Underconsumption, man hours lost, energies wasted because of poverty—that costs every enterprise in the United States something each year. The fact that the poor pay little in taxes, compounded by the cost of welfare programs, means a substantial cost to the society at large.

On the other hand, the return on expenditures which boost a person out of poverty is very high. In Detroit, for example, 1270 hard-core unemployed workers were trained and placed in jobs at a cost of \$850,000. In the first year the taxes they paid, plus savings on welfare, amounted to \$930,000, not to mention continuing dividends. Welfare programs produce no return at all.

I think, therefore, that the future promises a sustained and growing commitment of resources by the private sector to the pressing social business I have mentioned, and a new balance between public and private initiative. We do not yet know, however, how the burden can be most efficiently shared.

I shall probably never stand before a group that better represents American free enterprise, so let me ask you frankly: How much do you think free

enterprise will be able to contribute to providing a decent American level of opportunity for those who do not have it today?

Take the problem of unemployment. The Urban Coalition says the Federal Government should be the employer of last resort. Perhaps it should. But how much of present unemployment can be absorbed right now through private initiative?

Businessmen constantly tell me that they are unable to meet their man-power requirements because they cannot find adequately trained employees. Are their specifications for "adequate training" tailored to the job to be filled, or do they include arbitrary academic requirements, an unrealistically high level of English proficiency, a spotless police record?

When training is required, how much can private companies afford to provide? Do they know how to provide it?

What about creating new jobs? Where will a businessman open his next plant? In the suburbs where he has to compete for labor, or in the ghettos where he has to train it?

Just after the Watts riots, I was in Los Angeles and I asked that question. Dan Kimball of Aerojet

General took up my challenge. Aerojet General established a subsidiary in Watts, hired local people, trained them and went into the tent-making business on the strength of a Defense Department contract. Watts Manufacturing has since started manufacturing shipping containers, another relatively low-skill item; it is a going concern, employing over 400 workers from the Watts area. And it is about to start making money.

What about the continuing migration to the cities? Poor people, mostly Southern Negroes, mostly unskilled and poorly educated, continue to flow into our cities at the rate of about 600,000 per year, compounding the problems of the ghetto and raising the cost of solutions to our urban problems.

What are the chances of raising their standard of living and of arresting that flow with a counter-magnet of attractive training and employment opportunities in rural areas?

What are the economic and social possibilities of putting more factories out where the air is clean and the transport facilities are uncrowded?

I know you have already been asking a good many of these questions yourselves.

And I hope you will ask some hard questions of those of us in Government.

I am referring not just to questions about the efficiency and effectiveness of our government programs—although those questions will always be needed.

No, I mean the questions that must surely come once free enterprise has taken a full and hard look at the challenges, and opportunities, which face our country today.

I have faith in our free enterprise system. I do not think the full limits of its potential are yet in sight. And I believe that, once free enterprise has given its full and creative attention to the national problems of today, you will surely have questions which we in government must be able to answer.

I mean: What tax incentives . . . or subsidies . . . or procurement policies . . . or joint government-private ventures will be appropriate to help provide jobs, housing, and opportunity?

What do you need to profitably enter these huge and waiting markets? How can we help you without getting in your way? What can we do together to get the job done?

We will not find the answers to these questions without experimentation. They are not going to be found without taking some risks or without some false starts.

But throughout our history it has been the risk-takers—people like you—who have moved America forward.

And, after all, America's cities belong to their citizens, not to their officials.

It is your Federal Government, not the bureaucrats'.

It is your country . . . you fellow citizens . . . and

your responsibility that we have been talking about here tonight.

So it is good and proper that this nation is increasingly turning to you for leadership as we seek, once and for all, to provide full freedom and full opportunity for every citizen. For risk and opportunity go hand-in-hand, and they always will.

I give you the words of an old New Jersey neighbor.

Woodrow Wilson said: "This is not America because it is rich. . . . America is a name in the ears of men everywhere as a synonym with individual opportunity."

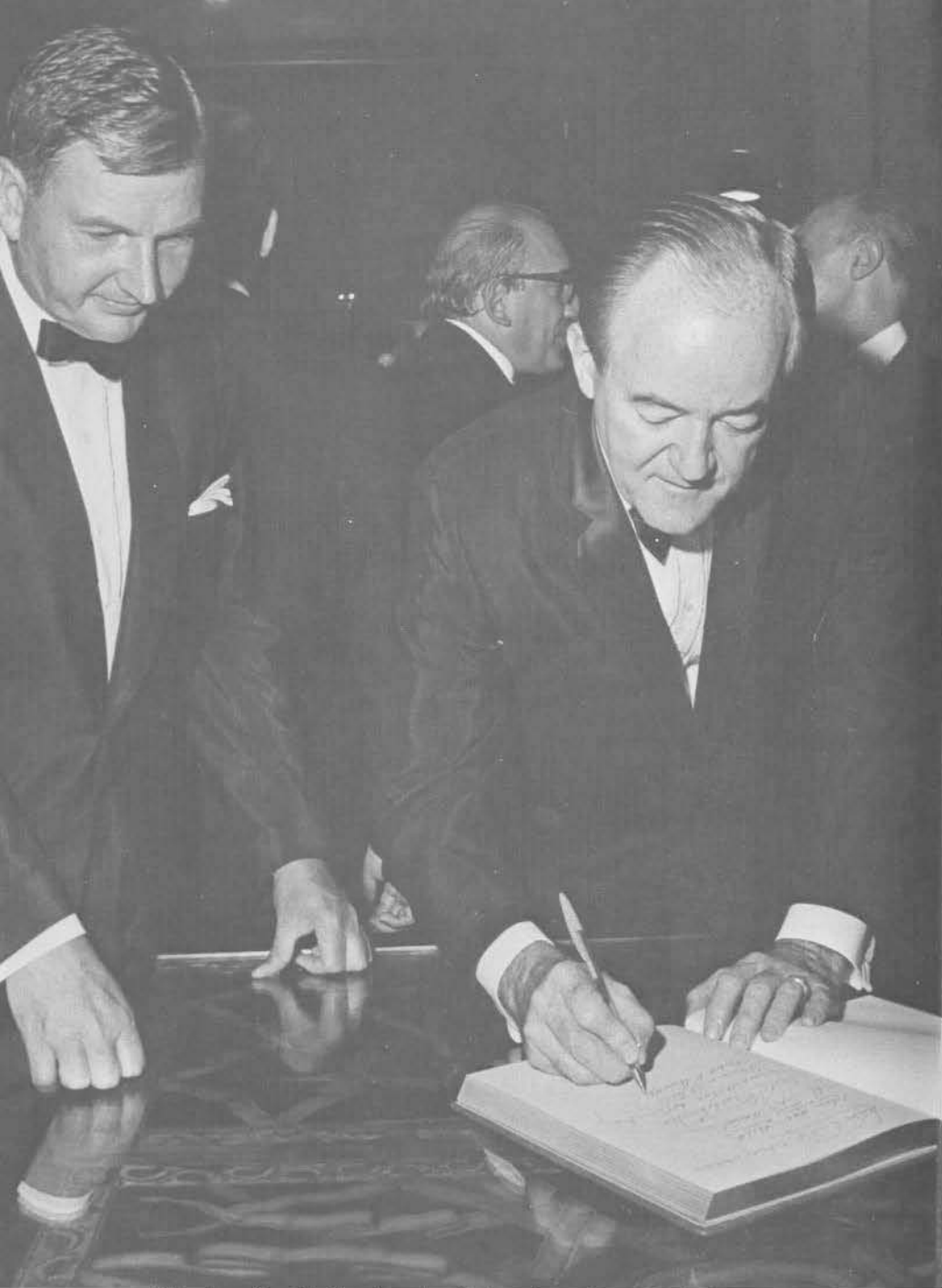




**Addresses by**  
**Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey**  
**Vice President of the United States**  
**on**  
**U.S. Relations with Latin America**



ADDRESS BY  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
AT CENTER FOR  
INTER-AMERICAN RELATIONS  
NEW YORK, NEW YORK  
SEPTEMBER 18, 1967



*Signing In At Center for Inter-American Relations*

*(Left) Mr. David Rockefeller, Chairman of the Board, Center for Inter-American Relations; the Vice President.*

A year ago I was honored to accept an invitation to become an honorary trustee of this Center. I am even more honored to address the distinguished audience which has gathered tonight to mark its opening.

The inauguration of this Center reflects the interest in Latin America that has developed in the last decade in the United States.

It reflects, too, the new attitude that has developed toward our fellow citizens in the hemisphere: An attitude based on understanding and respect for Latin American people, for their culture, and for many of their traditions.

It is based on an increasing acceptance of Latin Americans as our full partners and on a recognition that we have much to learn from our Latin American neighbors. We pragmatic North Americans sometimes find it difficult to understand why philosophy and ideology loom so large in Latin American political life.

To understand Latin American culture we must recognize that ideological considerations assume a greater importance in their culture than in ours.

We must read Latin American poets and philosophers, hear their music, see their drama, and view their paintings. For the educated person in North America, the names of Botero and Mistral, Rodo and Sanches, Villa Lobos and Borges, should be far more familiar than they are today. This Center can make this possible by becoming a showcase for the cultural achievements of Latin America, the Caribbean and Canada—a forum for the interchange of ideas and information. And, in making it possible it can assist us in understanding their concerns and in enriching our own lives and culture.

The calibre and stature, the proven interest and dedication of the men and women who have organized this center should insure its success. For few people have done more to promote solidarity and understanding among the nations of the hemisphere than those who are here tonight.

Tonight, although we are honored by the presence of distinguished Latin American officials and private citizens, I would like to direct my remarks primarily to my fellow citizens of the United States who have founded this Center.

## BASIS OF INTER-AMERICAN SYSTEM

On this occasion it is appropriate to ask: What is the basis of our interest in inter-American relations? What binds us together in this common concern?

There are those for whom the link between the United States and Latin America is based chiefly on physical proximity.

They say that it is unrealistic to seek solidarity with Latin America. And they point to the observable differences between us.

They say:

—The United States is rich; most of Latin America is poor.

—Our culture is largely Anglo-Saxon and Yankee; theirs is largely Latin and Iberian.

—We are sometimes clumsily powerful; they are often self-consciously weak.

—We are to a large extent Protestant—they are to a larger extent Catholic.

The people of the United States enjoy widely the marvels of the technological and electronic age; the ordinary people of Latin America have barely begun to glimpse them.

There may have been some validity to this portrayal—at the beginning of this decade. It is surely an over-simplification now.

But the differences that divide us are small compared to the bonds that unite us.

## THE NEW WORLD

One of the most ancient and enduring of these bonds is our common commitment to the idea of a New World.

Since the 16th century, men—whether English, Spanish or Portuguese—have been gripped with the desire to find, and the determination to build, a New World.

This New World has represented not just a new land to be exploited, not just a haven for the oppressed.

Above all, it has signified a vision of a new human chance—an opportunity to create in a new world a society, a human political system, which would make possible a truly human life.

From the founding of Massachusetts Bay Colony to the Declaration of Independence, from the first voyage of Columbus to the South American revolution of the 1820's, the idea of the New World has been both a dream and a battle cry on both continents.

On this common ground, we share one of the great visions and one of the great adventures in human history.

Now that alien forces in the world today have brought us closer together in danger and concern, let us not forget that we were—and we are—blood brothers in hope.

In their vision of a human society in a new world, our forefathers assumed that man need not be resigned to Providence . . . that he could to some extent master his own environment.

As President Kennedy said, "that here on earth God's work must truly be our own."

That was a basic assumption in launching the Alliance for Progress—the framework of inter-American policy today.

Since the signing of the Charter of Punta del Este six years ago, we have been acting on the premise that man can shape his environment . . . that radical improvement in the condition of ordinary people can be achieved through deliberate, systematic political action.

Just as hope brought men to the shores of our continents four centuries ago, so the hope which has been aroused by the Alliance for Progress spurs us on to create that truly human society of which we have always dreamed.

## ROLE OF PRIVATE INSTITUTIONS

In pursuing this goal, the initiative and resourcefulness of private institutions are indispensable. A Center like this can stimulate the efforts of private groups . . . can provoke them to focus on the problems of the hemisphere the best thinking, the most creative insights, that men and women anywhere in the hemisphere have to offer.

Most important, it can spur them to action.

Governments must deal with the problems and crises of today—and far too rarely does their preoccupation with the present permit adequate attention to the future.

Yet the very idea of a New World implies an orientation toward the future.



Never has such an orientation been more necessary than in Latin America today, where one-half the population is under 20 years of age.

This is a role which you as representatives of private institutions can play—through institutes such as the Center, through foundations, business groups, universities, labor unions, and churches.

As the Center for Inter-American Relations, you will face the temptation to deal chiefly with established institutions, to invite mostly well-known figures, to exhibit recognized artists, to accept the conventional wisdom of the day.

In confronting this temptation—which is a pervasive temptation for all of us—you must bear in mind that what appears to be an establishment may be only the temporary pinnacle of an “established disorder.”

For many—particularly among the young—the establishment of today is not one which they aspire to join. It is an institution which they hope to see dismantled. I know the progressive and concerned Latin American leaders who are with us tonight not only recognize this fact, but that they are striving to build societies where the energies of the young will be devoted to constructive—and not destructive—ends.

## IMPORTANCE OF YOUTH

In our contacts with Latin America we must give priority attention to the young leaders of the next decade. Some are on the scene. Others are yet to be identified.

To do this, it may be that a new edition of Who's Who will be required.

And in drawing up that revised Who's Who—we should avoid including only those who speak English, attend American Embassy receptions, or (if my friend George Moore will permit) have a sound credit rating at the First National City Bank.

The most imaginative, talented, and responsible Latin American leaders are not always the most North-American minded.

As you have long since known, if private institutions are to be on the cutting edge of history in this hemisphere, both their vision and their programs must be bold.

They must venture into these sensitive but vital areas where the risks are high, the immediate visible results low, and the recognition long in coming.

The private sector's contribution is needed in the area of agrarian reform and land utilization . . . modernization and equalization of tax systems and market systems . . . reform of outdated state university systems . . . and in confronting the myriad problems of the modern metropolitan area—high unemployment, sprawling slums, clogged transportation systems, inadequate housing and hospitals, insufficient schools and teachers.

It is needed in training young people, in developing programs for the media of mass communication, in assisting the building of free trade unions in both urban and rural areas, in strengthening existing professional associations and creating new ones.

The private sector must give attention to the ingredients of political and social development as well as economic development.

In the past two decades in the United States, the private sector has shown that it can effectively contribute to the resolution of the sensitive political and social issues of the day.

In the 1950's for instance, when fundamental American freedoms and institutions were called into question, private funds supported the creation of the Fund for the Republic which devoted itself to subject American institutions to searching scrutiny and to presenting their findings to the public at large.

Similarly, the Southern Christian Leadership Conference was established with foundation support to assist in the resolution of the most tormenting social issue of our times—that of the relations between the races.

And now the private sector is becoming deeply involved in the unmet social needs of this nation—from rebuilding the crowded tenements of Harlem to liberating the prisoners of rural America's tarpaper shacks.

Yes, we are beginning to develop right here at home a creative partnership . . . an Alliance for Progress between free enterprise and representative government. And the lessons learned right here must be seized and put to work in other parts of the hemisphere.

It is not necessary to review here the progress of our attempts to transform the hemisphere the past six years through the Alliance for Progress. This was done at Punta del Este earlier this year where the Presidents of the hemisphere met to assess our accomplishments and to plan for the future. They agreed that top priority for the next decade should go to institutional development, and the economic integration of Latin America.

### PUNTA DEL ESTE CONFERENCE

The creation of a common market and the integration of Latin America entails breaking out of confining frontiers, reaching out to forge bonds of unity, and in unity gaining strength. But the process of creating a common market also entails difficult and painful adjustments in the fabric of established societies. It would be a great misfortune if the fear of these adjustments were to delay progress of the movement toward integration.

They agreed on the urgency of opening up the inner frontiers of the South American continent.

They agreed to consider the possibility of stimulating intra-regional trade through temporary preferential trading agreements.

They agreed on the urgency of accelerating the modernization of agriculture and the rural areas.

They agreed to facilitate the dissemination of technology through the establishment of new regional institutes.

They agreed to devote increased resources to health and education in every land.

All these initiatives must, and I am confident will, be pursued.

But beyond these material necessities, there are human necessities too.

It has, for instance, become customary to distinguish between behavior patterns in developed and developing countries of the world—and to apply this distinction to North America and to Latin America.

No one who has endured the agony of the past summer in the United States can place much faith in that distinction.

### NEED FOR INTEGRATION

For we have seen what happens when a small but aroused minority, awakened to full consciousness of its condition, and cut off from the bonds of society, is misled by demagogues into seeing its only outlet in anarchy and violence.

Thus, when we speak of the integration of Latin America as of the hemisphere, we must concern ourselves not only with the economic integration of a continent, but with the integration into society of millions of human beings who are becoming conscious of their condition . . . who are no longer resigned to their fate on the margin of society.

Given the conditions of everyday life in many parts of Latin America, what is a tiny minority in this country could be a dangerous and broad movement—or a majority—in other countries of the hemisphere.

Most nations in Latin America have made progress during this decade in achieving economic growth and social justice.

But progress has brought with it increased tensions that spring from hopes yet unfulfilled, from rising expectations not met fast enough.

This should neither surprise nor discourage us.

We knew that the hopes and expectations which the Alliance would arouse could not all be met in the immediate future. What can be accomplished in a material sense in a short period of time will always fall short of expectations.

What is important is that we be prepared to give convincing evidence that progress is being made, that material betterment is on the way, that there is reason for believing that the unmet problems of society will be solved in the future.

We must be able, in short, to provide the politics of hope and of faith.

What concerns me, as I look toward the next decade, is that progress may not be fast enough to sustain the hopes that have been aroused . . . that the newly awakened millions will reject the alternatives of peaceful change and accept instead the leadership of those who glorify violence and who seek not to change society but to destroy it.

"We hope vaguely," said Valery, "but we dread precisely."

## PROGRESS IN THE FUTURE

I raise this question with the full realization that more has been done in the past decade in most countries than in the previous five decades.

More has been done by two United States Administrations in this decade than ever before.

More resources have been devoted to hemisphere programs during the past three years than the previous three.

And President Johnson has made unmistakably clear his determination—regardless of any temporary setbacks—to continue the large-scale commitment of resources of the United States to the Alliance for Progress program. As he stated last month: "We will persevere. There is no time limit on our commitment." And at Punta del Este: "Economic and social development is a task not for sprinters but for long-distance runners."

But I would like to be more confident that our efforts—those of all of us throughout the hemisphere—are of a magnitude equal to the task.

I would like to be more confident that the spreading guerrilla movement in some countries, the "radicalization of the left" in others, represent a temporary phase and not a long-range condition.

I would like to be more confident that the increase in gross national product is improving the lives of those who are most in need; that the majority of the coming generation sees in progressive political democracy a system to be preserved and perfected—and not a vestige to be discarded.

I would like to be more confident that the enormous contribution which a competitive free economy can make to economic and social development is widely understood; and that the advanced trading nations of the world are prepared to adjust world trade policies to reflect the needs of the less-advanced nations of the world.

I would like to be more confident that the members of the Organization of American States will improve its machinery and institutions to make it work, in times of trouble as well as tranquility.

## IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

As we face the next decade, we are more aware today than five years ago that the economic progress we seek, and the social justice we aspire to, can be securely achieved only where political institutions are strong and where political leadership is secure.

Until ways are found to strengthen the political fabric of our hemisphere . . . to perfect the institutions which are the sub-structure of a stable political system, we can have no assurance that the economic and social modernization and proceed without interruption.

Political development in our hemisphere during the next decade must also focus on the expansion of the Inter-American system, the inclusion of new nations or groups of nations, the possible return of old ones.

In the Caribbean, the future course to insure the development of small states with limited resources will require a political inventiveness and creativity that is not yet assured. Can these states provide the economic and social necessities of a modern nation through federation? Or must they find some other relationship to the mainland—through independence, commonwealth status, or other ties?

Given our special and historic concern with the Caribbean, we will not be able to envision its stability so long as one nation remains not only outside the inter-American system, but intent on that system's destruction. We hope for a return of the policy of the "good neighbor" to the Caribbean. But it will not return until the policy of "leaving one's neighbors alone" is applied by Havana.

Until Cuba is prepared to leave her neighbors alone, to suspend the activities and the connections that led to her expulsion from the American family, there can be no return to participation in the inter-American system.

To our neighbor to the North, Canada—which is celebrating its centennial year—we express the hope that it will, in the future, choose to play a more active role in the affairs of the hemisphere, so that all may benefit from the talents and energies which the Canadian people have displayed in their vast and beautiful land.



## RELATIONSHIP WITH EUROPE

At the outset of my remarks, I referred to the enduring bond between the Americas stemming from our belief and participation in the New World.

This should not lead us to overlook what may prove to be an even more enduring and cohesive inheritance—the Western civilization which the New World shares with the Old.

Our efforts to perfect the inter-American system, to foster hemispheric unity, should not be defined in any exclusive sense that would discourage a greater European contribution to the political, cultural, social and economic life of the Americas.

For all of us in this hemisphere are, in a sense, the children of Europe.

And thus we welcome Europe in our hemisphere, not as a rival for power, but as a partner for progress.

We welcome Europe because, like all men who carry a proud inheritance—we know from whence we came.

And we look forward to the time when Latin America may one day assume her role as equal partner of both Europe and North America in the long and enduring search which has really only begun—the search, all over this earth, for a new human chance . . . a truly just and human environment . . . a New World.

A century ago, the Argentine poet Jose Hernandez wrote: “America has a great destiny to achieve in the fate of mankind . . . One day . . . the American alliance will bring world peace . . . America must be the cradle of the great principles which are to bring a complete change in the political and social organization of other nations.”

That vision can be fulfilled. A New World can be made.

I give you Franklin Roosevelt's last words: “The only limit to our realization of tomorrow will be our doubts of today. Let us move forward with a strong and active faith.”

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## ADDRESS AT “OPERATION AMIGO” DINNER PAN AMERICAN UNION

WASHINGTON, D. C.

NOVEMBER 10, 1966

It is a pleasure to honor Operation Amigo in the presence of so many “amigos” of long-standing.

Tonight we meet in the same spirit of friendship that first inspired the creation of Operation Amigo and has carried it across two continents.

It is only natural that this friendship should flourish in our hemisphere.

We share a common European inheritance which has left in the Americas—North and South—a widespread belief in constitutional government, in political democracy, in social justice and in economic progress.

We share, too, the Judao-Christian belief in the dignity of the individual.

Out of this Western cultural and political inheritance have come lasting bonds which have held our peoples together, despite acknowledged differences between individual nations.

The spirit of Operation Amigo is that which inspired President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's Good Neighbor policy. It is that of the Alliance for Progress which President John Kennedy launched in 1961, and which President Johnson vigorously supports today.

In our own policy toward our neighbors, we in the United States have come a long way since the days of Brigadier General Smedley Butler, who in 1916 declared that the purpose of our policy was to make the area “safe for the boys of the National City Bank.”



Our neighbors have come a long way since the days when a President of Chile could say "there are only two kinds of problems confronting society: those which get solved by themselves—and those which defy solution."

The purpose of United States policy today is summarized in the Declaration of the Peoples of America which precedes the Charter of Punta del Este:

"To unite in a common effort to bring our people accelerated economic progress and broader social justice within the framework of personal dignity and personal liberty."

### RECOGNITION OF NEED FOR CHANGE

Peoples of our hemisphere today approach the task of modernizing their societies free of the fatalism of earlier days.

They increasingly realize that the *status quo* is neither an inheritance to be enjoyed nor any longer a burden to be patiently borne.

They realize that a *status quo* which benefits the few at the expense of the many bears an intolerable human cost.

They know that deliberate, systematic political action can bring genuine improvement to the lives of ordinary and humble citizens.

All of us know today that rapid change in the socio-economic structure is possible.

We are determined to see the people of the Americas emerge from the shadows of social serfdom into the sunlight of human rights . . . out of the lethargy of neglect into participation in the political, social and economic life of the community.

Possessed of this vision and determination, a new generation of leaders in our hemisphere has begun to tackle the problems posed by rapid population growth . . . rural isolation and agricultural backwardness . . . inadequate education in both quality and quantity . . . and the conversion of local economies into the larger regional markets required for economic growth

Latin American nations have initiated tax and land reforms, built new schools and trained more teachers, embarked on national development plans, entered commodity stabilization agreements and encouraged responsible private enterprise.

### ACCELERATING THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS

*As the leaders of our hemisphere prepare to meet next year, it is already clear our sights must be raised if the original economic goals of the Alliance for Progress are to be reached.*

President Johnson has called for the raising of targets for annual growth rates—from 2½ to 4 or 6 per cent per capita annually.

To accomplish this, special attention must be given to the fields of economic integration, agricultural and rural modernization, and education.

It is now widely recognized that the progress we seek will be achieved only if the process of economic integration of the hemisphere is accelerated.

Just as the nations of post-war Europe united to form a European Economic Community, so the nations of Latin America naturally see their own destiny more and more in terms of an economically-integrated market of continental proportions.

The development of regional markets—in a manner guaranteeing the efficiency which only competition and larger markets can bring—is now recognized as essential to the economic growth of many Latin American countries. The Central American Common Market has already shown what can be accomplished when a national outlook is replaced by a regional one.

We in the United States support effective economic integration because you yourselves regard it as essential.

We support it because the modern Latin America which can emerge from effective integration will be a more effective partner in all the great common world tasks which confront us.

We support it because, as our post-war experience demonstrates, our own most fruitful and mutually advantageous trade and financial relations are with industrialized and diversified areas.

And, finally, we support it because economic integration is a fundamental part of the Alliance for Progress to which we committed ourselves at Punta del Este.

## IMPORTANCE OF RURAL MODERNIZATION

The progress we seek will elude us so long as agriculture remains stagnant and rural Latin America remains isolated from the booming cities that have sprung up across the continent. Today half the people in Latin America live in rural areas, but receive only one-fourth of the total income.

Today per capita food consumption is lower than a decade ago.

Through science and technology . . . heavy capital investment . . . investment in new fertilizer, machinery and skills . . . development of marine food resources . . . and through widening of markets, Latin American agriculture can both feed a growing population and finance the modernization of rural America.

All this will require even greater attention to education—particularly to training in the skills required for a modern society.

In most Latin American countries schools and universities are too few, too small, and too poor to meet the need.

Economic growth requires more trained talent—more engineers, scientists and agronomists, more electricians, carpenters and machinists.

The democratization of society requires an end to illiteracy, an extension of educational opportunities beyond the favored few.

The preservation and enrichment of our culture requires more poets, painters and musicians.

The educational needs of the continent cannot be met through conventional means.

Modern methods of radio and television and audio-visual techniques must be applied. New multi-national centers for training and research must be established to train the specialists needed. Only with such centers can trained talent be retained in Latin America and the "brain drain" be halted.

Expanding educational opportunities also means enlarging the possibility for participation in public life, for enlarging the middle class, and increasing social mobility.

But this progress in the fields of integration, agriculture and education will be threatened if the desire of some for modern military weapons cannot be checked.

## ARMS LIMITATION

We recognize that the economic and social aspirations of the people of Latin America cannot be achieved without security. We know that externally-supported guerrilla movements exist in some Latin American countries. But surely these security problems do not require highly sophisticated weaponry.

For many years we have been told that military budgets in Latin America are "sacred cows."

But with all being asked to contribute to the common effort, *it is time that the Inter-American Committee for the Alliance for Progress consider whether precious resources are being utilized unnecessarily for military equipment.*

But a further step is needed. The time has come for the nations of Latin America to consult with each other about the weapons they believe are truly necessary for their security.

We would hope that Latin American nations could agree that there are certain large and sophisticated weapons they do not need and will not buy.

This alone would be an important contribution to economic and social growth and political harmony.

So long as supersonic fleets are considered the best guarantee of security in any one nation, the security of all nations has no guarantee.

Surely breaking the poverty barrier is more important to the peoples of the Americas than breaking the sound barrier.

If unnecessary expenditure on conventional weapons represents a threat to the solvency of many, the proliferation of nuclear weapons in the hemisphere would threaten the security of all.

*The time is right for a regional arms agreement which would bar the nuclear arms race from our hemisphere.*

Nuclear weapons would serve no useful purpose in preserving the security of Latin American nations—but would only imperil the peace of the continent.

They would further endanger the precarious economies of countries which already possess military forces too large for their security needs and too expensive to be maintained without outside assistance.

If the nations of Latin America support such an agreement—and such a proposal was initiated several years ago—they can be sure that the United States will enthusiastically respond.

## IMPORTANCE OF POLITICAL DEVELOPMENT

As we face the next decade, we are more aware today than five years ago that the economic progress we seek, and the social justice we aspire to, can be securely achieved only where political institutions are strong and where political leadership is secure.

Perfecting political democracy and strengthening constitutional government are an essential part of the Alliance for Progress.

Where political leadership has been strong, democratic institutions have survived.

But there is no doubt that progress in preserving and extending democratic political institutions has at best been uneven. There have been recent hopeful signs—such as the peaceful transfers of power in Venezuela, Chile, Costa Rica, Guatemala, Colombia, and the Dominican Republic.

In other countries military coup d'états—not free elections—have brought changes in the government.

Until ways are found to strengthen the political fabric of Latin societies . . . to perfect the institutions which are the sub-structure of a stable political system, we cannot be sure that military coup d'états represent only a temporary aberration and not a permanent trend.

By the political sub-structure, I mean those institutions such as political parties, labor unions, business organizations, campesino federations, co-operatives and civic organizations that are the channel for much of our participation in political life.

The problem of perfecting political institutions applies to all the American nations—North and South. In responding to the pressures of rapid change, we are all experimenting with new forms of political organization . . . with new ways of strengthening established institutions.

For North Americans it may be the problem of governing the urban megalapolis or of incorporating marginal groups into the society. For Central and South Americans, it may

be building political parties, improving administration or strengthening labor unions.

In view of this continued political turbulence, our people and leaders should consider giving the same attention to political development that has been given in the past two decades to economic development.

Economic and social development can help significantly to provide the basis for civic advancement, but it will not guarantee it. The past and prospective inadequacy of economic and social progress argues strongly for more conscious action to develop political systems that can enable rapidly-changing societies to contain and manage explosive tensions with them.

Maximum use should be made of collaboration between counterpart organizations: Student groups working with student groups . . . businessmen with businessmen . . . intellectuals with intellectuals . . . labor groups with labor unions.

Why this special concern with political development?

Because it will be necessary if modernizing Latin American societies are to accommodate the demand of their people for participation and progress without sacrificing the requirement of domestic peace.

These three elements—participation, progress, and peace—often conflict with one another, and even in the best of circumstances their reconciliation is difficult.

Peace—or domestic order—can temporarily be achieved by military dictatorship.

Progress—the more abundant and equitable provision of goods and services to the citizens—can be achieved through technocracy.

But participation—full participation of the citizens—is possible only in a democracy.

The defects of military government are obvious. The allure of technocracy should not deceive. The difficulties of democracy should not repel. Only when economic modernization is matched by popular participation will modernization be a permanent achievement and not a passing phase.

The Alliance for Progress today is moving ahead in those countries where political leaders have been able to offer their people the prospect of participation as well as peace and progress. In a number of countries—Chile, Peru, Colombia, Venezuela and Mexico to name a few—the validity of the original



assumption of the Alliance for Progress is being demonstrated: That economic progress and social justice are best achieved within a framework of constitutional democracy.

Progress is being achieved in the political dialogue of the Americas.

## PROGRESS OF THE ALLIANCE

The Alliance for Progress is today the standard by which political leaders and governments are judged—even in those countries which do not fully adhere to the standard. This is an important achievement. For it has been truly said that “countries will not go where their leaders will not take them.”

There are many who say that, after five years, the progress of the Alliance is unimpressive. The Alliance has done better than many had hoped—and not as well as we would prefer. There is no doubt that only a beginning has been made. The crippling poverty and staggering injustice of centuries will not be ended in five years—nor in a decade. But what is most important is that men of vision have offered reason for hope.

As our own experience with the New Deal taught us, what can be accomplished—in a material sense—in a very limited period of time will always fall short of expectations.

We should not be discouraged.

Where there is evidence that progress is being made, this will sustain the confidence of the people that the unmet problems of society will be solved in the future.

Today there is hope.

Whether those hopes will finally be fulfilled will depend on the people and the leaders of Latin American nations.

But it will also depend on us.

In meeting our responsibilities—let it not be said that we could not match the greatness of our resources with the grandness of our vision.

We look forward to the day when a strong Latin America can play a larger role in the Western world—in the Atlantic world—and can be a full partner of the United States and Europe.

It is only then that the nations of our hemisphere will realize the desire of Bolivar to see the Americas fashioned into the greatest region of the world—greatest “not so much by virtue of her area and her wealth, as by her freedom and her glory.”





Remarks by  
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey  
at  
Plans for Progress  
Washington, D. C.  
October 3, 1967



Plans for Progress now incorporates about three hundred and eighty-nine companies in its voluntary association. These are some of the best, if not *the* best, companies in the entire American free enterprise system.

This is one of the regional meetings we will be holding throughout our country in an effort to acquaint other companies—hopefully new Plans for Progress companies—with the aims and purposes of Plans for Progress and with what they can do to make this a better country, as well as to improve their business.

Everybody who comes into this association does so out of conviction and commitment, voluntarily, freely. After being associated with this endeavor for a short period of time, these individuals and companies find themselves doing better, feeling better, knowing that they are making a real contribution to the economic and social well-being of the nation. It's a wonderful thing when you have a program that meets the economic and commercial needs of a corporation and at the same time the social and economic needs of a nation.

## AMERICA'S SUCCESS STORIES

What is the badge of success in America?

I think it is fair to say that most people equate this country with its business community. We are the great industrial nation. We are known for our goods and our services. It's the leaders of business and finance whose careers are generally referred to as the success stories of American life.

But with that high honor comes heavy responsibility, over and above your personal responsibilities to your stockholders and management.

We're asking you now to carry that burden.

## THE MINORITY OF DISADVANTAGED

This is a nation where the vast majority enjoy the good things of life while a small minority are excluded by events beyond their control or by background or experience from the main work of this nation.

Many countries have a select, elite minority and a vast majority that are aspiring to become a part of the prosperity and the glory of the nation. But our nation is almost unique

because the vast majority of our people have already attained what we can call success. They already have an education, a good income, a decent home, a good job, professional training, security. Our problem is that six-sevenths of our people are doing pretty well while the other seventh is outside the mainstream of American life.

A person who has no job has no respect for what we call our free enterprise system. A man who has no home has no respect for a neighborhood; a man who has little or no education has little or no respect for the cultural attainments of his civilization.

Knowing history as we do, knowing that a militant minority can upset the progress and stability of a society, we must recognize that it's to our advantage to see to it that this small fraction of the total population be brought into the main current of American life.

#### VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY ADDRESSES PLANS FOR PROGRESS



Seated (left to right): Alexander Trowbridge, Secretary of Commerce; William E. Zisch, Special Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce; Charles E. Spahr, President, Standard Oil Company (Ohio), Chairman, PFP Advisory Council; Eugene F. Rowan, Administrative Director, PFP; Willard Wirtz, Secretary of Labor; John Harper, President, Alcoa; William Caples, Vice President, Inland Steel Company.

## PROBLEM OF THE CITY

We really don't need many more studies to pinpoint some of the basic needs today. We know about the problems in our cities.

The city ought to be the finest creation of man's imagination, ingenuity and ability. But the city in contemporary society represents man's most difficult social problem. We know that we have a job to do in our cities—not merely to repair or clean up buildings that have become broken down, dirty, ugly, unsafe and unsanitary, but to find some way to help rebuild men and women. How to provide a new life for those who seem for all practical purposes to have lost their lives—that is not an overstatement of the problem.

## GOVERNMENT'S UNITED ROLE

I know that if we're going to come to grips with this problem, it can't be done by government alone. Government in this day and age has a heavy responsibility. But I think we ought to

#### VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY ADDRESSING AN EARLIER MEETING OF THE ADVISORY COUNCIL OF PLANS FOR PROGRESS



At right, Honorable Hobart Taylor, Director, Export-Import Bank, and an ex-officio member of the Council.



recognize that it has a limited role to play, and if you do not want it to have a greater role some responsibilities must be taken on privately. This nation has been known all of its life for its voluntary organizations.

## PARTNERSHIP FOR NEW EMPLOYMENT

Moving to the employment picture, the question is—who's going to do what must be done? I believe there is a partnership that can work. That partnership in many ways is exemplified by Plans for Progress, in which the great effort is made by private companies working cooperatively and having a deep sense of social conscience.

But the government can help. I believe the relationship that is needed in this country today between government and business is not one of domination, but rather one of cooperation, one of partnership.

So now we're coming to you as leaders, as the men who are



Haveg Industries signs Plans for Progress Agreement. Vice President Humphrey with Arthur G. Bourgault, President of the Company.

the movers, to take a good look at what needs to be done in this country and then get busy and get it done. America cannot afford the destructive luxury of poverty in the midst of affluence, of unemployment in the midst of a market that cries out for more workers, and of ignorance in a society that demands knowledge.

## HARD-CORE UNEMPLOYED

The skills that are needed for a growing America are imbedded today in the hard-core unemployed, in the untrained, in the illiterate, in those who over decades have been oppressed and pushed down and who don't even realize that there is a chance. It isn't enough just to open the gates of opportunity, and say "come through," because a man who's been told to stop outside for a long time has an automatic reflex even when the gates are open.

He doesn't come through. It takes a little encouragement. You may have to lead him by the hand. And that's exactly what we're going to have to do with our unemployed.

## ENDING DISCRIMINATION—A FIRST STEP

That is why we are calling upon the Plans for Progress companies, and upon all American companies, not merely to



Officials of National Lead Company, New York, signing an updated agreement. (Left) Luther R. Strole, Manager, Industrial Relations, the Vice President, John B. Henrich, Executive Vice President and General Counsel, John W. Sweeney, Equal Employment Opportunity Compliance officer.

say that they have eliminated any discrimination in employment. That's not enough; that's just opening the door.

If a man doesn't know how to work, if he's had no training, if he's sick, if he's illiterate, if he's ignorant, it doesn't make any difference how big a door you open. He can't walk through; he's economically, industrially, socially, paralyzed. Some way or other he has to become a motivated, alive, industrious person.

I don't think there's any better way to do this than to call upon the people who know how to recruit people and train people, and that's the people in free enterprise, in the American private corporation.

There are some people who say the government should hire all those without jobs. But I don't see any reason in the world why the government should be the main employer in this country when we have companies that have been engaged in the business of employee-employer relationships for decades. The government can then become your partner and help you find the means in your plant, in your town, to recruit and to train a potential employee into a productive worker. Most Americans want to work for a private company; they do not want it to be known that they're on some sort of government-made project.

## SIGNIFICANCE OF NEW JOBS

Imagine what it could mean if between 250 and 300 thousand additional jobs could be found in one year—what this could mean to the social well-being and the tranquility of this nation, to its sense of social justice, and to its prosperity and productivity.

So I submit to you that your job and my job is to be ingenious. Not to admit failure, not to say that we can't train people, not to say that we can't get the job done. But to find ways and means to get it done.

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Achieving the Impossible:

# AMERICA'S “THING”

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An address by  
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey  
October 4, 1967



The following speech was delivered by Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey when he swore in Brent K. Ashabranner as deputy director of the Peace Corps on Oct. 4, 1967, in a ceremony at the State Department. Mr. Humphrey, stirred by the occasion, discarded his brief prepared talk and gave instead an ardent affirmation of the American experience, propounding what he believes to be the role of the Peace Corps in helping define and shape our national character. Mr. Humphrey, who is chairman of the Peace Corps National Advisory Council, described the Peace Corps as "the finest living expression of the purpose and the meaning of America that has ever been put to the field and to the test." This is an abridged version of that speech.

We hear a lot nowadays about people having a "thing," a thing to do. Doing their thing is a very personal matter to them, and often very compelling. There have been times in all of our lives when each of us felt there was just something we were compelled to do, that there was a commitment we needed to make, a decision that had to be ours. We had to support a program or a policy or an organization.

Now, I have had a few of those feelings myself, a few of those "things" in my life—causes or ideas that have meant a great deal to me. One of those causes is the fact of the existence of the Peace Corps.

#### ORIGIN OF THE PEACE CORPS

It was something that seemed to make a lot of sense to me a long time ago. And because I felt deeply about it, because others did, it became a reality.

We started to talk about the idea of some form of national service, such as the Peace Corps. And out of that general talk, from the public platform, came speeches in the Senate and the House of Representatives, and out of that came a proposal, which was not accepted at first. There were cynics, as there always are, who thought that it was a pie-in-the-sky, foolish idea. There were others who thought it was just another way for young men to escape their responsibilities to the military service.

I have often thought about my own experience in the 1959-1960 period when I had some illusions of grandeur, and I decided I would enter some Presidential primaries. Out of the cross fire of debate between the very able and brilliant young Senator named John Kennedy and another Senator called Hubert Humphrey, we developed the idea of the Peace Corps. It did not just come out of some proposal that was conceived in a dark room with a magic pencil, on magic or mystical paper. It came out of the hard experience of platform debate.

When John Kennedy became President of the United States, he called me to the White House one day and said, "Hubert, I want to take the proposal of yours that we talked about a great deal in the primaries, and I want to send it up to Congress. We want to make it the law of the land."

The proposal was introduced in 1959. It was debated in 1960. It was reintroduced as an Administration proposal in 1961. And the then President of the United States gave me the high honor of introducing that bill as an Administration bill. The chairman

of the Foreign Relations Committee, Sen. J. William Fulbright, gave me the high honor of holding the hearings. And the Majority Leader, Sen. Mike Mansfield, gave me the high honor of managing the bill on the floor of the Senate. Those were very happy days.

But I want you to know that it did not come easily. Practically everybody praises the Peace Corps now. Did you ever take a look at the votes on the amendments to the Peace Corps proposal when we were debating it in the Congress of the United States? Have you ever read all the speeches? You will find that it wasn't easy. But it did come about. And it came about because there were people who cared, and people who had ideas, commitments and feelings.

To put it in the language that I started out with, our "thing" is the knowledge deep within our marrow, or seared into our soul, that to live in prosperity while others live in deprivation is basically wrong, and that we have a responsibility to help the less fortunate lift themselves.

This is what is behind the poverty program at home and the Peace Corps program abroad. I think the greatest testimonial to our moral fiber, moral stature and moral commitment is that at a time when we are rich, affluent and powerful, we are also deeply concerned about the weak, the sick, the illiterate, the poor, the unfortunate and the despairing.

We decided to be braver, more courageous. We decided to do the better thing, namely to try to get at the root causes of the poverty which afflicts so many of the people of this nation, even though they are but a small minority of the total population.

### NEW VOICES OF ISOLATIONISM

We have had exactly the same commitment overseas. We have a number of people today in America who say, "Why do we want to be involved in all this going on overseas?" There is a growing attitude among certain people in this country, and in certain circles, that we again ought to remove ourselves from the world. They are quite ready to say, "Stop the world, I want to get off." But there are a number of people today who say, "Well, do we have to take on the burdens of this world?"

I think it is fair to say that America could literally withdraw from any responsibility in the world today and have a 10-year "lost week end"—literally live it up, as we say, just having the time of our lives. At the end of that decade we would find out whether there would be anything left here or abroad that you could call freedom or social justice.

There are those now, even in this generation, who fail to remember or to have learned the lessons of the 1920's and the 1930's, when that is exactly what we did. We closed our mind, closed our heart, closed our purse, closed our thinking to the rest of the world. And we soon closed up our banks, lost our

farms and businesses and lost our self-respect. That happened once, in my lifetime. I see the seeds of it beginning to grow again in this part of my lifetime.

The excuse for it is, "Well, we are involved in struggle and war. Therefore, I am disenchanted. I don't like it; it is a dirty business."

That is sheer rationalization with very poor evidence. What is really going on is that some people just do not want to be bothered with the problems of other people. They prefer to take it easy.

### THE REAL PEACEMAKERS

I should like to remind you that those who really are interested in peace—the peacemakers, not the peace-talkers or the peace-walkers—are the ones who take time to help people live a good life. The peacemakers are the Peace Corps Volunteers. They are the Community Action group. They are the people who have the courage to go into the ghetto, the urban slum, and help people find a new life. They are the people who have the courage to go to faraway places with a Foreign Aid program, or a Peace Corps program, or a program of some voluntary agency, and help build, help in the process of nation-building.

Pope Paul VI said in his recent message to the United Nations that development is the new name for peace. President John Kennedy, speaking at American University about four years ago, before the nuclear test-ban treaty, said to young and old alike that peace is not passive but active. Peace is more than the absence of war. I only paraphrase it now: Peace is development, peace is growth, peace at times is even turmoil in the process of growth. Peace is the defense of one's independence and one's freedom.

There is no instant peace, no instant character, no instant way to build anything that is really worthwhile. If anybody should know that, it is the Peace Corps Volunteers.

We have our work cut out for us: to stem the tide of the rebirth of isolationism in America. They won't call it isolationism. They have new names for it. But isolationism simply means the withdrawal from responsibility.

### BURDENS OF LEADERSHIP

We have people who want the badge and title of leader, but none of the burdens, the duties and the responsibilities that come with it. Leadership gives you no privilege. Leadership gives you an opportunity to serve, and frequently to serve without recognition, or surely, without appreciation. It gives you heavy burdens and many difficult duties.

For individuals or nations who do not want to have that kind of leadership role, there is only one thing to do: Back away from it, and let somebody else take over. In the world there are those

who are willing to take over; make no mistake about it. There are plenty of people. There are ideologies, forms of government, social systems that are perfectly willing to take over the role of leader.

### WORKING ALONGSIDE OTHERS

\* To be a leader does not necessarily mean that you have to be a domineering force. The real test of leadership is the capacity to persuade and convince others to do for themselves what they ought to do for themselves. Then, finally, if they are unable to do it alone for themselves, you help them. I think that is what the Peace Corps does. It seems to teach people to do for themselves what they really want to do for themselves, and what they know they ought to do for themselves. But where they find it impossible to do it alone, the Peace Corps Volunteer says, "I am here to help. I stand alongside of you, not as your supervisor, not as your commander, but as your partner, and as your co-operator."

### PURPOSES OF GOVERNMENT

We Americans have a belief that justice and human dignity should be the blessings of every man, not just of a chosen few. I really believe that.

As a student, a professor and a practitioner of government, I believe with Thomas Jefferson that the only legitimate objective of government is the health, the education and the well-being of people. That is the whole purpose. That is why I believe in the Peace Corps. It serves the highest objectives and purposes of government.

Our commitment, or our "thing," is helping our fellow man in the huts and the villages of half the globe—as John Kennedy pledged us—not because the Communists may be doing it, not because we seek his vote, but because it is right.

### THE BASIS OF DEMOCRACY

When I used to lecture in American government, I would have my students do what all students like to do, namely, put their books under the desk, or behind the chair, for the first three or four weeks. I would say, "Listen, let's not read anything about the textbook stuff—you can read that not on my time but on yours. I want to ask you a simple question. Why democracy? Why should a man have a right to vote? Why should he have the right to govern himself? Maybe he won't vote right. I have seen several elections where I am sure he did not vote right. Why should he have the right to self-government? I have seen him govern himself very poorly, at least from my point of view. Why?"

Or better yet I would say, "Well, define democracy for me." Generally, the student, just fresh out of high school, with high

honors, the upper 10 per cent of his or her class, would say, "Professor, I think I know. Democracy—how do we define it? Well, it is the Constitution, it is the rights, privileges and duties; it is the right to vote, free press, freedom of association."

### THE SPIRITUAL NATURE OF MAN

I would say, "Well, now, what makes you think all that is so good? I happen to think it is, but why do you think it is right and good?" Then, we would have about a week's discussion on that. Finally, when we boiled it down, I would come back to them and say, "Isn't the real basic reason for the right of man to govern himself the spiritual quality of man?"

This is a matter of faith and belief. Some people do not agree with this. But I happen to believe that man is endowed by his Creator—however you define that—with certain inalienable rights, not given by the Congress, not given by the Founding Fathers, not given by the Chamber of Commerce or the AFL-CIO, but rights that he is born with: of life, of liberty and of the pursuit of happiness. I happen to believe that man was created in the image of his Maker, and as such he has a spark that we call the soul and the spirit. No one has a right to either subdue that soul or that spirit or to control it without his consent.

In other words, I believe that the whole basis of democracy is in a very real sense spiritual, and not political.

I believe, if that is the case, that social justice takes on real meaning. Not just the meaning of pragmatism, not just because it is maybe a little better because it works out better, but because man is entitled to respect. Human dignity does not come by the way people conduct themselves; sometimes they do not act very dignified. The whole belief in human equality and human dignity is predicated on a spiritual concept of man's relationship to his Maker, man's relationship to nature, man's relationship to his God. That is the fundamental bedrock basis of the democratic system.

That is why when you work with people to help people help themselves, to see that every man shall have his chance and that he will be able to make the most out of his life, you are doing what you were really born to do, and you are doing the best thing that you could possibly do.

So you can see why everybody in the Peace Corps is concerned and interested. I think this is what our Peace Corps is doing. I think it is the finest living expression of the purpose and the meaning of America that has ever been put to the field and to the test. It really exemplifies the qualities of first-class citizenship.

### THE GOOD NEWS OF AMERICAN YOUTH

I want to hold up both arms and say that the good news for America and for the world is that so many of our young people



feel compelled by some inner force to do this right thing and to do it now.

I was in my home city of Minneapolis this week end, and I read articles on some of our young people that were anything but pleasing to me. I did not think it showed the best side of them. Yet on that same Sunday, every fraternity of every college in the Twin City area had gone out to do a civic project, either in a community house, a settlement house, an old person's home or a hospital. My own son was out all day washing windows. They were not getting paid for it. Every one of them, once a week, has a responsibility to help somebody else.

This came out of some discussions we had a year ago, when I visited with some of our young fraternity boys. I said, "Listen, you guys live pretty good. Do you ever find out how anybody else lives? Why don't you, instead of just having house parties, take this enthusiasm you have, this energy, and share it with people who have all too little of the good life? Why don't you find the sick, the old, the needy and the crippled and offer some help? Why don't you find some students who need tutorial work and share your talents?"

And they are doing it. But nobody gives them a pat on the back.

The Peace Corps is good news too. I know that much of it is known. But I know so much about what you do, and how little of it is really known by the public. The lives that you save, the people that you heal, the illiterate that you have taught, the communities that you have helped develop. What a wonderful picture this is! The American people ought to know this is what we are doing, because the American people are becoming disillusioned, disappointed—constantly reading about what seem to be our failures, constantly hearing about what seems to be our lack of moral quality.

One of the items of good news is that right now the Peace Corps is the largest single employer of new American college graduates. That is great, good news. I think that news ought to be spread around the world, that the men and women of our universities volunteer by the thousands to help somebody else. They are not just self-indulgent people. I guess you know better than I do that 20 to 25 per cent of the graduating seniors in some of our colleges and universities have applied for the Peace Corps, and that about 40,000 young people will apply this year alone. They are not going to get rich monetarily out of it. It is not going to be luxury living.

### THE VOICE OF AMERICA

There could be assignments that are far more comfortable, far more profitable and secure. So when young people turn right around and say "yes," rather than "no," say, "yes, we will take up the challenge," that means something to me. It means some-

thing to me as a citizen, and it means a lot to me as Vice President, because it says a great deal about America. That is the voice of America that I want the world to hear. The whole idea of the Peace Corps is something that says "yes." It is an affirmative proposition.

I get accused around this city of being an optimist. I am an optimist because I think I have a lot of evidence on my side.

### HOW AMERICA ACHIEVED GREATNESS

I don't think that the United States is what it is today because it had a lot of fools being its leaders, or because American business was corrupt, or because American labor was filled with goons, or because the universities were filled with Communists.

I think that basically we are what we are because we have had the willingness to experiment. When something didn't work we cast it aside; we have not had a doctrinaire, dogmatic approach. We have had a great, abiding faith in our capacity to meet the problems before us, to experiment, to try and try again, and above all to have tremendous confidence in our capacity to do what we needed to do. We did not end up where we are in comparison to the rest of the world by being a constant failure. The sum total of the United States is not the aggregate total of failures.

You in the Peace Corps know what that means. When a Volunteer goes into a faraway place, into a strange land, and sees the almost superhuman task that lies before him, if that Volunteer wasn't an individual of affirmation and advocacy, of belief and faith, he would fold up and go home. The whole idea of the Peace Corps is something that says "yes." It is totally, naturally, wholeheartedly and healthily an affirmation.

### PEACE CORPS BENEFITS TO AMERICA

I have seen the work of the Peace Corps Volunteers in many countries. I have seen what the Peace Corps has done for America in America. I was looking over the speech that I delivered in the Senate when we presented the bill to authorize the Peace Corps. I said the Peace Corps will do more for America in America or as much for America in America as it will do for others in other parts of the world.

And it has, for it brings out the best in our own young people. It stands as a symbol and a reminder to all Americans of what we are and what America stands for. It brings back to this nation a host of mature leadership.

Volunteers returning from overseas are asking hard, penetrating questions when they come back home. This is your greatest strength—and can cause you some of the greatest difficulties. Some people do not like to have others ask questions back home. Volunteers have been polite guests overseas for



two years. At home, the returning Volunteer does not hesitate to speak out and to challenge old orthodoxies.

But I must say to those returnees: Do not expect people to put their loving arms around you and say, "Now that you sacrificed for us for two years, what can we offer you?" It will still be a scramble. You will have to prove yourself back home just exactly as you proved yourself abroad. In fact, it may be a little tougher back here.

Peace Corps Volunteers who return are injecting imagination and new energy into public service. They are becoming involved in some of our toughest, most difficult social problems, trying to find modern solutions. Fortunately, they are not afraid of roll-up-the-sleeves hard work. They are giving our country a lift by their spirit and their determination, and they are giving our country quite a bargain, too.

It is no small feat that the annual cost per Volunteer has declined from about \$9,000 in 1963 to just under \$7,400 in 1966. I do not think any other agency of government can make that claim. Every dollar that has been spent on the Peace Corps in services overseas has been well spent. Not another cent has been required for the new dividends that we are receiving here at home.

This year, the number of returned Volunteers will surpass for the first time the number in active service. From now on, the Peace Corps back home is going to show us quite a time.

#### MANPOWER NEEDS IN U.S.

We are short 171,000 teachers in this country. That is just for today. We are going to have another 100 million people in the United States by the year 2000. There is a question of where they are going to live, how they are going to live and who will teach them. About 50 per cent of the population is under 25 now, and 60 per cent of the population will be under 25 in the year 2000.

Our social-service organizations are having trouble just coping with the old problems, and finding new people to work on them. So, might I add, are our two major political parties, and all levels of government, business and labor.

America needs people with courage, idealism and experience. So it is no wonder that the Philadelphia Board of Education is seeking returned Volunteers for its schools and hiring them by mail from overseas.

No wonder cities hit by unrest this summer are going to the Peace Corps for more help.

New York State now has a full-time recruiter just to hire Peace Corps Volunteers for school systems and other agencies of the state government.

These young people are going to get into our national bloodstream. These are young men and women who have learned something about the world in which they live, have gone out to

help that world out of conviction, and have come back mature, ripened and improved in their sensitivity and their judgment. In a very real sense, they have had their internship on somebody else, and have come back fully graduated, experienced and developed. As these young people get into our national bloodstream, it will be the best infusion of talent, spirit and determination that we have had for many a generation.

The Peace Corps will blend again with the people from whom it sprung — and whom it never quite left — imparting new vigor, new promise and new conviction for Americans that this nation's "thing," or its commitment, was right in the first place, and that it is still worth doing — any time, anywhere.

#### WHAT AMERICA SHOULD STAND FOR

I want our country to be known for its teachers, its doctors, its social workers, its enterprisers and its workers, and not just for its weapons, its power, its wealth and its soldiers. I want the history books that my grandchildren will read to say that in this, the last third of the Twentieth Century, America was dedicated, as it has been throughout its history, with renewed vigor for nation-building.

I want us to be the real peacemakers — which does not mean to be either pacific or cowardly. They surely are not the same, nor should they be so interpreted. The kind of peacemaker I mean is an individual who is active, a builder and a creator, a sharer of his own talents, gifts and abundance with others. Above all, he shares himself.

I am convinced that the next 33 years will offer us greater opportunities than the past 200. I am convinced of this with every fiber of my being. I believe that the greatness, the incredible discoveries of science and technology, coupled with our sense of humanities, can really bring us along the path of democracy, far beyond where we are now.

#### EACH GENERATION'S OBLIGATION

No matter what we do, there will still be more to do. No matter how many injustices we are able to correct, there will still be some left for generations yet unborn. We have not created Utopia, nor shall we in our lifetime. But I am convinced of one thing: That you are unworthy of existence unless you can really say to yourself, if to no one else, that "I have added something to the well-being of somebody else besides myself."

I think every generation, and indeed every human being, has a sacred obligation, not only to conserve its heritage and its inheritance, but rather to invest it wisely, to use it prudently, and to add to it, so that it can pass it along, richer, better, stronger and clearer, to someone else.

I am one of those who believes that America still is essentially a moral and ethical nation in the highest meaning of those terms,

that it is a peace-loving nation, that it is a nation-building nation, that it is a nation of compassion and thereby reveals its strength; that it is a nation of charity and thereby reveals its highest purpose. I commend the Peace Corps, and all of its Volunteers, for setting a fine example of these highest aspirations of the American people.

### DOING THE IMPOSSIBLE

The difference between a great people and an ordinary people is the willingness and the capacity to do the impossible. Some people say "it is impossible in our time to lift the level of existence on this globe." There are the professionals who tell us that "the race between population and resources makes it impossible." There are some people who say "it is impossible to envisage the day when we can have universal disarmament and general peace." There are those who say "it is impossible for the world to have law and order, an international law that is enforceable and workable."

I say that it is not impossible. The fact that some people say it is should be a challenge to us to make it come true.

The story of the United States of America, as one nation, is that what some people said could not be done was done: the opening of the West, the creation of a representative government, the extension of universal suffrage and a host of other things. Achieving the impossible became a hallmark of our national character. I want to make sure that we do not let down those who have walked before us, but rather that we reach out to a higher ground, and even to greater purposes.

**Addresses by**  
**Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey**  
**Vice President of the United States**  
**at the**  
**National Conference of Catholic Charities**  
**and**  
**Ohio Catholic Education Association**



NATIONAL CONFERENCE OF  
CATHOLIC CHARITIES  
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA  
OCTOBER 10, 1967





*Left to Right:*

*William L. Ferdon, Chairman, Planning Committee, 53rd Annual Meeting of National Conference of Catholic Charities; Very Rev. Monsignor Lawrence J. Corcoran, Secretary, National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C.; Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey; Mother Mary Charles, R.S.M., President, National Conference of Catholic Charities, Washington, D. C.; Mother Provincial, Sisters of Mercy Provincialate, Omaha, Nebraska.*

President of the National Conference of Catholic Charities, Distinguished and Honored Members of the Clergy, Sisters, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am very happy once again to be privileged to share in your deliberations. I know that this conference will produce some very far-reaching and, I trust, very practical suggestions relating to our cities and to programs for the development of individual opportunity.

In these days, time moves very swiftly, and it rarely allows us the privilege of looking back. But this morning I will, if you'll permit me, insist on this privilege, at least to think back over the three years since we last met.

As Sister Mary mentioned, it was in 1964 that I last talked to this great conference from this platform, only three years ago. Yet when you consider the amount of energy and effort that has gone into these three years in social progress and change in America and, indeed, in the world, doesn't it seem almost like an eternity?

Perhaps this is the more so for me because three years ago I was called to new responsibilities and began to see the sweep of events from a vantage point with a broader view. And from where I sit, the scene is tumultuous—a rapid, almost frightening pace of change.

But so it is, I'm sure, for all of us, for all men and women and for all of the human institutions. And nowhere has that change been more dramatic than in the world of Catholicism.

## ECUMENICISM

I stand in awe at the new wave of ferment and vitality which you have loosed upon an admiring world. Ecumenicism is the order of the day, not only in church affairs, but in all matters. And what a prodigious dialogue you are carrying on among yourselves as well as with the rest of mankind.

As never before, Catholics, Protestants and Jews are attending each others' services, joining each others' organizations, cooperating in each others' projects, marching together in social action. And, believe me, these are not just formal or meaningless gestures. They are the very heart of our life.

I have seen this ecumenical spirit at work on the legislative front in the Congress of the United States. I've seen it at work

in the cities, as communities have sought to open up opportunities for the disadvantaged. I have seen it at work in the housing front. I've seen it at work on the job front. I've seen it at work all across the vast expanse of this land and, indeed, internationally.

I believe, of course, that all of these efforts are the natural outgrowth of a renewed brotherhood and of a deeper mutual understanding of a spirit of openness which men ardently seek.

It is a tribute, may I say, to the everlasting validity, the continuing freshness of the teachings of history's greatest revolutionary, Jesus Christ, the great architect of change.

### A DYNAMO OF HOPE

During these troubled years, the response of Catholicism—indeed, of all churches—a response characterized by flexibility but rooted in the eternal, stands out as a dynamo of hope against the forces that would fragment the human race.

For me personally, one of the most remarkable episodes of the last three years was my visit with Pope Paul in the Vatican. I am sure that I speak for every American when I pray for his good health and his continued vigor.

Three years ago we were feeling the impact of two historical encyclicals. I've spoken of them many times as a layman and as a man in public life—*Pacem in Terris* and *Mater et Magistra*.

To these great letters from his predecessor, Pope Paul has now added his masterful encyclical "On the Development of Peoples," a document remarkable for the breadth of its humanity and the precision of its detail.

One of my most cherished possessions is a signed copy of this encyclical, which its illustrious author gave to me as I visited with him in the Vatican in April. Its powerful opening phrases can serve as the challenging text for today and for many tomorrows:

"Freedom from misery, the greater assurance of finding subsistence, health and fixed employment; an increased share of responsibility without oppression of any kind and in security from situations that do violence to their dignity as men; better education—in brief, to seek to do more, know more and have

more in order to be more: that is what men aspire to now when a greater number of them are condemned to live in conditions that make this lawful desire illusory."

### A LAWFUL DESIRE

That desire for an equal opportunity to achieve one's highest humanity is lawful in the highest sense within the Judeo-Christian tradition, and it is equally lawful under the Constitution of the United States.

And to say that the desire for equal opportunity is illusory for a large minority of American citizens today, either because of racial discrimination or poverty, is no overstatement.

What have we done and what can we do to fulfill that lawful desire for the millions who live in our cities, that lawful desire to know more, to have more, and to be more—the lawful desire of our faith and of our law?

That is the subject of our meeting today. And since we are looking back over the events of the last three years, let me simply state that I think the Federal government, for its part, has been responsive to the need to the extent that its resources would permit.

We have not always been sure that what we were doing was the best course of action. But we're trying new things. We're experimenting in social welfare.

### PRAGMATISM

We are trying to find new answers to some of our most ancient and troubling problems of mankind. Our approach is basically pragmatic. We try a particular policy or program in the hope that it will work. If it doesn't, we must have the courage to cast it aside and move on to other ways.

Both in the Administration and in the Congress, we have operated on the assumption that doing something within the limits of our knowledge and experience is better than doing nothing. Our course has involved a very simple form of trial and error, and some political risk as well. But we have been ready to accept the results with our eyes wide open, for we knew that the poor and the city dwellers could only lose by inaction and delay.

The achievements that we've made in the last three years have been achievements not for one administration or one Congress, but for all of the American people—achievements in Medicare, the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, the Model Cities program, rent supplements, the Job Corps, Head Start, Upward Bound, Neighborhood Youth Centers.

These are achievements. These are beginnings. These are hopeful signs of recent years. They are new words in our vocabulary.

And, of course, there is more on the way, including a vitally important Safe Streets and Crime Control Bill.

I will not volunteer any detailed evaluation of these programs. I am, after all, speaking to a roomful of men and women whose life's work is ministering to the needy. The only comment I offer is that these are honest efforts to get at old problems. We have made a great decision in this country that every American shall have an opportunity to make the most of his life.

### AMERICA'S PROMISE

This is the promise of America. At a time when we are the richest nation on the face of the earth—and the most powerful—at a time when we could literally have a lost weekend in our own self-indulgence, the nation by public policy, as well as by private commitment, is determined to reach deep into its social structure, to help those who desperately need help, to extend a hand to those who are almost lost, to help the needy, the deprived—help them not just to survive but rather to live with liberty and in the spirit of the pursuit of happiness.

We are trying to bring these people into the mainstream of American life. More importantly, we are trying to make them participants in a great adventure—the discovery of America. Let them make their own discovery of what this nation is all about, its promise, its hope, its excitement, its movement.

I travel from one end of this nation to the other, and I see more good things happening now than ever before. I see more of our young people doing good things than ever before.

I know those who get into the news are not always the ones who are doing the good things, but I know also that last year over 250,000 of our college students volunteered their time

freely to work in community projects. I know that this year half a million of them will do it, and I know that if you can provide some meaningful outlet for their energy, their vitality and their talent, you can get a million of them to do it. They are anxious to help.

### BREAKTHROUGH

We in America have made a breakthrough in our nation about what we as a society are trying to achieve and how we should go about it.

We have, once and for all, laid to rest the idea that poverty and blighted opportunity can adequately be treated with charity, or, in more modern parlance, "welfare."

I do not want to be misunderstood. We need charity, and we need the spirit of charity. We need compassion, and we need the spirit of compassion. We have decided to seek more basic and lasting solutions, rather than contenting ourselves with palliatives.

We are not engaged in the business of trying simply to make poverty less painful. We are trying rather to find the cure for this social malignancy.

We have decided that we are going to do whatever is necessary to throw open the door of American opportunity to every resident of this nation.

### A PLURALISTIC SOCIETY

That's why I come to ask you to help. I do not believe that these things can all be done by public institutions. Public institutions are too circumscribed with rules and regulations. We need the social experimentation of those who are not so restrained and restricted.

We have a blend in America, this pluralistic society of ours, in education, in health and in social welfare, and I only hope that our great churches and other voluntary private groups will have a greater role to play in the days ahead, to serve our people.

We need some kind of interplay between public and private—a working partnership, not the domination of the public by the private or of the private by the public. In this complex



society of ours, with all of its challenges and its needs, we cannot rely entirely upon public bodies, public programs and public resources.

We in Washington can dispense welfare, but we cannot manage the intricate task of social growth that the permanent elimination of poverty and blight will require.

Thomas Jefferson put it this way: "Were we directed from Washington when to sow and when to reap, we should soon want bread."

## LOCAL INITIATIVE

This is a job for governments at all levels, particularly in the cities and neighborhoods. This is where the people themselves have the greatest influence over their own destiny, and this is where they make their particular needs known most effectively.

It is a job which requires the full resources of private enterprise and private non-profit organizations.

The federal government can provide resources, and we will. But the initiative, the drive, the creative spirit and management that are going to get the job done will have to come from the communities themselves. That concept—federal support for local initiative—has been built into every piece of poverty and urban development legislation passed during the past three or four years.

Will this formula work? I think we already know that the answer is yes. Federal dollars, for example, invested under the new Model Cities Program can and will stimulate greater public effort and private investment in scores of cities.

## PRIVATE ROLE

We are not planning to have the federal government rebuild our cities. We are going to have great American business firms do the job. We are going to have the help of churches and trade unions and community councils and local government.

Job Corps camps all over the country already are being successfully run by private firms under government contract. Industries have undertaken major on-the-job training programs for the hard-core unemployed, either with or without federal support.

Of course, you can't expect a corporation to act like a social worker. The head of a corporation is responsible for other people's money. If it's a publicly owned corporation, he has a fiduciary responsibility.

But it is possible to say to that corporation manager, "Americans are unemployed, they need jobs in industry, not just on government projects; jobs where skills are developed relevant to modern industrial production, to modern distribution methods, to modern retailing, to modern agriculture. And we want you to hire these hard-core unemployed.

"You recruit them. You have the personnel offices. You train them. You have a training program. You supervise them. You have supervisors on the job already.

## GIVE THEM DIGNITY

"Give them the dignity of knowing that they are working for private enterprise. Give them the dignity of knowing they are standing alongside other self-sustaining, productive workers.

"Now, to be sure, those workers will not be sufficiently productive at first to earn their hourly paychecks. So we'll draw up a contract with you, Mr. Businessman. The federal government will give you the difference between their productivity and the wage that you pay them. The government is willing to pay you this money to hire those workers and to train them over a contractual period of time—six months, nine months or a year. And after that, they become productive workers, you can keep 'em."

Just two weeks ago President Johnson announced a 40 million dollar test program designed to support an intensive assault by the private sector on joblessness.

Some people said right away, "Forty million dollars, that's not enough." Of course it isn't, but it's a test program. When we build a new airplane, we don't build a thousand of them before we fly one.

## A BILLION DOLLARS

The life insurance companies of America recently pledged a billion dollars to finance low-cost housing in slums, and to provide employment opportunities in high unemployment areas.



We see voluntary agencies—church groups, neighborhood committees, corporations set up by ghetto residents themselves—building housing and providing community services with grants from governments at all levels.

There is Plans for Progress, a volunteer effort by American corporate business to insure employment on the basis of merit—another example of private effort to right old wrongs and inequities.

The point is that all of our institutional resources—governmental, voluntary, business and labor—are beginning to mesh into a cooperative national effort to build cities of hope. What we are seeing is the development of a new American ecumenicism, an ecumenicism which recognizes that all of us suffer if the few are left behind.

I know that the National Conference of Catholic Charities is part—a very big part—of this picture. To say that you shared in the growth of the ecumenical spirit would be an unforgiveable understatement. In your work you were ecumenical long before Vatican II. For ten years anyway you have been working harmoniously with a widening circle of non-Catholic agencies.

## ELIMINATING POVERTY

We have seen the steady growth of your concerns and your perspective. You have gone from a natural concentration on your own toward an inevitable involvement with the needs of the total community—yes, from helping the poor to eliminating poverty itself.

Your spokesmen are heard with deep respect in Washington, in state capitols, everywhere. And I want to take this occasion to express the gratitude of the President of the United States, of the Administration, for the intelligent and informed support they have given to social legislation.

I know that there has been a good deal of theoretical discussion of “relevance” among Catholics. As a friend, let me just say that I think the Catholic Church and Catholic Charities are relevant in the United States today as never before. I think that you are relevant precisely as an instrument for creating a better life in the cities, and I might add in the rural areas as well.

## CHURCH'S MANDATE

You are in an excellent position to help coordinate public and private efforts because your organization transcends the boundaries of separate communities and cities. Your mandate is not limited to people of a single ethnic or racial group.

Moreover, your churches and your schools and your community centers are often in the very ghetto areas where the opportunities they afford are needed most. To put it bluntly, you are in the front line in this war on poverty, right out there where they are lobbing the shells.

But your role extends far beyond the physical or the practical sphere. No mixture of money and material well-being by itself can rekindle the hope that has flickered out for many residents of urban and rural America today—and I do not mean just the poor ones.

Our cities today are suffering from more than a lack of physical amenities. There is in them, and in many of the people who live in them, a sickness of the soul, an emptiness of the spirit. Men are deadened, frustrated, alienated and finally unhinged.

This is the poverty that is most difficult to overcome. The poverty of the purse in this rich nation is easy to overcome. Write a check. Make the welfare allowance a little larger. But what about the poverty of the spirit? What about that sense of hopelessness and despair which ultimately becomes bitterness and animosity, which boils over into hatred and violence?

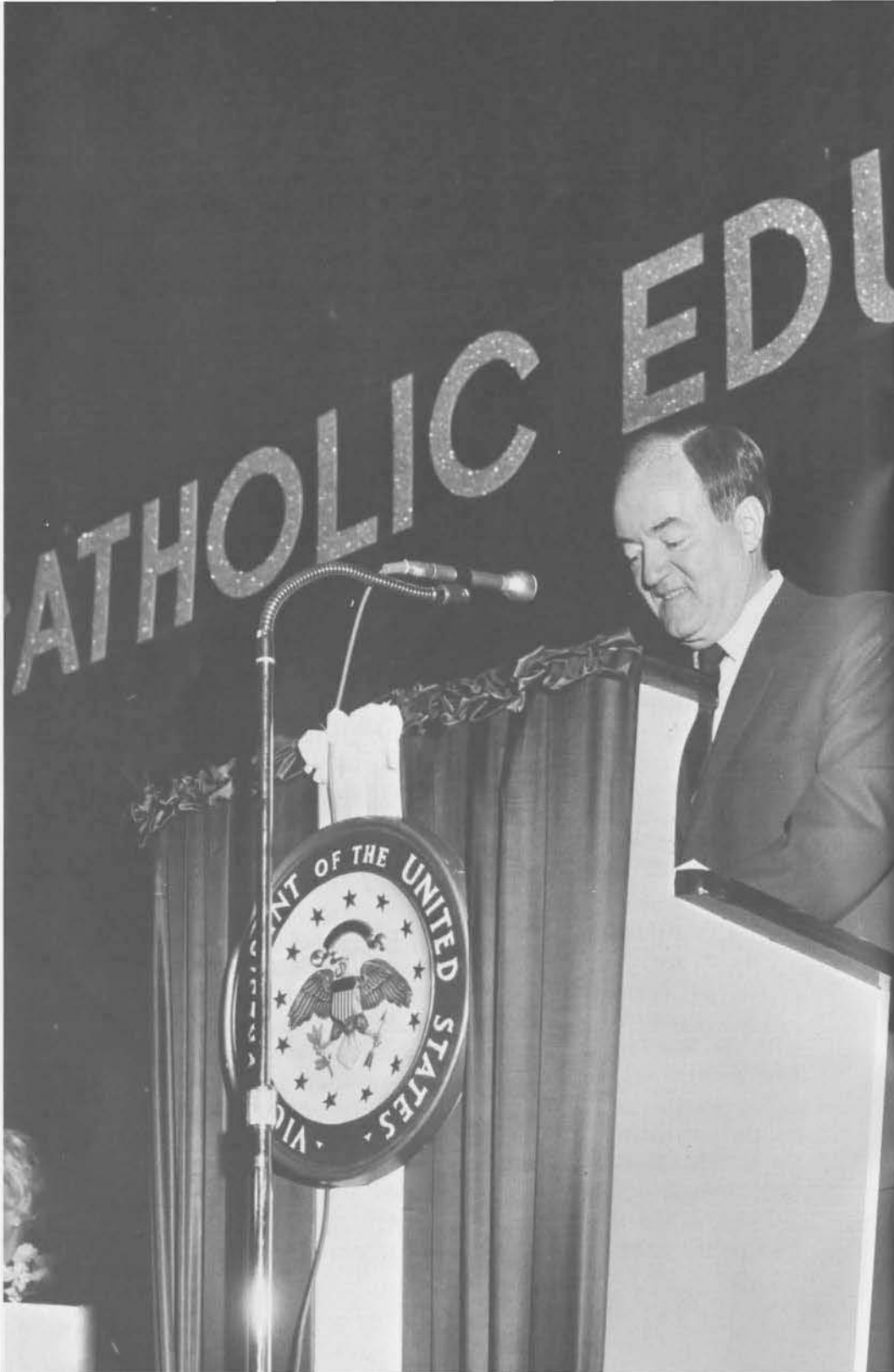
How do we put men together again?

How do we re-arouse the desire to care, to hope and to act? How do we breathe life back into a deadened spirit?

The Church, with its abiding concern for the whole man, with the inner man as well as the shell, I believe can help us find the answer.

The measure of our success, as Christians and as Americans, will be our ability to make real to men the lawful desire—in the words, again, of Pope Paul—“to do more, know more and have more in order to be more.”

The greatest of these is “to be more.” And I think you can help people to be more. More power to you in that task.



OHIO CATHOLIC EDUCATION ASSOCIATION  
CINCINNATI, OHIO  
SEPTEMBER 28, 1967

Archbishop Alter and Bishop Elwell, Mayor Bachrach and Mrs. Bachrach, Reverend Fathers and Reverend Sisters, distinguished educators, and my fellow citizens:

When the Office of Education was established a century ago it was put under the jurisdiction of the Secretary of the Interior, and he apparently didn't have much regard for the office or for education.

His first comment—and I believe it was his only comment—was: "There is no necessity of anyone knowing anything whatever about education."

Since that time, education has come a long, long way. I believe there is no nation on the face of the earth that has done so well in terms of its educational programs as this great republic. This does not, however, relieve us of the responsibility of trying to do better.

At the turn of this century, just sixty-seven years ago, only seven per cent of our teen-agers were receiving a secondary education of any kind. Today that figure is ninety-three per cent.

In the last twenty years alone, the percentage of American young people going to college has doubled. Six and a half million young people are in our universities this year.

### A CENTRAL PLACE

Today, one American in four is enrolled in some sort of educational program. And in the last few years, education has taken a much more central place than at any other time in our history, not only in local and state government, but in national policy.

As a parent, as a former teacher and professor, as a friend of education in my sixteen years in the United States Senate, and now as your Vice President, I am happy to say that the Johnson-Humphrey Administration has put into operation more educational bills in the past three years than in the

previous one hundred. We have enacted thirty-one major education and training laws, and these are laws not just in quantity but in quality. We have literally, in the last six years, tripled the total investment of the federal government in the educational systems of our nation.

I need not tell you that the most revolutionary breakthrough in education took place in 1965, with the passage of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act. The immediate impact of this act has been enormous. In the first year, it provided additional educational services—upgrading the quality of education—for 8,300,000 educationally disadvantaged children, no matter whether they attended a public, private, or parochial school. Our average annual educational expenditure on those disadvantaged children has increased \$119 per person—a major contribution in our educationally poor states, and an important contribution in every single community.

### PRECEDENT FOR THE FUTURE

But the Elementary and Secondary Education Act is important not only because of the money; it is important because of the spirit in which it was passed, and the precedent which it has set for the future.

As a Senator, I watched good bills for federal aid to education blocked year after year by intransigent attitudes on state-church relations. I saw good educational measures killed because of racial prejudice and religious bigotry, and because state and local interests feared federal interference in their traditional educational responsibilities.

It was like a ping-pong game. We'd pass a bill in the Senate, and they'd kill it in the House. Two years later, they'd pass it in the House, and it would be killed in the Senate. The debate went on, and our children suffered.

Then the people and the Congress came to a realization that it was our children, not these long standing doctrinal disputes, that really counted. They realized that this country, if it wished to grow and to flourish, had better start making the best possible use of all of its educational resources, private as well as public, parochial as well as secular.

### SUPPORT, NOT CONTROL

And they realized that the federal government is just as sensitive to human need as local government, and that federal support need not—and must not—mean federal control. For quality education depends above all on the creative initiative and competence of the local educators—public and private—who personally deal with the children we are trying to reach. Federal support for local initiative is the basis of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act, and I believe it's the basis of an historic first step toward the future path of education in our country.

What I hope this conference will do in its deliberation is to point the way so your government can be more helpful in the effort you're making to improve the quality of life in America. We've made the first step.

But I do want to make it quite clear that I know this is only the beginning. More things are going to happen in the last third of the twentieth century than in the preceding three centuries—in science, in technology, in human relations.

One change we will have to face is that in the next thirty-three years there will be one hundred million more Americans. Where are they going to live? Are they going to crowd into the big cities, or are we going to find some balance in America between our rural areas and our metropolitan areas? Are we going to upgrade the quality of life in the smaller community, so that people will want to live there? Or are we going to permit a migration of illiterates, a migration of ill-trained people, pouring into over-burdened cities, over-burdened social services, over-burdened school systems?

### YOUNGER POPULATION

I might add that this new population is going to be younger. Fifty per cent of the people of the United States are now under twenty-five years of age. That means we will need more classroom space and more teachers. It means we're going to have to take a look at what we have in education and say this is but the beginning; we have to look down the road.

Every big business plans ten years ahead, and there's no bigger business in the world than education.



What about the new technology that we know is going to be upon us? What is this technology going to do to the educational structure of our land? We are going to have to redesign school programs, curricula, teaching methods. Are you ready to have the communications satellite become your number one teaching aid?

We have just passed through a summer of discontent, a tragic summer of unprecedented lawlessness and conflict in many of our cities.

I think you agree that we can't have a democratic society where there is lawlessness and violence. There is no room for it in our country, and it will be met by strict and uncompromising enforcement of the law. This country is not going to be taken over or held for ransom by inciters or haters, white or black, who would wreck their own communities and harm their innocent neighbors to satisfy their own lust for personal power.

## SYMPTOMS OF POVERTY

But every thinking American knows that the violence that we've seen, however unjustified, is at the same time symptomatic of deep social problems, of poverty, of despair, of a feeling on the part of far too many citizens that the society in which they live has nothing to offer them that is worth saving. Give a man nothing to do for his country and he will not love it. Too many Americans have had nothing to do for their country, no involvement, no stake in it.

The violence is a symptom of ghetto unemployment rates three times the national average, of poor housing and shamefully inadequate public services. And, to a very large degree, it is a symptom of grossly inadequate education in those very communities where education offers the only avenue of escape from a life at best on the fringes of America.

The education offered in our slum schools is inadequate for a great many reasons. The slum school does not equip students with skills that they need to hold a decent job, and the education it offers is not tailored to the needs of students with disadvantaged backgrounds. Much of it has been designed for the middle income family. It does not allay the fears of the slum child or offer him a sense of personal worth and success.

Education in the slum school does not succeed in making the classroom more attractive than the street corner. It is too often second or third rate in a country which can and should afford the best for its children. The best schools are in areas where people have the most money. The newer schools are in the suburbs. It's only in the most recent years that we've begun to reverse this trend.

## CULTURAL POVERTY

We put most of our welfare payments into communities where people have the least financial resources. Well, these same people are also educationally bankrupt. It isn't only the poverty of culture, it's the poverty of body and mind as well. This is why we need cultural and educational facilities most in the areas where people have the least themselves.

I don't think that we can point to a single big city in America today and say that education is really working in the inner city. There are examples where it is beginning to take hold, but I don't think we can say that education is doing the job of educating and training young people in our ghetto areas for productive citizenship.

The Coleman Report for the Office of Education, the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, the President's Commission on Law Enforcement and many other groups that are concerned with urban problems have documented the story of educational failure, of dropouts, delinquency, and hopelessness in many of our ghetto schools.

It's through our schools, through our teachers, that America must help to make up for the heritage of deprivation which destroys the hopes of so many of the children of the poor. Education is the basic starting point for the child of poverty—whose family may have been in poverty for generations—in building a life of productive and satisfying labor rather than a life of pent-up frustration and despair.

So what are we going to do to make education work, to make it more meaningful for the millions of American youngsters who need it most?



## KEEP SCHOOLS OPEN

First and foremost, I think we have to stop locking students out of our schools in the summers and on weekends and in the evenings. Of course, this will take more manpower; it will take more money. But the time when the school is closed is when it's needed most—the summer months when millions of young people pour out of the schools and into the streets.

In the context of our present needs, the nine month school year and the six hour school day just don't make sense.

A century ago, the school year lasted 78 days. Now it averages 162. I have suggested before, and I urge again, that every American school now become a full time, year-round community center of opportunity.

## TITLE ONE FUNDS

Some communities have already adopted the twelve month school year with assistance from Title I of the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

We did it in Washington, D. C., this summer. And I'm happy to tell you that a city which had only 18 illuminated playgrounds a year ago had 132 this summer. We had the challenge and we came through, in large part because of Elementary and Secondary Education Act funds under Title I and OEO funds.

Secondly, we have to make sure that school leads to something—a good job, or maybe even college. For the slum youngster, a school experience cannot be just another dead end street. We cannot promise and not produce.

Census figures for the state of Ohio tell a story which applies to every state in the nation. Some 42 per cent of the jobs in Ohio are for craftsmen or technicians. But back in 1960, when most of today's young workers were in school, only three per cent were trained for such jobs. Almost 15 per cent of Ohio's job openings today are for retail sales people, but only 1.3 per cent of Ohio's youngsters were trained for this kind of work in 1960.

Our curricula must be matched with the world as it is and as it will be, not as it was 20 or 30 years ago.

## PREVENT SCHOOL DROPOUTS

My third point grows out of the second. We simply have to prevent school dropouts. A million students are going to drop out of school this year, under present estimates, unless we do something about it. And eight million will drop out in this decade.

Many of these youngsters will not be dropouts at all. They will be kickouts, or forceouts—youngsters who had to leave because they were financially or psychologically unable to stay.

We don't have any simple answer to this problem, but we've got to do something about it.

Fourth, we have to insist on quality in our schools—adequate basic training and up-to-date refresher courses for our teachers, modern laboratories and teaching aids, specialized facilities for children who need them. We must have, in short, people and facilities that will elicit and demand the best performance from our students.

## PAYING FOR EDUCATION

Finally, our country must be willing to pay for education—not only with money, which is required, but with attention and commitment in proportion to its value.

Last year we spent about 32 billion dollars—five per cent of our national income—for elementary and secondary education, both public and private. America spent half that much just on alcohol and tobacco.

You know, there has never been a society or a community that became financially insolvent by investment in education. Education is the wisest investment that people have ever made. We must awaken a national consciousness to the fact that the extra dollars spent on education will be repaid by a lifetime of dividends. The Office of Education estimates that a school dropout loses \$63,000 in potential earned income because he failed to get that last year of high school. The rate of unemployment among school dropouts is three times as high as among those who finished school.

## CHARTER OF OPPORTUNITY

I therefore propose that we dedicate ourselves to a fresh Charter of Educational Opportunity for every American child—a promise that he can and will get, to the best of our ability, the skills and the knowledge that he needs to make the most of himself in our fast changing and competitive society. We need not settle for less.

And I think the Catholic schools of this country have an especially great opportunity to make that charter of educational opportunity a reality. You already have over six million students, and your schools have grown twice as fast as the public schools over the last twenty years. You have a cadre of dedicated lay and clerical teachers.

You are in a unique position to experiment and to innovate, because you are not bound by political restraints and bureaucratic red tape. You can offer healthy competition for our public schools, the kind of competition—and, I might add, freedom of choice—that is the life blood of a pluralistic society.

The purpose of education is not just to pile up data but to move from mere information to wisdom.

Everything, in a very real sense, is in your hands.

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**Address by**  
**Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey**  
**at the**  
**40th Annual Convention of the**  
**Future Farmers of America**  
**Kansas City, Missouri**  
**October 11, 1967**







Left to right, Keaton Vandemark, Ohio; Richard Morrison, Arizona; Harold Brubaker, Pennsylvania—Vice Presidents, Future Farmers of America and Gary Swann, New York, F. F. A. President.

Everybody nowadays is talking about some kind of power. It is atomic power, black power, white power, or some other kind of power. I would just like to talk about the "people power" of this country, and particularly about the "young people power."

This is the Fortieth Anniversary of the Future Farmers of America, and you know better than I that it is a very significant occasion. I can make a claim that none of you young FFA members can make today. I've followed your progress all forty years.

Let me hasten to add, however, that I cannot remember the passage of the Smith-Hughes Act for Vocational Training in Agriculture, which is responsible in a large measure for getting this wonderful movement started.

Just a few weeks ago, I had an excellent progress report from your National Officers who visited my office in Washington.

I know a great deal about what you are doing, and what I know about you is good. I have the greatest confidence in you. And I am confident, not out of sheer sentiment, but because I feel you have always had and continue to have a sense of the tremendous and exciting opportunities that are open to you.

## PREVIEW OF COMING DECADES

When I think of the possibilities of technology, and of what this nation may look like in the next quarter of a century, I am overwhelmed.

Communication satellites will bring us closer together as a people and as a world; the best of teaching and learning from every country of the world will be brought instantaneously into the classrooms of tomorrow; unbelievable developments will occur in the field of medicine, the extension of the span of life, the transplant of human organs, the conquest of many diseases. Space travel will become not just a dream and a plan for a scientist; it will be a matter of fact.

We will learn so much about our solar system. Our neighborhood was once our village; then it became our county or our city; then our state; then our nation; and then our world. But in your day, in the years between now and the year 2000, you

are going to learn about your real neighborhood, which is the solar system.

There are so many things ahead of us, and it is your world, your day. I know that faith in the future is characteristic of most of your generation. And since half of our citizens today are under twenty-five, I think it is a hopeful sign for this nation.

But what kind of a future are we going to build for ourselves and for America? Science and technology do not assure you of a good life. They just assure you of change.

One thing is certain: Whatever path we choose, we've got a lot to do, but we have much to work with.

Our country is rich, and it is going to grow a lot richer as we move through the last third of this Twentieth Century. Our country is strong. And it will grow stronger in these next thirty-three years.

American farms produce more and better food than any other farms anywhere in the world. Planes and cars will be faster. Communications will be quicker. Life will be longer. Our astronauts will move out into space, and our oceanographers will probe the depths of the sea.

## QUALITY OF LIFE

By every measure of quantity, size and speed, we shall move forward. But, my fellow Americans, what are we going to do with this abundance, this power? What will be the *quality* of our civilization?

A great President and a citizen of this very State of Missouri, Harry Truman, once said "Democracy is based on the conviction that man has the moral and the intellectual capacity, as well as the inalienable right, to govern himself with reason and justice."

## CHALLENGES TO AMERICA

So I ask you this morning: is it reasonable and just when smoke and waste from our automobiles and industries poison the air that we breathe and pollute the water that we drink?

Is it reasonable and just when one family in seven in this rich country doesn't have enough to eat or wear, decent health care or a decent place to live?

Is it reasonable and just when young people of your age cannot share in your hope in the future because they were born in poverty, because they had to leave school too soon, because they grew up in broken homes or in no homes at all?

## MIGRATION FROM RURAL AREAS

Is it reasonable and just that rural America, the heritage of our nation, should lose precious human resources while at the same time our cities grow larger, more congested, more burdened with slums and all the other problems of urbanization?

It is to this last question especially that I want to address myself today.

As young people, you have a personal stake in finding the right answer. You have a stake in proving that Americans do have the moral and intellectual capacity to govern themselves with reason and justice.

What are the hard facts about rural America, and about the migration from rural America to the cities.

Between 1950 and 1960 eleven million Americans moved from the countryside to the city. During that time the population of our rural areas was static. All the growth of American population occurred in the cities, and that trend has continued. We can expect to have one hundred million more Americans by the end of this century—just over thirty years from now. And if the present trend continues, almost all of them are going to be jammed together in a few sprawling metropolitan areas.

People leave the countryside for many reasons. Poverty is one.

## PROBLEMS OF NEGRO CITIZENS

Many who leave are Negro Americans who see their only chance in the city.

But these people, regrettably, often don't have the skills they need to hold a city job. They have little or no education, and they know nothing about urban life. They find themselves confined to crowded, rundown apartments and neighborhoods. Humiliated and frustrated in an alien world of unemployment,

welfare and crime, their dreams of hope turn into a nightmare of despair.

But these Americans are only part of the story.

## YOUNGSTERS' DRIFT TO CITIES

A lot of people leave perfectly comfortable homes in our small towns and on our farms because they think they have to go to the big city to enjoy a decent standard of living, to get a good education, to provide a better life for their families.

Most of those people are under thirty, and by far the largest group are young people who have just finished high school—people about your age with their whole productive lives ahead of them who say “I am leaving the farm. I am leaving my small town. I am going to the city.”

It is sad but true that those people often pack up and move with good reason.

## POVERTY IN RURAL AMERICA

One-third of the Americans who live on our farms today live below the line of poverty in terms of income. The figure is only one-seventh in the cities.

We talk about poverty in our cities, but there is more poverty in rural America.

The average rural teenager completes about nine years of school. The figure in our cities is more than twelve.

The proportion of people without jobs is twice as high among agricultural workers as it is among industrial workers. Some seventy-three percent of urban households, headed by a man with a job, have an automobile, telephone, hot and cold running water, sound housing. The figure is only sixty percent in the rural towns, and it is less than fifty percent on the farms.

## WHY THE CITIES ARE MAGNETS

Only a small percentage of small or medium sized towns in rural America offer live theater, an art gallery, an orchestra, first-rate medical care, good hospitals, and a variety of stores and shops. Almost all our metropolitan areas have all of these things.

Is it any wonder then that the city is like a powerful magnet that reaches out to bring in the young?

These facts about rural life are misleading, and they do not tell the whole story, but they do point to reasons why rural America continues to lose some of its best people.

## THE VICIOUS CYCLE

What does this migration mean to our nation? It means that fewer people remain to pay taxes in rural areas, that rural schools cannot afford the most modern equipment, that shops and businesses close. Then more people leave, and the vicious cycle continues.

A recent Gallup Poll showed that half of the American people would prefer to live in the country or in a small town. But most do not. They simply feel they do not have a real choice.

By now most of you are probably saying “I didn’t know we had it so bad.”

Well, don’t worry too much, because my speech isn’t over, and before I get through with it, I hope to be able to show you that there is something we can do about the quality of life in America. We can do something about it in our cities and in our rural areas. We not only can, we must.

The late beloved Pope John XXIII said, “Where there is constant want, there is no peace.”

Peace isn’t something that you just wish for. Our task in America is to build the conditions that make peace possible.

Our task is to demonstrate to the world that with our wealth, with our technology, with our science, with our know how, we can conquer deprivation and poverty. Because if we can’t, who can?

Unlike any other nation in history, unlike almost any other nation in the world today, we have the technology and the resources to extend all of the benefits of modern living to every American, regardless of where he chooses to live. We can have a real freedom of choice in America. The challenge is to put our technology and our resources to work in the right combination in the right places.





VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY ADDRESSES OPENING  
SESSION OF 40TH ANNUAL CONVENTION OF FUTURE  
FARMERS OF AMERICA IN MUNICIPAL AUDITORIUM

The problems which we see in our cities require treatment now. Slums, pollution, congestion, crime, unemployment, lack of education require a direct attack.

These problems cannot be treated indirectly—with the trickle-down process. But many of our urban problems have their roots in rural America. We cannot save our cities by creating a better life in the country alone. It is too late for that. But it does seem to me if we make up for the past neglect of our farm communities, and of our middle-sized towns, we will be building a better America for all Americans wherever they live.

### BUILD YOUR COMMUNITY

But remember that you don't build a better America in Washington. We must build a better America from the bottom up, not from the top down. We must build a better America in every one of the thousands of cities and villages and townships and counties.

I call upon you young leaders to build your town, your county, your state. Make it socially conscious, progressive, reaching out to the future. If you don't it will die. And every time a village or a town dies in America, America dies a little bit too. Every time a part of America becomes depressed, the spirit of America is subdued just that much.

### PAST INADEQUACIES IN RURAL AMERICA

Now I don't want to talk to you about recreating those mythical "good old days" down on the farm. I lived in those "good old days," and some of them weren't so good.

Dust storms, mortgage foreclosures, isolation, the one-room schoolhouse, dreams turned away—I'm not talking about that.

And I'm not talking about the pure, fresh, unpolluted air, the smell of fresh cut hay in the countryside.

You've got to have something more than clean air to live. There is more to life than that kind of remembrance. And I think we can all share the best.

In the 1930's, modernizing rural America meant rural electrification and a movie theater in every town.

In the 1940's, it meant many and well-paved roads.

### NEW NEEDS IN RURAL AMERICA

Now, in the 1960's, it means airports, small and large—some of them capable of handling short-hop jets.

It means community colleges, modern hospitals and good doctors, the very best in elementary and secondary education. It even means golf courses and ball parks, drama groups, orchestras and art classes in addition to quilting bees.

We know this can be done because we have seen it done.

### TRANSFORMATION IN RURAL ALABAMA

About two months ago, for example, I visited Huntsville, Alabama. Huntsville used to be a small Southern town—a place where people were born and died, but where they spent little time in between.

Then the TVA went into action. Huntsville got access to electric power. It got access to water for transport and for recreation.

Then came the scientific and space installations. Other industries followed. New stores began to meet the needs of new customers. New taxpayers built new schools. And today Huntsville, Alabama, is a good place, not only to be from, but to be.

Huntsville is the exception, however, not the rule. It tells us what can be done, if all things come together the right way.

### BALANCE IN RURAL AMERICA

A basic ingredient of success in building rural America, of course, is a prosperous, balanced agriculture. Perhaps the greatest job opportunity in America today is for trained agriculturists. So don't think you have to go into some other field.

But a prosperous rural community needs more than farms. It needs jobs based not only on agriculture, but on medium and small industry, on research facilities, on distribution centers, on enterprises which do not have to be in large metropolitan areas to prosper and grow.

There is a lot that government at all levels can do to help. We can use the economic weight of the Defense Department and other government contracts for research, development and

production. We can offer tax incentives, subsidies, new programs of cooperative partnership between government and private enterprise such as we are putting to work now in our big cities.

We can help provide the same things, on a smaller scale perhaps, that have made Huntsville such a positive example.

## ATTRACTING NEW INDUSTRY

But other initiatives will have to come from those who live in rural America, and especially its young people. You can work through rural community development groups to attract the kind of job-producing enterprises your communities need.

You can sell businessmen on the natural resources and the recreation opportunities available in your county and your town. Tell them about the manpower that is available—people who have handled machinery since childhood.

Show them clean communities. Show them that your town is alive. Show them good schools, churches and parks, and the things that prove you care about your future.

In the last analysis, it is the people themselves who know their own needs best and can best build the kind of a future that they want.

You have the chance as future leaders of your towns and communities, to help build an America that provides "every man a chance."

If you do, we are going to have a better America—where young people can find a rich and rewarding life in every community, where stimulating work, the best in education and health care, sports and recreation, music and the arts are as much a part of every day life in Kansas as in Chicago, in Nebraska as in New York.

By so doing you have the chance to help restore to all of America the sense of community and of neighborliness that are so much a part of our heritage.

## LIVING WHERE WE WISH

President Johnson said sometime ago that "History records a long hard struggle to establish man's rights to go where he pleases and lives where he chooses. It took many centuries—

and many bloody revolutions—to break the chains that bound him to a particular plot of land or confined him within the walls of a particular community."

We lose that freedom when our children are obliged to live someplace else if they want a job, or if they want a decent education.

"Not just sentiment demands that we do more to help our farms and rural communities," the President said. "The welfare of this nation demands it."

I am not here speaking in nostalgic memory of a little country town in which I was born. I have seen that town literally fade away. I am here to appeal to the young people of America in this time and place to restore some of the values of this nation, to create a successful thriving community life where you live.

## A LIFE OF CHOICE

Don't walk away from your problems; meet them head on. Call upon your government to help. Call upon American free enterprise to see the great opportunity that is waiting, if they'll but join you. But you must lead.

I have no doubt that if you do this, we shall meet the challenge of providing a true life of choice for all Americans. That is the opportunity that history has given us in the last third of the Twentieth Century.

\* \* \*







# news release

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE ALL AMERICANS COUNCIL 2600 VIRGINIA AVE., N.W., WASHINGTON, D.C. 20037 • 202/333-8750

ROBERT F. WAGNER, CHAIRMAN

For further information, contact Andrew Valuchek

STATEMENT BY  
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY  
AT  
NATIONAL SHRINE OF OUR LADY  
OF CZESTOCHOWA  
DOYLESTOWN, PENNSYLVANIA  
OCTOBER 15, 1967

## INTRODUCTION

Right Reverend Alexander Fronczak: Your Excellency Most Reverend Bishop, Right Reverend and Very Reverend Monsignors, Very Reverend Father Michael, Reverend Fathers, distinguished guests, venerable Sisters, Ladies and Gentlemen.

It will be exactly one year tomorrow that this imposing and majestic shrine was dedicated. It was built for the continual veneration of the Blessed Virgin, the Mother of God, under her special title of Our Lady of Czestochowa. It was erected as an enduring and perpetual memorial, and a monument commemorating the millennium one thousand years of Christianity.

On that great and historic occasion, we were all honored by the President of our country, President Lyndon B. Johnson. Today, we celebrate the first anniversary of that most happy event, and as we enter the threshold of what we confidently hope will be a second millenium, we are, again, singularly honored by the presence of one who is second only to the President himself, one whom we like to call the Ambassador of Peace, one who has made many journeys, as well as many efforts to bring to fulfillment everywhere the great ideals of righteousness, justice, liberty and fraternity.

Our democracy believes in the fatherhood of God, and practices the brotherhood of man. This shrine is likewise dedicated to the fostering of love of God and neighbor, and is an outstanding symbol of peace.

I know of no one among all our officials who is more zealous of the cause of peace, a just peace, than the one whom I now have the great honor and privilege of presenting to you.

Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Most Reverend Bishop, Right Reverend and Reverend and Reverend Clergy, Monsignor Fronczak and our dearly beloved friend Father Michael Zembruski and ladies and gentlemen! I suppose that an appropriate greeting from a midwestern Norwegian would be "drodzy polacy".

My fellow Americans, I'm sure that you must feel as I on this moment what a magnificent and beautiful scene. How the good Lord has blessed us today with this lovely day. I am sure that you must sense the feeling of inspiration and exhilaration that is mine when I meet your young people dressed in their native costume, bright, attractive, healthy, all that makes for youth. It is, indeed, a wonderful experience for me. Now, I know how President Johnson must have felt just a year ago. Indeed, only last evening, my dear friends, I was with the President and Mrs. Johnson, and was visiting with them about this particular occasion.

## GREETINGS FROM THE PRESIDENT

And the President of the United States, Father Michael, wanted me to express to you, to every person gathered here today, and in particular the Most Reverend Bishop, the Right Reverend and Reverend Clergy, and our fellow Americans his heartiest good wishes and greetings. How he wishes he could be here on this hour.

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And might I ask that you convey his greetings as well as mine to a great churchman who only recently has been elevated to the high and honored title in office of Cardinal, Cardinal Krol. I know he is in Rome at the Conference of Bishops, but I wanted to say hello to him even at this distance.

When President Johnson helped dedicate this national shrine a year ago, in the year of Poland's Christian millenium, it was a beautiful and splendid thing. All of America heard of it, but now there is new beauty and nobility. There is this magnificent mural, a true reproduction of that priceless treasure of Poland and its fate, the painting of the Blessed Virgin. And there are the great stained glass windows that give vibrant life and color to the east and west walls of the Upper Church. One portrays Poland's thousand years of Christianity and the other the life and the work of the Polish people in the new world.

#### VISITS WITH HOLY FATHERS

I'm reminded of my visit to Rome this past April, when I had the rare honor of visiting with his Holiness, Pope Paul VI, and discussing with the Holy Father, matters of great concern to church and state. I shall never forget that day in the Basilica of St. Peter, nor how can I forget my experience only a few years past of visiting with that beloved peasant priest who brought so much goodness to the world and brought the peoples of the world so close together in the spirit of the Ecumenical Movement, Pope John XXIII, one of the great spirits of all time.

So there are many happy memories that come to mind today.

#### POLISH CULTURE

These fine works of art that are here are a reminder that your forefathers brought with them much more than just their indomitable courage, their strength and their will to work. They brought with them one of the oldest and one of the richest cultures in Europe, a culture of excellence in literature, in drama, in music, in painting and as we see before our very eyes, in architecture.

But this is more than a religious shrine and cultural center. It is a monument to freedom, strong, beautiful, imposing, a monument to man's freedom. Devotion to freedom and a belief in the dignity of man have been the undying characteristics of Poles in America and elsewhere since the beginning.

#### THE LEGACY OF PULASKI

Oh, we have so many great men of Polish descent to remember, we Americans. We have Casimir Pulaski who fought for liberty in the American Revolution. Who can forget him? What boy or girl will not remember that name? Do you remember what this great patriot said? Well, let me remind you once again -- because his words of those days of our early American history are so relevant and so meaningful this very hour when America finds herself once again facing powerful forces of oppression. Pulaski said, "Wherever on the globe men are fighting for freedom, it is as if it were our own affair."

This great human being, this dedicated patriot understood that freedom was personal, that freedom belonged to each individual, and wherever freedom was in trouble, man was in trouble.

#### KOSCIUSKO'S SPIRIT

Now, that was the spirit that brought Kosciusko to our shores. And it is fitting that we remember Kosciusko too, on the one hundred and fiftieth anniversary of his birthday.

Kosciusko was not only a skillful soldier and a devoted patriot, but my dear friends, a compassionate and great hearted humanitarian. He demonstrated in his life that you can be strong, devoted, patriotic, and still, kind and compassionate.

#### THE BLUE LEGION'S VALOR

And we honor that same spirit as we commemorate another anniversary today. It was fifty years ago this year that the Blue Legion of Polish Freedom Fighters was founded on American soil. Oh, the valiant men of Polish descent who have fought for freedom here and elsewhere in the name of freedom and America -- many of them here today with us on this platform.

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Starzynski, a founder along with Paderewski of the Blue Army rests here in the lot of honor in your cemetery. What a hallowed place. It is a worthy place, is it not, for a worthy man who so greatly loved both Poland and America. And you know dear friends, you can love both and know that you are loving freedom. How wonderful.

#### AMERICA'S MANY ORIGINS

This is truly a national shrine, this national shrine of Our Lady of Czestochowa. Beautiful. A shrine in which all Americans can take pride. For we are both one nation and we are many nations. One of our great American authors, Herman Melville wrote, speaking of America, that it was --

"Settled by the people of all nations, all nations may claim her for their own. Our blood is as the flood of the Amazon made up of a thousand noble currents pouring into one. We are not a nation so much as a world."

What a description of America, this pluralistic, mosaic society, the society of many, yet bound together in unity.

It is because they saw America as this land of freedom and opportunity that our forefathers came here from all parts of the world, yours from Poland and mine from Norway and Wales.

My dear, beloved mother was a foreign born girl coming to this country with her parents to seek what men and women for generations have sought. A chance. A new day. A better day. A chance to live in greater freedom.

#### OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL

We must see to it that America is, indeed, now as in the past, a land of ever widening opportunity. Not just for some Americans. Not just even for most Americans. But a land of opportunity for all Americans. Everyone of us.

I spoke to a high school and junior high school dedication a couple of hours ago, and I ended my visit with that lovely and wonderful audience, with so many fine young people present, by reciting for them the creed of this nation, and I think it so appropriate on every occasion. Just as we sing the national anthems of America and Poland, so we can recite time and again the story of this land, the key to its greatness.

I spoke of all Americans having opportunity. We say, you know, in our schools and elsewhere when we look at our great flag, "One nation under God, indivisible with liberty and justice for all."

That is the story of this land, my dear friends. That is America. One nation of many peoples, but under God. Recognizing our humility, but indivisible and with liberty and justice for all. What a precious presentation of the purpose of this nation.

Each and every American must have the opportunity as we see it to develop his God-given talents to the fullest and to apply them for his own advancement and the welfare of his community.

#### SELF-RELIANCE

You see, it is an opportunity state, not a welfare state that we're seeking to build in America. We want every American to be able to stand strong and self-reliant on his own two feet, proud in his inheritance, proud of his name, his family, his faith, his church, proud of his state and his nation. That's the kind of America we want. For in the words of your Polish proverb, "From someone else's cart, you have to get off half way." But when it's your cart, when you can have it yourself, it goes with you the full way.

#### VIOLENCE IN CITIES

We have witnessed recently grave disorders in our cities. You and I know that there can be no room in America for lawlessness and violence. You and I know that it will and must be met by strict and uncompromising enforcement of the law and respect for the law. But you and I know that every thinking American realizes that the violence that we have seen is in part a symptom of deep social problems, of the condition amongst an alienated minority. To them, society has nothing to offer that

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that is worth saving.

It is vital that we maintain law and order because only through that can we obtain progress.

#### EQUALITY FOR ALL

But it is also important to remember that it is not enough. We need, also, the kind of vision and compassion that the great patriot Kosciusko showed in the well known words of his will. I repeated those words in 1964 in Chicago at the Polish American Congress. I want to repeat them here to you today. Kosciusko wrote these words:

"I will hereby authorize my friend Thomas Jefferson to employ the whole of my property in the United States in purchasing Negro (slaves) and giving them liberty in my name."

What a remarkable testament.

So, I am confident that Americans of Polish descent, true to this great tradition, will join in making the promise of America a reality for all Americans.

#### AMERICAN AID TO POLAND

But our regard for our fellow man does not stop at the coastline or at the water's edge.

In this fast shrinking world we are all more or less neighbors, and we are all "our brother's keepers." We have not forgotten our friends and relatives in Poland. You can still see at work in Polish factories today the machine tools which were sent there -- many of them made by the United States, through the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration.

And under the Food for Peace Program which you have supported, literally over a half of a billion dollars of American food and fiber have gone to Poland. And much of that food has been distributed in Poland to the Polish people by American voluntary organizations speaking in the name of the American people.

What does this mean in more human terms? It means that hundreds of thousands of little children in school and summer camps now can enjoy a hot and nourishing meal. It means that many thousands of the elderly and the infirm in hospitals and in institutions are better fed. That's what Food for Peace means. It means life for little children. Life for God's children.

#### "BRIDGES" TO POLAND

Ambassador Gronouski, a distinguished Polish American who serves this nation honorably and well, this spring signed a new agreement with the Polish government for a ten year English language teaching program and a seven year cultural exchange, so that English, the American tongue will become the second language of the Polish child of tomorrow. What a bond of friendship!

#### CHILDREN'S HOSPITAL IN POLAND

And as you may know, I have a particular and personal interest in the thoroughly modern research hospital for the children in Krakow, Poland. It was conceived and planned by a good friend of mine, a distinguished architect by the name of Bernacki-Poray. I worked closely with him in making this great dream come true. And I'm happy to say that Senator Joseph Clark who is on this platform with me today from your state helped make this dream come true. I had the privilege of working with the great congressman from the state of Wisconsin, Congressman Zablocki and another great Congressman, John Rooney, to make the dream of this hospital come true. I hope that someday I'll be able to visit that hospital and see those children and bring them your greetings.

This life giving gift of medicine and care of the American people to the children of Poland was dedicated almost two years ago, and it has been in full operation ever since. It has three hundred and twenty beds and they are regularly filled to capacity. Literally thousands of children have come out of it with their health and their strength restored because America cared, because America loved,

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because America thought of children even before it thought of ideology or politics.

There are many ways that we build bridges of understanding. Bridges of peaceful trade in commerce are being built today. The expansion of trade remains one of the goals of this Administration. Everyone stands to gain by it and no one need lose. For as our late and beloved President Kennedy liked to say, "A rising tide lifts all the boats."

#### OPENING THE DOOR TO EASTERN EUROPE

In March of this year, I stood at another rostrum in mid-America, at Westminster College in Fulton, Missouri. The same rostrum from which Winston Churchill warned us twenty one years ago as he said:

"From Stettin in the Baltic to Trieste in the Adriatic, an Iron Curtain has descended across the continent of Europe."

That was his famous Iron Curtain speech. I declared on that occasion twenty one years later my belief that we stand on the threshold of an entirely new era in relations with the people of Eastern Europe, a period of peaceful engagement. I stated my conviction then as I do now, that if we do not lose our nerve or our patience, we can look forward with confidence to the replacement of that ugly Iron Curtain by a beautiful open door.

The ties which you and other Americans of central and eastern European descent have maintained with the countries of your forefathers are very important in this respect. For they will help mightily in opening that door and keeping it open so that people can talk to one another, be with one another. This will be a real service to peace in this tormented world. For it is open doors and open hearts, not Iron Curtains and closed minds that mean peace in a world where science and technology are making one great neighborhood for all the children of the earth.

#### THE CHALLENGE OF VIET NAM

But the peace of that world neighborhood today is threatened and torn in Asia. The tragedy of war grips many a family in America and grips a far away place called Viet Nam.

Once again, our nation pours out its treasure and offers the lives of its young men, not for selfish purpose, not for imperial gain, not for trade or commerce, but in resisting aggression, resisting Communist tyranny, this time, in Asia.

We are dealing there with a struggle that has been on for years and has been waged not just militarily but above all, politically, economically and psychologically. We struggle hard to fathom and understand. We are dealing with an adversary who according to all of our information still genuinely believes that time is on his side. An enemy who despite his military defeats, defeat after defeat, still believes that we the American people will ultimately tire, give up and withdraw. And that, my dear friends, is why the enemy will not come to the conference table and negotiate a just and honorable peace.

Our hearts cry out at the human and material loss that we see in Southeast Asia, in Viet Nam. All of us pray to God for an end to this struggle.

The hope of victory for the enemy, however, is not in his power, but in our division, in our weariness, in our uncertainty. The road to peace that you want and I want is not in our words but rather in our unity, in our courage, in our steadfastness and in having the enemy know that the United States of America will never give up, will not tire, and will remain there until the job is done.

#### AMERICAN PERSEVERANCE

We have no choice but to persevere. Choosing neither the reckless and irresponsible choice of massive military escalation that could confront us with greater danger -- nor a withdrawal. Choosing to stick with the difficult and necessary course of firm resolve which can and will bring the conflict to a just and honorable peace. I'm talking of a course of action which means keeping at it day by day, defeating the enemy forces, and we are. Of building security and a better standard of living in the Viet Nameese countryside, and we are. And of doing what we can to nurture and develop responsible, representative democratic government, and we are.

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I'm speaking of tirelessly seeking honorable negotiations until one day our adversary realizes that time is not on his side, but time is on the side of the men of freedom who fight for freedom there as you fought for it elsewhere.

#### PRESIDENT KENNEDY'S INAUGURAL MESSAGE

I stood on the platform in Washington in January, 1961 and heard a brave young President John F. Kennedy say these words:

"Let every nation know whether it wishes us well or ill that we shall pay any price, bear any burden, meet any hardship, support any friend, oppose any foe, to assure the survival and the success of liberty."

Ladies and gentlemen, that is the American creed.

Yes, we must do as he said. For what is at stake in Viet Nam is more than the fate of one little country. It is the fate of a long-standing American involvement in a part of the world where better than half of the children of this earth live. A fate of involvement of Asia that goes back at least to Pearl Harbor and beyond that. It is the fate of free Asia itself. The fate of peace. Our own American security is at stake. That's why we're there.

#### THE THREAT OF COMMUNIST CHINA

Today, the threat to world peace is militant, aggressive Asian Communism with its headquarters in Peking, China. The aggression of North Viet Nam is but the most current and immediate action of that militant Asian Communism. If it should succeed in its goal of conquest of South Viet Nam, it would add to the strength of Communism in Asia and Europe. And it would stimulate the appetite for more aggression and conquests. It would represent a defeat--not only for America but for freedom everywhere.

#### NAZI AGGRESSION AGAINST POLAND

I need not tell people of Polish descent what aggression means. I need not tell you of the evils of totalitarianism. I need not tell you of the brutality of Naziism and Communism. You know.

Ladies and gentlemen, had the free nations of the world had the courage that little Poland had in 1939, there would have been no Nazi World War II. What we seek today to do is what the generation before us should have done when Hitler was on the march. Stop him before it was too late. Stop the aggressor before he becomes accustomed to the habit of conquest. And this my friends is what it's all about.

#### WHY AMERICA IS IN VIET NAM

So, my fellow Americans, remember what General Pulaski said, "Wherever on the globe men are fighting for freedom, it is as if it were our own affair." We are in Viet Nam not only because of the Viet Nameese, not only because of a treaty, not only because a small nation has been set upon by a powerful aggressive force. We are there because the United States of America has a stake in freedom and because our own national security is best protected when the enemies of freedom are denied victory anyplace, anywhere in the world.

Now, make no mistake about it, my fellow Americans, it is not the United States and her allies who are failing. To the contrary. Communist China has failed in its attempt to overrun Southeast Asia. Why? Because we are resisting aggression. North Viet Nam has failed in its objective to absorb South Viet Nam in the swamp of Communism. Why? Because we are resisting aggression. It is time that the American people understood that it is the Communists who are losing this war and that victory will crown our efforts if we persevere with the courage that has characterized the Polish people and the Polish nation in a millennium of Christianity.

Three great Presidents, President Eisenhower, President Kennedy and President Johnson, following the best advice that they could find, have concluded that it is in the interests of this nation to check the tide of aggression in Viet Nam. If we fail to do it there, we'll have to meet it someplace else, and later it may be even more difficult and more dangerous.

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#### AMERICA'S LEADERSHIP RESPONSIBILITY

Now, let me leave you with a personal word. I know these are difficult times for America both at home and abroad. It has never been easy, but what a great nation this is, how blessed and how fortunate. No nation more rich, no nation more powerful. President Johnson put it this way:

"This nation is mighty enough, its society is healthy enough, its people are strong enough to pursue our goals in the rest of the world while still building a great society here at home."

I know that's a mighty task, but we dare not do less.

My fellow Americans, if we are not strong enough to stand the test, who is? If we are not--with our wealth--able to pay the cost of freedom and justice, who is? If we, blessed as we are with material abundance, with knowledge, with science and with technology, with good people, if we cannot fulfill the responsibilities of leadership for freedom, who can?

We have no choice. We are leaders. We have a responsibility and a burden to carry, and we're great enough to do it.

But one thing is certain, my friends, with all of the wealth, with all of the prosperity, with all of the power we will not find peace here or abroad, we'll not find peace in Viet Nam, nor will we build better American cities simply by massive applications of money and power. For, if money and power were enough, we would long ago have solved these problems, because no one has known so much money or so much power.

#### QUALITIES AMERICA NEEDS

No, we shall need other qualities. We shall need the qualities that have always pulled this nation through its dark days when it has been tested and found not wanting. We shall need good old fashioned American courage. We shall need patience and perseverance. We shall need confidence, confidence in ourselves, confidence in the rightness of our cause. As Lincoln put it, "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right."

We're going to need that kind of Lincolnian philosophy and dedication. And we'll need humility and understanding. We shall need, above all, the ever inspiring spirit of hope, and we shall need faith, new faith in old American dreams. We shall need faith in our country, in our fellow citizens, in our capacity to meet whatever comes and to master it. And we shall need faith in God Almighty and His message.

If we have that faith, and I believe we have, then I think the problems of today can be the victories of tomorrow.

#### THE NEW POLISH MILLENNIUM

It has been an inspiration for me to be with you on this magnificent occasion of Polish-American religious and patriotic devotion.

The millennium of Polish Christianity celebrated last year here and throughout the world was not the end. It was the new beginning of a second millennium.

May God grant that the years ahead will see the fulfillment of the noblest ideals of this magnificent, beautiful, superb shrine.

And may Poland, free, independent and Christian achieve her proudest role in the family of man. Thank you.

**Address by**  
**Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey**  
**at the**  
**National Outlook Conference on Rural Youth**  
**Washington, D. C.**  
**October 23, 1967**







(Left to right) Secretary of Agriculture, Orville Freeman; Reverend James L. Vizzard, S.J., National Catholic Rural Life Conference; and Vice President Hubert Humphrey.

You can plainly see tonight that the spirit of youth has gripped us, because Secretary Freeman said that it was just a few years ago that we were at the University of Minnesota together. We have been compressing time, and are beginning to feel younger every minute.

First of all, I want to express my thanks to the Secretary for permitting me to join in this conference. I think it is fair to say that you have heard from him a message of sincere optimism and great promise. I like the positive note that Secretary Freeman has given to us, and the very solid evidence of social progress that is so much a part of the present American scene.

I want to ask you tonight to join me in thinking young. Being young and thinking young are not exactly the same thing.

### A YOUNG NATION

This is a young nation. Everything about it is young. When you think of the verve and the vitality of America, it tells you about its youth. When you see America on the march—its industry, its science, its technology—everywhere there is an emphasis on youth.

I was very much moved tonight by the Secretary's analysis of disillusionment, disenchantment, the difference between a healthy discontent and a sick disenchantment, the difference between dissent and disillusionment.

We have gone through a rather difficult week in our nation. We have gone through a rather unhappy weekend in our nation's capitol.

Let me tell you the contrast that I saw. I was at the United Nations' Concert Saturday night, with Mrs. Humphrey and many others. It was our privilege to invite a very esteemed and dear friend to be the concert conductor, the famed Pablo Casals, one of the truly great spirits of our century and of our time.

### THEY WERE BEAUTIFUL

On the stage with him were hundreds of young people from Howard University and Catholic University in a great choral group. They had had only a week of rehearsals, only one or

two days with the great maestro, and when they first sang, it was good, but it was evident. But then, as the evening went on, the music just poured from them like a mighty river. And they were beautiful. It was simply the most moving experience that one could ever hope to have.

I couldn't help but think of it when I went home—what a contrast to what I saw on the television of ill manners, filth, a disgusting performance in the name of dissent. And how many young people were deceived by a few who wanted to deceive them on that Saturday here in Washington! There were thousands of young people that came here out of conscience and conviction to express their concern, but they were used by some who had no conscience, no concern, and were seeking only to exercise what they thought was the right to abusive language and vulgarity.

When I awakened this morning and turned on the television and saw the debris that was left at the Pentagon building, it sickened me. And particularly when I saw young GI's in fatigues having to clean up this mess, and when I heard that some young men and women who were insisting on being arrested were being given \$25 fines, I thought maybe it would have been better if they had had to clean up their own mess.

## YOUNG PEOPLE AT WORK

You know the young people of America today are marvelous. Most of them are socially concerned. They are bright. They are at work.

There are six million or more of them in our universities, seeking to improve themselves, to build for a better life. There are thousands of them who volunteer for the Peace Corps, many more than we can take. Thousands of them are volunteering for VISTA, Volunteers in Service to America. A quarter of a million of our college students last year volunteered to help the needy and to help students who had been deprived of a good education. Half a million high school seniors who never got paid a nickel volunteered their time last year to help young people in the grade schools. Thousands of other young people work in hospitals, in community agencies and community programs.

This is the spirit of America. This is the youth power of America.

But somehow these examples get lost in the public mind. It seems these days that some people have confused honest, dedicated, conscientious, concern and dissent with vulgarity and abusiveness. This does not help the cause of democracy, and it does not help the cause of human decency or human dignity.

## DECEIVED

I was unhappy this weekend because I think those who really wanted to express their concern about many things were deceived. I don't like people who use other people for their own selfish purposes.

I have many of these feelings because I know young people. I happen to be the Chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity Council and, like Secretary Freeman, I travel around this country a great deal.

Youth power, I believe, is a tremendous source of energy and good. It is one of the nation's greatest natural resources—a resource of strength and of energy and of leadership for today and for tomorrow.

But I regret to say that all too often it is a resource that we are wasting. That is why this conference was called by the Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Labor, Health, Education, and Welfare, the Office of Economic Opportunity, the Vice President's Office and the President's Council on Youth Opportunity.

You have been invited to discuss the needs of a very important group of American young people, those who live in rural America.

## PROSPECTS

Your theme is "Prospects." And America's prospects today, as the Secretary of Agriculture has so vividly pointed out, are tremendous. They are dramatic. Our country is rich and powerful. America's farms, as you better know than I, produce a greater abundance than any other farms in the world. And that abundance is surely going to increase.

For the first time in the history of mankind, there is a nation that can satisfy the material needs of each of its citizens.

Every young person should have one assurance above all others—the assurance that he or she will fully share in these prospects.

## RURAL POVERTY

But the statistics say that many who live in rural areas are not sharing adequately now:

The largest number of poor youth live in rural areas. About one-third of these young people in rural America live in sub-standard housing. For every 77 rural youngsters who reach working age, there are only 100 jobs.

Twenty-two percent of all rural five-year-olds in 1960 were in kindergarten. In the cities, the figure was 46 percent. The average rural teenager completes about nine years of school. The figure is over twelve years in the city. There are fewer doctors, hospitals, clinics and nurses per capita in rural areas than in the cities.

Moreover, the remedies available today for these inequalities have not been adequately used in rural America:

Our education assistance programs are more frequently and fully used by city schools than by rural schools.

## HEALTH ASSISTANCE

Our health assistance programs serve the cities more than the country.

Only about half of the nation's rural counties are served by local offices of the state employment services. Yet each of the urban counties has at least one, and often several local employment offices.

Communities in rural America are scattered, and not concentrated. Their problems often are not susceptible to treatment by large-scale programs. And I think it is fair to say that in this day and age much of the thinking and planning of government is urban-oriented, from urban-oriented minds.

Local governments in rural America, moreover, are often unaware of state and federal assistance that is available to them.

## NO LABELS

I have found that many local government officials who come to Washington to look for some help are like a person going into a supermarket and finding that there are all kinds of goodies on the shelf, but there are no labels. They wonder what they are getting, if they get anything at all. Most of the time, they find nothing.

So what we have tried to do in recent months is to put together a catalog of community programs that are available. We also have a simplified application, which finds its way to the proper agency of the government no matter where you send it.

Often, too, the local governments' tax base is too small to support the kind of local initiatives that would enable them to take advantage of federal rural assistance programs.

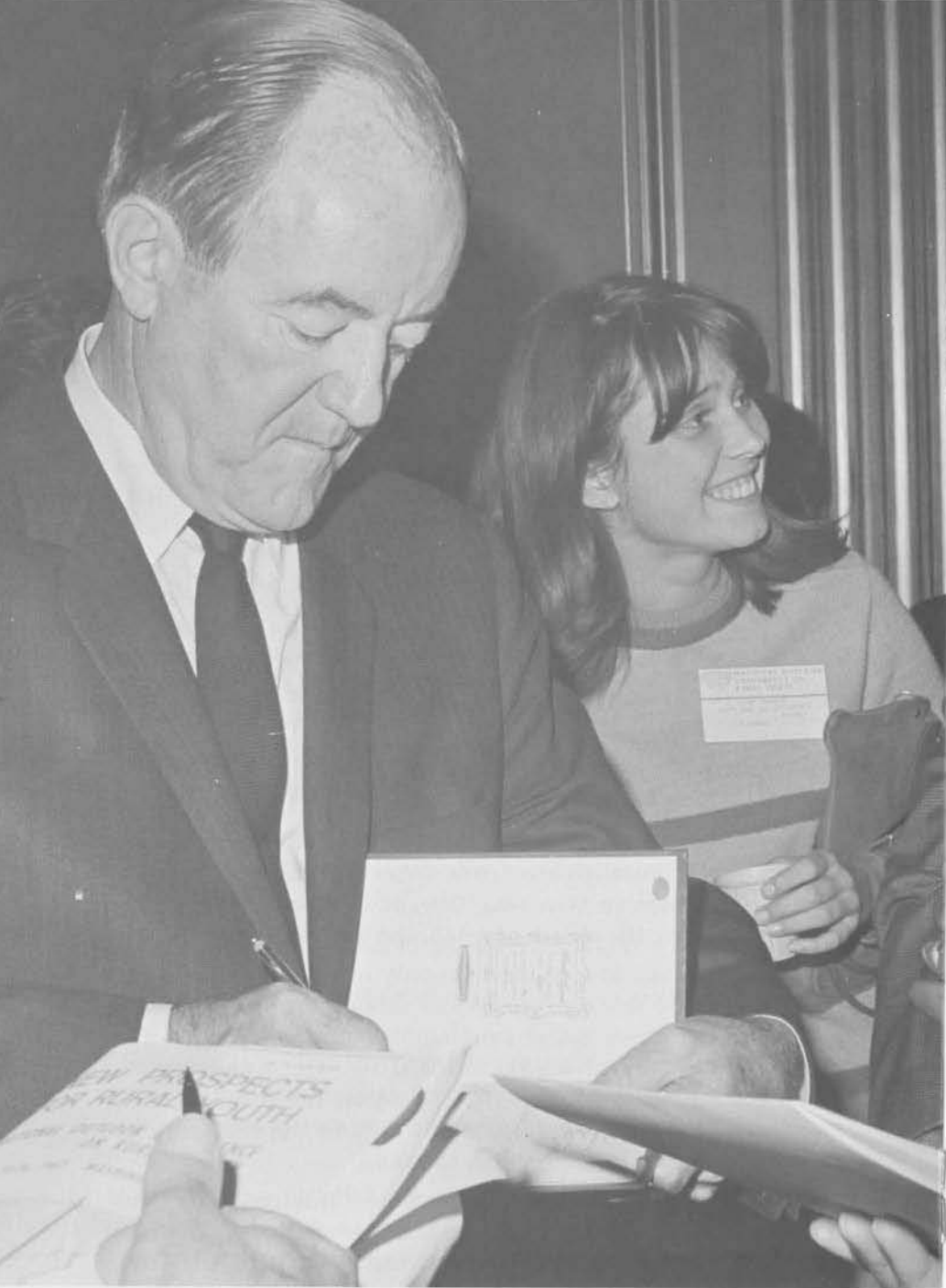
## FREEDOM OF CHOICE

The material disadvantages which affect many young people in rural areas literally conspire to deprive them of one of our most basic American freedoms, freedom of choice—the choice of where to live, the choice of a job, the choice of your future.

This is perhaps the greatest tragedy of all, and that is the challenge before this conference and this nation. Rural America must offer these young people opportunities to learn and work equal to those available in the cities. Government—federal, state and local—must make it possible for rural youth to have exactly the same options and the same opportunities as their city cousins in any city in the land.

Between 1950 and 1960, about eleven million Americans migrated to the cities from the farms and small towns. Seventy percent of us now live in cities, on one percent of the land. And this trend continues today. In the next 33 years, there will be one hundred million more Americans.





Vice President Humphrey and Diane Ambrose, Dover, Delaware.

Where are they going to live? How are they going to live? What kind of life will they have? Are they all going to live in the great crowded metropolitan centers?

### HIGH HOPES, NO SKILLS

The largest proportion of the new migrants to the city are young. Indeed, about 200,000 young Americans living in rural areas today will have been drawn or forced into the city within a year. Most of them will arrive with high hopes. Some of them will arrive without the skill to support themselves or an adequate education. Many will find themselves confined to slum apartments, trapped in an alien environment.

And what has not happened in many areas of rural America—I repeat, what has not happened in many areas of rural America—is a major cause of what has happened in many of the neighborhoods of urban America.

In New York City, for example, more than one-third of the enrollees in the Neighborhood Youth Corps program were from rural America. Many come from some of the more backward rural areas, totally unadjusted to urban industrial life.

They come to Chicago, to Cleveland, to Detroit, to Philadelphia, to New York, only to be lost, swallowed up in the impersonality of the city, finding refuge on relief and welfare rolls. That is not the American answer to human problems.

### POPULATION BOOM

By the year 2000, as I have said, we are going to have a tremendous increase in population, and we have to think ahead, plan ahead, for everything. Are there enough classrooms, universities, hospitals, doctors, other professional people to serve them? What kind of America will they find?

The challenge, as I see it, is to provide every citizen—and especially the young ones—no matter where he lives or who he is, with a full measure of opportunity and a full measure of choice.

In the rural areas, that does not mean recreating the mythical good old days down on the farm. They were never that good, and you know it.



## MODERN LIVING

It does mean extending modern living to rural areas. In the 1930's, modernization meant rural electrification, the REA, and movie theaters in every town. In the 1940's, it meant in part hard-surfaced roads, so that people could get back and forth.

What does it mean now? I think it means airports, for one thing, capable of handling short-hop jets. It means community colleges, good ones; modern hospitals and good doctors. It means the very best in elementary and secondary education. It means also in a modern community golf courses and ball parks—recreation. It may mean drama groups and art classes in addition to church socials and lemonade. And it means economic visibility—new investment, new job opportunities, a growing tax base.

Let's face it. The young man or woman today who listens to the transistor radio or gets a peek at television is not going to be content with horse-and-buggy living. They are going to leave, unless there is a better life for them available in areas other than the great cities.

Now, that kind of progress is possible. We are not talking about a dream world or a theory. Let me give you two examples.

## HUNTSVILLE

Huntsville, Alabama, used to be a small Southern town, a place where people were born and died, but where they spent little time in between. Then the TVA went into action. Huntsville got access to electric power at cheap rates. It got access to water for transport and for recreation. Industries came, then scientific and space installations moved in, and other industries followed. New stores began to meet the needs of new customers. The quality of education improved. The University of Alabama put in a branch university. New taxpayers built new schools.

Huntsville is today a good place not only to be from, but to be. It is a going establishment.

## TENCO

Another good example occurred in south-central Iowa. Ten counties joined together in an association called Tenco. They were able to pool their resources of services, raw materials, planners and leaders, to provide many of the attractions that our metropolitan areas no longer offer—inexpensive land for industry, business, housing and parks, clean air and clean water, and a good labor force. Together the Tenco counties were large enough to use federal programs efficiently. They could hire a good lawyer to examine these programs, and then good planners.

They used resources available under the Public Works and Economic Development Act to attract industry. They built a technical school with funds available under the Elementary and Secondary Education Act.

With assistance from the Department of Labor, Tenco established a pilot project which is now demonstrating how a rural area can develop a comprehensive manpower training program to recruit, test, train and find jobs for its citizens.

The Tenco counties have doubled hog and cattle production with the counsel of the United States Department of Agriculture's Technical Action Panels. Today, pre-family income in Tenco has doubled. Eight years ago the loan limit at the bank was \$20,000; it is now between \$80,000 and \$90,000.

## LOCAL INITIATIVE

Tenco illustrates what I consider to be the most important ingredient in any program for progress, rural or urban, in America today. Its success was the result of local imagination, local creativity, local initiative from the very beginning.

Tenco's leaders decided what they wanted to do and how they wanted to do it. And then they turned to Washington for assistance. Now, that's the kind of help—support for local initiative—that the federal government can best provide. This is the partnership that we talk about.

It is a partnership in which there is no dominant force, but in which each shares to the best of his ability. This partnership includes federal, state and local government as well as private groups.



Vice President Humphrey: Curtis J. Ray, Eau Claire, Wisconsin and Hatch C. Smith, Llano, Texas.

I think this conference is going to discover many ways in which we can improve federal and state services to rural areas.

## RURAL GUIDELINES

Certainly we can make the guidelines for some of our programs more appropriate for rural application. For instance, we can authorize higher expenditures for transportation, an obvious necessity. Perhaps the term "rural" itself requires a new definition. I think it does.

We can compensate in our manpower programs for the lack of training facilities in rural areas, perhaps through the use of more residential centers for training on the Job Corps model.

We surely need to find better ways of reaching rural youth through the state employment services. Most of our rural youth have never seen a state employment office.

The Smaller Communities Program of the U.S. Employment Service, established on an experimental basis in 1959, is now serving more than 40 rural counties in several states, but it is only a drop in the bucket.

We need to press forward our efforts to improve the quality and the availability of education and health care in rural areas.

## PRIVATE SUPPORT NEEDED

And we must enlist the support of private enterprise more than ever, for it is private investment that is ultimately going to make a self-sustaining success of our rural America.

Today, of the nation's 28,800 manufacturing establishments with over 100 employees, only 2,062 are located in rural counties. Is it any wonder that there is a population drain from these counties?

Agri-business is but one part of the private sector that has been moving away from metropolitan areas, with the canning industry and the meat-packing industry in the lead.

Farmers' marketing and purchasing cooperatives have also been investing heavily and building outside the metropolitan areas.

## FEDERAL ROLE

What more should we do to encourage this? The federal government can help stimulate other types of industry to move into rural areas by using the economic weight of government contracts for research, development and production. This year alone your government will be spending \$16 billion in research and development contracts.

Is your local college getting some of this money? If it isn't, speak up.

We also can and do use our equal employment statutes to require industries on government contracts not to discriminate against local workers.

But let me stress again that most of the initiative required to attract new industry is going to have to come from the rural people themselves. Opportunity moves in where things are happening, where the action is, where local people and local leadership prove that they want to see the community grow.

## LOCAL GOVERNMENT

This also means making state and local government modern, responsive, progressive, with good people at the helm in every office. It means that the services of government must be geared to this age of science and technology, to the expansion of our industrial base, to the health and well-being of our people.

George Bernard Shaw was a caustic observer, and he put it pretty bluntly: "The people who get on in this world are the people who get up and look for the circumstances they want; and if they can't find them, they make them."

I like that. That is what you call ambition—making your opportunities and seizing them.

Just a simple thing—zoning practices will have to be improved to accommodate new businesses and new people. That is a very mundane subject, but without it, there will be no new business.

New housing provisions may be required in your locality, your county or your state. In this age of mobility, even sites

for mobile homes may be needed to attract new residents. Newcomers may want a furnished unit in an apartment motel rather than a separate house. Leasing arrangements will need to be more flexible in a majority of towns.

## PROPERTY TAXES

Traditional property taxes may no longer be the most flexible or economical instrument for financing schools and other public facilities in growing communities.

Natural recreational resources can be exploited, developed for an important economic return.

Regional planning, as they discovered in Tenco, is a must. Twenty-six states are now moving toward multi-county development efforts. And let me predict that the result will not be to weaken local governments, but to strengthen them as they become able to draw upon the resources of their neighboring communities.

## LINGERING SOCIAL INJUSTICE

Finally, many rural communities in the United States are going to have to come to grips with lingering social and racial injustice. Responsible local government elected by the people—all of the people—courts where justice never blinks, decent and open housing, social harmony—those are fundamental prerequisites that any American community must offer today if it expects to attract people and enterprises interested in progress.

I meet regularly with some of the biggest business leaders in this country, and the first thing they ask when they are considering putting a plant in a town is: "What kind of educational system does it have?" and "What are the plans for the next ten years?"

Number two, they want to know: What are the community attitudes? Is there racial hostility? Is there labor-management hostility? Is there urban-rural hostility?

Then they look at the other things, like a labor force, the availability of electrical power, transportation, and so forth.

## OPEN SOCIETIES

Without open societies and full opportunity in rural America, moreover, I don't think we'll ever be able to keep the young people there. We will not be able to stem the flow of migration to our cities, no matter how much physical amenities may improve.

I know these suggestions call for some far-reaching changes which are going to require a high level of political courage and imagination. But if we really want to make rural life a significant alternative in America today—if we really want to give rural young people prospects instead of props, opportunity instead of relief, education instead of consolation—then rural Americans are going to have to commit themselves now, politically, socially, personally, to social progress.

There need never be any rivalry or competition between rural America and urban America. Poverty of the purse and poverty of the spirit are not confined to either. They must be fought as common enemies in both places. We are talking of a national problem requiring a national commitment.

The commitment is vital to the health of American democracy in this, the last third of the 20th century.

President Johnson put it this way:

"History records a long hard struggle to establish man's right to go where he pleases and live where he chooses. It took many centuries—and many bloody revolutions—to break the chains that bound him to a particular plot of land, or confined him within the walls of a particular community. We lose that freedom when our children are obliged to live someplace else if they want a job or if they want a decent education."

The President has made a great plea for equal opportunity. If we work together, this whole nation can develop as one—rural and urban together—so that the American right of free choice will be a reality.

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