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② Norman Uphoff - U of Minn + Princeton

③ Philip Sherburne REMARKS of Oregon

④ Michael Sauler VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY  
of North Carolina  
NATIONAL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION

UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN

MADISON, WISCONSIN

AUGUST 23, 1965

I am honored to participate in this annual conference of the National Students Association.

Since becoming a United States Senator, and now Vice President, I have welcomed any speaking engagement on a college campus.

As a refugee from the classroom -- a former professor of political science -- I am careful to keep my academic credentials in order. A politician never forgets the precarious nature of elective life. We have

never established the practice of tenure in public office.

Whenever I meet with young Americans, there is a strong temptation to glorify youth . . . to attempt to shed the thirty-odd years that separate us . . . and to tell you that your vitality and enthusiasm are the ultimate virtues. !

Today I intend to resist this temptation. My respect for you -- and for NSA -- compel me to go beyond this.

The National Students Association is not, as I understand your excellent work, built around the ego needs of its members. It is a serious organization dedicated to <sup>substantive</sup> institutional rather than emotional imperatives.

In this same spirit, I wish to discuss today the nature of dissent in a democracy -- and the responsibilities which citizens assume when they venture into public debate and action.

~~In brief,~~ the process is one of preserving the public interest however difficult and confounding this may at times appear. It is not one of venting personal frustration or anger, however exhilarating this latter activity may seem.

To be sure, every generation must in some degree react against the old order. I suppose the activities of a young candidate running for Mayor of Minneapolis *back* in 1945 illustrated this assertion vividly.

*and* President Johnson has expressed it well:

"No one knows more than I the fires that burn in the hearts of young men who yearn for the chance to do better what they see their elders not doing well . . . or not doing at all. "

Young people naturally resent the notion that the world or its problems existed before they achieved political consciousness.

I am sure that today <sup>there are some</sup> ~~many~~ young Americans <sup>who</sup> feel that nobody in this country ever heard of free speech, freedom of the press, or civil rights before the early 1960's.

<sup>and</sup> I am not here to recount my <sup>own</sup> work in these areas. Nothing is more boring than the war stories of the old campaigner, even if many of them are true and some battles have been won.

What I do wish to suggest is that we in the United States have created a society in which freedom and equality are meaningful concepts -- and not vague abstractions.

I wish to suggest further that ample opportunity does exist for dissent, for protest, and for non-conformity.

But I must also say that the right to be heard does not automatically include the right to be taken seriously.

The latter depends entirely upon what is being said.

↳ I've heard critics say that dissent in America has been silenced, when, in fact, it is simply that little attention is being paid to <sup>some</sup> the critics' views.

↳ Jefferson once wrote that society should be dismantled and reconstructed by each generation in order to insure progress and reform. ↳ Although one is unable to accept the explicit meaning of Jefferson's words, the implication is clear. And students should possess in abundance the compassion, the energy, and the unfettered vision needed by a society which seeks to become truly great . . . truly humane and Truly

responsive to the needs of the People.  
Today we have embarked on a voyage in quest of such a society. And it is no coincidence that students have assumed both a vital role and an unprecedented responsibility.

↳ I am here today to salute those students who ~~voice criticism and~~ not only dissent, but who by the logic and substance of their argument have compelled the citizens of America to pay attention to their views -- to take them seriously.

↳ I am also here to say frankly and critically that the behavior of some young Americans in recent months is not deserving of such attention.

↳ The right of dissent is a vital factor in maintaining the health of our democratic order. But there exists an equal obligation for those with responsibility to decide . . . to act . . . to choose among conflicting opinions and available options.

↳ For the person who must decide -- whether it is the President of the United States or a selectman in a New England town meeting -- it is not sufficient

merely to protest existing conditions. All sane men oppose war, inequality and injustice. But to act creatively and effectively within an imperfect society --- to overcome these evils -- demands a precious combination of courage and common sense.

Indeed, the mantle of leadership is not the cloak of comfort but the robe of responsibility.

And given America's unprecedented power and world position, the burden of decision and action is especially great. For us, there are few privileges but many duties. There are few luxuries but great sacrifice.

We live in a time of ferment, change, anguish, and, ultimately, hope reborn. There is a sense in what we do today not only of fulfilling unkept promises of the past, but also of shaping a better society for the future.

There is restlessness and questioning -- as there should be. The youth of America want to be where the action is -- for this is not a beat or silent generation, but one alive with activity, idealism and compassion.

Students have, for example, emblazoned the cause of civil rights on the conscience of America. And your activity in this historic struggle for human freedom and dignity has indeed been worth taking seriously *it has been effective*

A nation watches its most profound hopes being realized by a student laboring in the heat of a Mississippi county -- or in the dirt and deprivation of a New York ghetto -- or in the legal research section of the Justice Department's civil rights division.

Student action in civil rights has been important and productive for three principal reasons.

↳ First, you have isolated and confronted a severe human problem which plagues our society.

↳ Second, you have developed techniques of protest which are related constructively to the injustices you seek to remedy.

↳ Third, you have demonstrated a remarkable degree of personal commitment and sacrifice.

↳ The tactics of freedom rides, sit-ins, and picket lines have been crucial factors in tearing down the barriers of legalized discrimination in America.

↳ The protests were legitimate. They dramatized outrageous conduct against fellow citizens. And they pricked the conscience of America.

↳ But when laws have been altered to help rather than hinder -- when the tools for social change are

provided by society itself -- then acts of protest and dissent alone are no longer sufficient.

↳ The challenge becomes one of working closely with people . . . of training and teaching . . . of motivating and inspiring those who must benefit from this new framework of law.

↳ In the 1960's our American Congress has passed a remarkable series of social and economic legislation -- the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Secondary and Elementary Education Act, the Medicare bill -- legislation which will significantly alter the quality of life for millions of our fellow Americans.

↳ But these striking legislative achievements will remain a mute symbol of our prior failures unless we

*Record of 88th & 89th Cong Liberal record!*

*what happened to the liberal program?  
we are passing it!*

can achieve their intent through vital, effective, and creative programs of action.

↳ To this end the concerns of students and the duty of government are remarkably parallel. Today there is a historic opportunity for students to combine meaningful tactics of protest with challenging programs of social action and achievement.

↳ It lies with you -- through constructive action -- to help make our laws true testaments of our nation's compassion and concern for the impoverished, unemployed, uprooted and dispossessed people of America.

↳ We especially need dedicated young people to prepare themselves for the burden of public service and responsibility.

↳ In a very few years you will be faced with the obligation to decide <sup>*your cause - your commitment*</sup> -- and this requires self-discipline, compassion, wisdom and understanding.

We need young in business - corporations  
We need new leadership in labor  
in voluntary  
agencies.

- 12 -

We need your assistance in realizing the promise of the  
anti-poverty program, the National Teachers Corps, the  
VISTA  
Peace Corps, and other programs of volunteer service.

↳ We need your help in reaching the poor and  
demonstrating to them that a chance for a new life does  
exist. And we will need your counsel and leadership in  
rebuilding our cities, restoring our rural areas, and  
weaving the commitment of equal opportunity into the fabric of  
our society.

↳ We need your help in joining the world of scholarship  
with the world of public affairs . . . of bridging the gap  
between school and state . . . in bringing the techniques  
of reason, analysis, and critical thought to the processes  
of dissent and to the creation and execution of public  
policies.

Rebuild  
CITIES  
yes,

And there is a basic and ~~obvious~~ <sup>obvious</sup> difference between the peaceful March of Non-Violent demonstration and open brutal, cruel, destruction uncontrolled hoodlumism and riot. Hate, Pillage, looting, murder, fire and gangsterism can never be condoned or justified -

↳ Yes, the opportunities to do something about the human condition are legion.

↳ But we perceive these only dimly when we permit demonstrations and civil disobedience to become ends in themselves.

↳ There is a basic and obvious difference between peaceful demonstration and non-violent protest and brutal, uncontrolled, destructive hoodlumism and rioting.

↳ The wanton destruction of property, gangsterism, arson and gunfire will only destroy the framework of justice and law we are laboring to build. No responsible public official can condone violence any more in Los Angeles <sup>or</sup> ~~than~~ in Mississippi.

~~In the President's words:~~ "Our heart cries out against hatred," from wherever that hatred stems.

↳ But we must ~~also~~ be able to differentiate between constructive and destructive protest in other forms.

↳ Regardless of the nature of the alleged injustice -- and regardless of alternative channels of expression *or remedy*

↳ we have seen the techniques of civil disobedience used in recent months to protest everything from our foreign policies to the administrative procedures of institutions of higher learning.

↳ We have, ~~for example~~, been informed by some persons that they are "unrepresented." And we have been told that, therefore, they acquire the warrant to violate necessary laws relating to public assembly and safety.

But let me put the question directly: Who is  
unrepresented?

I have heard some of the most influential members  
of the Senate raise honest questions about certain aspects  
of our ~~Vietnam~~ <sup>foreign</sup> policy. And I have heard these same  
questions debated, considered, and analyzed in the highest  
councils of our nation. - "~~senate~~ ~~get out of~~ ~~Vietnam~~!!  
~~Get out of~~ ~~Vietnam~~!!  
Go

signs  
outside  
the  
theater

What responsible public official has ever suggested,  
for instance, that there is no room for discussion and  
debate on America's policy in Vietnam? - Signs "Get out of  
Vietnam"  
Yes

And who can deny the existence of many channels  
for such dissent and debate . . . from letters-to-the-editor  
to petitions to one's Senators or Congressman . . . from  
writing articles to sponsoring teach-ins . . . from standing  
vigil before the Pentagon to organizing peace marches?

✓ yes, and then there is every 2 years  
that channel for dissent & debate  
known as an election.

And with such opportunities for expression what basis exists for seeking to circumvent the orderly processes of government and policy formulation? What is the rationale for attempting to substitute civil chaos for responsible debate *or violence for petition*.

I must say that it is incumbent upon those who demonstrate against our nation's policies in Southeast Asia to recognize that dissent is one thing, decision is another.

And those public officials who must decide -- who must choose among available options -- have sought to fashion a policy which takes into account the facts of this terribly complex and tragic situation.

In Vietnam we have three policy objectives.

*We must make it abundantly clear that brute force shall not be the standard of world politics!*

First, we seek to resist aggression and to make clear that its price comes too high, <sup>and</sup> We are determined to fulfill our pledge to South Vietnam, <sup>and to others</sup> that terrorism, subversion and infiltration will not succeed.

Second, we seek to bring about a just and peaceful settlement. We have offered no less than fifteen times to begin unconditional negotiations for the restoration of peace in Southeast Asia. Other nations have also sought to initiate such discussions. But the reply has always been negative. *in fact an arrogant rejection.*

Third, we seek to <sup>help</sup> build a better life for all the people of Vietnam -- North and South. We have undertaken a major program of economic and social development in Southeast Asia -- and the response of our adversaries has been one of total silence.

*Doctors  
Students  
Journalists  
Schools  
Hospitals  
Universities  
radio centers*

ASIAN BANK  
Multi-National Econ-Development

ADLAI

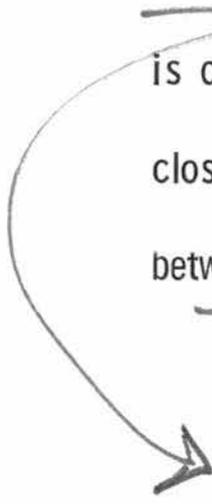
personally, welcome debate regarding these objectives, if that debate is constructive and based on fact and clear evidence. We must in the words of Adlai Stevenson, "debate issues sensibly and soberly."

(V)

But there is something else I would raise in regard to Vietnam: We must not, as citizens, become hypnotized by it to the exclusion of other great, on-going responsibilities in the world.

(X)

We must not commit the tragic blunder of thinking that our foreign obligations begin and end in South Vietnam. We have other great obligations. <sup>Then there</sup> ~~One of these~~ is our responsibility, in our wealth and power, to help close the gap between the rich and the poor of the world -- between the haves and the have-nots.



There is the growing danger of nuclear proliferation - the most serious threat to mankind's future.

For despite the determined efforts of this nation and others, that gap continues to widen.

Pope John XXIII spelled out the consequences of this critical situation:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger . . . it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

Here is a place for action -- a place calling for the dedication and creativity of committed student leaders.

↳ Help us stimulate greater national support for the President's foreign assistance programs.

↳ Work with us when our food-for-peace program is under Congressional review. — *Seek its expansion & better use.*

↳ Take seriously America's obligation to help make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

— *Tech Assist - Health  
Strengthen the United Nations*

Our common task is to seek in America the rebirth of what John Adams called "the spirit of public happiness." It was this spirit, said Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought.

↳ It is a spirit which delights in participation in public discussion and public action -- a spirit of joy in citizenship, self-government, self-discipline and in dedication.

↳ It is my profound belief that the vast majority of young Americans are captured by this spirit of public happiness. And it will be this dedication to the public service -- found in the hearts of Americans alive today and the generations yet unborn -- that will insure the ultimate victory of free men in their struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression.

↳ Let us strive to build an America of new faith in old dreams -- an America eternally vigorous and creative.

↳ Let us preserve America as a reservoir of hope and faith in the midst of cynicism and despair.

↳ Your work is ahead of you. Seize this opportunity to serve the cause of mankind.

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TRANSCRIPT - Address by Vice President Hubert Humphrey  
to the National Student Association Congress  
in Madison, Wisconsin on August 23, 1965

I was told by Mr. Robbins on the way in what a fine conference you were having and he said, you know Mr. Vice-President, what we are seeking to do here at this conference is to once again hammer out--work out the role of the student and the student leader in these rather turbulent and troublesome times. I can say to you, Steve, that from my memory most of the times have been rather turbulent and troublesome and difficult. There was a time that I used to be what they called a student leader, I am not sure what the standards were then, the credentials for leadership and we, too, were attempting to work out our role as leaders.

I welcome every opportunity that I can get to come to a college campus to speak to students. Needless to say I can't do it as often as I should like, but I have a priority in my office of engagements. There is the first one is, of course, a rather important citizen that lives down the street at the Capitol, by the name of the--he happens to be President of the United States and when he calls I do answer right away and when he calls and I answer I generally get another assignment, so I always take that call. Secondly, members of Congress because as the presiding officer of the Senate I consider it my Constitutional duty, obligation and privilege to work closely with the members of Congress. Capitol Hill is my home, so to speak, and I find it the most engaging and interesting place in America. And, thirdly, I say to my staff if students wish to see me or if there is a student group that I can get to, if time will permit I want you to schedule the student group or the student assemblage. And this is a fact. So, since the President didn't call me this morning and since I haven't heard from Congress, here I am. And I do thank you for inviting me to come here and be with you.

Now, I am sort of a refugee from a classroom. I am a former Professor of Political Science. I am not sure that endears me to any of you, but I thought I ought to just as well say it to start out and I am always very careful to keep my academic credentials in order and up to date because the life of an elective political figure is rather precarious. I wanted Dr. Fred Harvey Harrington to know that I am a card carrying member of the political science profession just in case things go wrong, Dr. Harrington. I'm pleased he's here, too, so that I'll have to be on good behavior and he can watch to see what I do under duress.

Now, whenever I meet with young Americans, there is a temptation to glorify youth. I met with a group of them yesterday, namely the Humphrey young Americans and all of their friends and it seems to be growing in number I might add, or maybe it is just because we have a lake place, but anyway I met with them as they were water skiing and I was looking, but when I meet with them I would like to glorify youth and it would be nice to be able to shed the thirty odd years that separate us and to tell you what you have been told so many times that your vitality and enthusiasm are the ultimate of virtues. I'll let you figure that out yourself as to whether that is the case. Today I am going to resist this temptation. I am going to resist it because I feel that our youth leaders, our student leaders are mature. I feel that they have a great deal to offer the country and that I think we ought to talk to each other as equals if you will permit it and let me talk

to you as a fellow citizen. And I want to resist this temptation of speaking so to speak as an older person to a younger group because of my respect for you, for the National Student Association and for the good work that you do. All of this compels me to go beyond any glorification of youth.

The National Student's Association is not as I understand your excellent work built along the ego needs of its officers or its members. In fact it is a serious organization. I have been with you on other occasions, I guess you may recall this at least if you have read the history of your body and it is a serious organization that is dedicated to the institutional and the substantive matters rather than to emotional imperatives and it is in this spirit that I wish to discuss with you something that I know is close to your hearts and ought to be--the nature of dissent in democracy and the responsibilities which citizens assume when they venture into public debate and action. You know we have all kinds of symbols in this country like the 4-H club. When I was running for office I always liked to call it the 3-H club. Nobody really ever knew what my middle name was until the last election you know and once that came out we gathered a lot of votes because most people that have middle names never wanted them and I got the sympathy vote of all the middle name people, and imagine somebody having the middle name, Horatio. That really multiplied, that had a multiplier effect. But there really the Three D's of Democracy. You could say they are the Three D's of Discussion, Dissent or Debate Dissent and then Decision. Because after the discussion and the debate and the dissent takes place there comes a time when you have to choose, when you are required to make the decision, in your personal life, your public life or whatever life that you may live. Now this process of the role of dissent in a democracy is one of preserving the public interest, however difficult and confounding this may appear at times to be. It is not what--and I ask you to think this through--it is not one of venting personal frustration or anger, however exhilarating this latter activity may seem and we have all engaged in a bit of that, you know. Now to be so every generation must in some degree react against the older generation. I suppose the activities of a young candidate running for Mayor of Minneapolis some twenty years ago in 1945, namely me, illustrated this assertion vividly. I can recall how I took out after the city fathers, and they deserved it I might add. I think President Johnson put it well when he said something to this effect, no one knows better than I the fires that burn in the hearts of young men, who yearn for a chance to do better what they see their elders not doing well or not doing at all. We are always a bit impatient and we should be, but we ought not to be impetuous. We ought to understand that change is the order of the day and that it is the person or the society that channels these forces of change in the constructive paths that makes the real contribution to the present and to the future. I am sure today that there are some young Americans who may even feel that nobody in this country ever heard of free speech or freedom of the press or civil rights before the early 1960's and I want to say that I am not here to recount my own work in these areas. Nothing is more boring than the war stories of an old campaigner even if they have some truth to them and some battles have been won. What I do suggest to you--you who lead others, you who have because you lead others real responsibility I do suggest that we remember that we in the United States have created the society or set up the institutions in which freedom, yes freedom of movement, freedom of speech, freedom of conscience in which freedom and equality are meaningful concepts and not vague abstractions. This doesn't mean that we have accomplished all that we wanted of these concepts because if we had there would be nothing left to do. We are doing this as the poet or the prophet has said, the longest

journey is the first step and we have made so many first steps and yet we know that we haven't anywhere near reached our goal. That's why you're here, that's why I'm here, that's why I am in public service, because we know that there is much left to be done in this country and I would say that one of the real attributes of America today, one of its diamonds in its crown of glory to use a hackneyed old phrase, is the fact that this rich and powerful country still has conscience. The people still care. There is yet a sense of concern and compassion for the unfortunate. This is why we have many of the programs that we have today, the poverty programs, the special programs in education. This is why we have even a food stamp program for people whose diet is less than adequate. There are so many things that we do. Why? Because we still are concerned about the individual. The individual that may have been passed by in this fast moving, changing society. The individual that's the victim of technological or scientific change or social disorder. I remind you that anytime a society or a community or a country can still be concerned about injustice, it's in that society that the hope for justice lives and it's in that society that the concept of freedom and equality have real meaning. That's why I am mighty proud in a very humble way to be a part of this government and to be at work in these what I know to be and what you know to be the vineyards of a progressive democracy.

I wish to suggest further to you that ample opportunity still does and will exist for dissent, for protest and for non-conformity and we must always have it thus because the truth is the search warrant constantly reaching out and what a dull, drab and useless society it would be without this conflict of ideas, this contest of attitudes, opinions and ideas that finally defines the end product and brings us to a point of decision where we believe at least to the limits of our intellectual abilities that we are approaching the problem correctly, that we are moving in the right path.

But I must say something to you this morning which I believe on sober reflection we could all agree with. I must say that the right to be heard does not automatically include the right to be taken seriously. I say this after having served some 16 years in the Congress even I might add. To be taken seriously depends entirely on what is being said, not how often it is said or how loudly. Now I have heard the critics say that dissent in America has been silenced when in fact it is simply that little attention is being paid to some of those critics' views. Jefferson once wrote that society should be dismantled and reconstructed by each generation in order to insure progress and reform. Now although one is unable to accept the explicit meaning of Jefferson's words, I think the implication is clear. Students should possess in abundance the compassion, the energy, the unfettered vision, the intellectual resources needed by a society which seeks to become truly great and truly humane and truly responsive to the needs of the people. This is what Jefferson was talking about. He wanted a continuous flow of new ideas, new thoughts into the main stream of American intellectual life and public life. He did not want us to become saddled down, burdened, in fact encased with the habits of yesterday. He did not repudiate history but he sought rather to learn from it and then to make some new history and I have said from a hundred platforms or more to students and non-students that it is well and good for a nation to know its history and from it we should receive lessons worthy of memory and lessons of inspiration, but it is more important that each generation make some history and make it worthwhile, make it in its own image relating to its own needs, its own problems. Now, today we are making history. We have embarked on a voyage in quest of this great society and if ever there was a

day in the year or the life of a people or a nation in which this term great society should mean something it is today, this morning, because we seek not just to expand the quantity of our goods, important as the gross national product may be and important as investment is and profit and jobs, but I think we have learned over these past few weeks that what is needed more in America is to do something about the quality of our lives, making life more meaningful, richer, making it a fulfillment of promise and hope because with all the laws that we passed and many more yet to be passed our lives may be none the better unless we can do something about enriching the quality of those lives by personal commitment and by effecting social action, and it is to this which I wish to address my attention.

It is no coincidence that American students, in fact students everywhere, but I am so pleased and proud that our students here at home, that they have assumed both a vital role and an unprecedented responsibility in this, the building of a better life and of the creation of a better society. Now I am here today to salute those students who not only voice constructive criticism and wholesome dissent but more importantly who by their logic and by the substance of their argument have compelled the citizens of America to pay attention to their views and to take them seriously, and I might add that just as we seek to define the great society, it is not merely quantitative but qualitative. May I say to the student leaders that your impact upon the policy of this nation, upon the future course of events will not be determined by the quantity of placards and of the intensity of verbosity but rather upon the quality of your argument, the logic of it and your personal commitment to it. We do indeed emphasize excellence in these days because without it there is nothing. Excellence in everything that we do, in our lives, in our science, in our industry and in our commitment. I am also here to say frankly and critically that the behavior of some, thank goodness a small minority, some young Americans in recent months is not deserving of much attention, mainly the attention to be taken seriously. The right of dissent is a vital factor in maintaining the health of a democratic order, but there also exists an equal obligation for those with responsibility, leaders to decide to lead, to act and to choose among conflicting opinions and available opinions. For the one person, or for the person who must decide, whether it is the President of the United States or a select man in a New England town meeting, it is not sufficient merely to protest existing conditions. I have heard people many, many times tell me what is wrong. I remember when I was Mayor of my city I had a group come in to me one time and they were just protesting like you--well real first class protesting. I could give you a more descriptive phrase, but they were really protesting and the first thing I said to this group was I said, now look, the door is open to this office. This is the public office and I am your Mayor. I want to ask one question. I am not arguing about the nature of your protest or even what you are protesting about, I just want to ask one question. Did you register to vote? And you would have been surprised. It was a group of ten people and of the ten eight had not registered. So I said to that group of ten, I said to the eight that had not registered, I want you to know that if you didn't have ten minutes of your time available to register and another two or three minutes of your time that you could give to a vote to either put me here or kick me out, I don't have ten minutes of my time to listen to you. Now, as far as the other two are concerned, sit down and we will have a cup of coffee and talk it over.

It isn't good enough just to protest, it is however important that if one does protest that he has an alternative and that there be discussion of those alternatives. All sane men, all sane and decent people oppose war,

inequality and injustice, but to add creatively and effectively within an imperfect human society to overcome these evils demands a precious combination of courage and common sense. Indeed to put it to you openly and on the line the mantle of leadership, whether it's our national leadership, our country or you, the mantle of leadership is not the cloak of comfort, but rather the robe of responsibility. It gives you no license, no privilege, no ease, it imposes duties and sacrifices and responsibilities and if you don't want to take on the duties and the sacrifices and the responsibilities, pass the cloak of leadership to someone else because there are certain criteria and standards for leaders. And given America's unprecedented power and our world position the burden of decision, the terrible burden of decision and action is especially great. Everything we do or say affects not only our own lives, but the lives of others and for us as a people and a nation there are few privileges but many duties. Very few long term luxuries, but many long term sacrifices. You know it and I know it that we do live in a time of ferment and change and anguish and pain, but I hope ultimately hope reborn because it is the politics of hope that sustains a people. Seldom do we realize what we want in our time, but we must hope that we can realize it and we must be motivated by this sense of hope. There is a sense in what we do today not only of fulfilling unkept promises of the past but also of shaping a better and a finer society of the future. There is a restlessness at home and abroad and there is questioning as there should be.

The youth of America as I understand it want to be where the action is as they say and that's where they ought to be for this is not a beat or a silent generation but one that is alive with activity, idealism and compassion. Now let me be specific. I've worked with many of you in many causes. Students have for example emblazoned the cause of civil rights on the conscience of America. Some of us were in this battle early and your activity in this historic struggle for human freedom and dignity has indeed been worth taking seriously and it has been taken seriously and it has been effective. Why? Because you have substance, because you did make a commitment, because you did follow through, because there was a logic to your argument. Not because you were just angry, not because you were just disturbed or distressed, not because you merely wanted to beat your breast to show what you were, but rather because you wanted to serve someone else. This kind of protest and dissent does have an impact and properly so. A nation watches its most profound hopes be realized by a student laboring in the heat of a Mississippi county trying to rebuild a church or teach the little children or educate people so that when they get ready to register now they can. A nation watches this and it watches a student laboring in the dirt and the deprivation of a New York asphalt and concrete ghetto, the filthy slums of our cities, the barriers to equality, manmade barriers to a better life that you ought to do something about, that we can do something about. And the nation watches a young man or woman educated in the legal research division of the Justice Department of the Civil Rights Division. This kind of activity merits attention and the praise of a grateful people. Now student action in civil rights has important and productive for three principal reasons. First you have isolated and confronted a severe human problem which plagues your society. Second you have developed the techniques of protest which are related constructively to the injustices that you seek to remedy. And third, you have demonstrated a remarkable degree of personal commitment and sacrifice. The tactics of freedom rides, sit-ins and picket lines have been crucial factors in tearing down the barriers of legalized discrimination in America, and the protests were legitimate. They demonstrated and, or I should say they dramatized outrageous conduct against fellow citizens and they pricked

the conscience of America. But my fellow Americans when wars have been altered to help rather than to hinder. When the tools for social change are provided by society itself, yes following your demonstrations, then the acts of protest and dissent alone are no longer sufficient. The challenge becomes one of working closely with people, of training, of teaching, of persevering patience, of life-long commitment, not to twenty-five minutes out in front of the White House with a picket sign, but for twenty-five years in public service or private life and private service. Challenge becomes one of motivating and inspiring those who must benefit from this new framework of law. My, what a framework of law we have written. The framework is there for America the Beautiful and the music and the lyrics and the spirit is yet to be found for so many. Many of the people that are today for all practical purposes left behind in the backwash of our society have never heard even of the civil rights acts or if so they have not understood them. They need more than law, they need to develop self-respect and self-sufficiency and they need love and understanding. They need partners, they need an America that understands that two centuries of abuse are not overcome by five years of law.

May I just for a moment give you a brief recital of some of that law. I have been in the midst of it. In the 1960's our Congress has passed a most remarkable series of social and economic legislation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964. That is proving one of the great legislative documents. The Voting Rights Act of 1965. The promise of Lincoln in the Emancipation Proclamation and the promise of the 13th and the 14th and 15th Amendments have now in a form of statutory law become a reality. Then there is the Economic Opportunity Act, the Secondary and Elementary Education Act, the Medicare Bill and a host of others, expanded Social Security, Vocational Education, Manpower Training and Development, the Appalachia Act, the Economic Development Act, the most far reaching housing and urban development program that the world has ever known passed within the last two weeks. The Higher Education Act, one after another. I have in my pocket this list of legislative achievements because I am the President's liaison with this Congress. It is nothing short of phenomenal and yet it is going by in the eyes of some almost unnoticed. I have even heard people say, what happened to the liberal program and I have answered, while you have been talking about it, we've been passing it. That's what happened to it. I have been fighting for this liberal program for twenty years. The first bill I ever introduced in Congress was a bill to include under Social Security people aged 65 and over for the purposes of hospital and nursing home care. In the month of March 1949 and re-introduced every two years of my life and it became law only when it became law it was so much better and so much more comprehensive than any of us ever dreamed of that I wonder about those persons who wrote those nasty words like radical, out, far out, legislation. Civil Rights, Title 7, Fair Employment Practices. May I say to my young friends that some of us fought those battles for years and the scars are there. It's now a law. Liberal program is the law and all I can say is thank goodness because it's good for the country. Of course there are those who say well now that you passed it is there anything left to do. I want to remind them that there are still many, many mountains to be climbed there are yet many jobs to be fulfilled, and we have some ideas in mind about what we are going to do. But these striking legislative achievements that I have briefly referred to will remain a very mute symbol of our prior failures unless we can achieve their intent and their spirit through vital, effective and creative programs of action and to this end the concerns of students and the duty of government are remarkably parallel. Today there is a historic opportunity for students to combine meaningful tactics of protest and dissent

in challenging programs of social action and achievement. It rides with you through the kind of constructive action that you know how to take. To help make these laws, two testaments of our nation's compassion and concern for the impoverished, the unemployed, the uprooted and the dispossessed people of America. There is work to be done. Fifteen million little children in this country, the victims of separate, but equal which were anything but equal if they were separate, fifteen million that are behind in their educational process. Thirty some million people locked in the prison of poverty. I want this audience to know that we are not engaged in the program now of trying to make poverty more tolerable. We are not going to try to administer economic and political aspirin to the suffering patient. We are trying to get at the root causes of poverty and we are going to need your help and it is going to take time because this is an ancient and old institution, this poverty and it is deeply rooted even in some of our own families. But we must break this vicious cycle and in the process of doing it we are going to make some mistakes. We are going to occasionally err. And then I can hear the "prudent" voices saying look at that. There they are wasting money. I do not consider an experiment designed to find an answer to what has been up to this time an insoluble problem. I do not consider that a waste of money. I consider it a necessary investment. Today we are heartened by the news that Gemini V is still on schedule. I know these two astronauts and I am well acquainted with the program that has made possible this great space exploration and lest anybody misunderstand me let me tell you that the discoveries and the knowledge to be obtained out of this space research are nothing short of out of this world in every sense of the word, they are tremendous. That what we are learning in terms of medicine and health is of invaluable worth to all of us. And your government intends in the years starting back in 1961 up through 1970 to spend approximately 30 billion dollars in what we call the lunar or the Apollo project, putting a man on the moon. I believe that this program is needed. I think that it has genuine values to our country scientifically, technologically in terms of our prestige, in terms let me say of a whole new world yet to be discovered. This is very much like the pioneers and the adventurers of the 15th century, the Christopher Columbuses of our time, but I say this to this audience as I have said it privately and publicly before that any nation that can afford to spend 30 billion dollars to put a man on the moon and we can afford it and we will do it. That same nation can afford to make the necessary investment to help put a man on his feet on this earth. It's because of my feelings about this matter that I come to you and ask you for your participation, because we especially need dedicated young people to prepare themselves. To prepare themselves through internships, through education, through experience, through personal commitment for the burden of public service and responsibility. In a very few years you will be faced with the obligation to decide, in fact you are doing it now, to decide your course, your commitment and this is going to require self-discipline, compassion, wisdom and understanding. We not only need young people of wisdom and compassion and understanding and self-discipline in public service, we need them in business. Just let me give you an example of what I mean. This past Tuesday I participated in the White House Conference on equal employment opportunities where we called in the leaders of America in education, in business, in labor, in employment to discuss the fashioning and the application of Title 7 of the Civil Rights Act of 1964 and I was happy to note that in this instance instead of many members of the business community fighting against the program, they were in favor of it. Students may be interested to know that an organization that has oftentimes been criticized for its resistance to change, namely the National Association of Manufacturers, has in this instance had over 90 regional meetings and seminars, training

employment and personnel officers and management on the requirements of Title 7, how to cooperate with it. How to make it work. How to upgrade personnel, how to eliminate discrimination in employment and they have done it on their own with their own resources, their own money, their own people in full cooperation with the government. The same is true of the United States Chamber of Commerce, the same is true of the AFL-CIO in its Civil Rights Division. We are making progress. There is a need for enlightened leadership, socially conscious leadership, not only in government but in labor and in business and in voluntary organizations. We need your assistance today in realizing the promise of the anti-poverty program. We need it desperately. The National Teachers Corps where teachers are going to be called upon to go into the worst areas, the most difficult areas with the most backward of students, you know education is upside down if I may venture a layman's opinion. We have the better schools where the higher income is to be found. We have the newest schools with the finest techniques of teaching, the teaching aids, audio visual and the best paid teachers, the finest new facilities, the music department, the counselors, the psychologists, and the psychiatrists. They look at your teeth and into your beautiful blue eyes, they check throughout and all the way just to make sure that everything's fine. That's where you have the better schools. In the very areas where the individual families could do most of these things for the son or the daughter of that family. I am not saying the school shouldn't be like that in that area, indeed they should, but the worst schools, the poorer schools, the inadequate facilities, the broken down, dilapidated buildings where they have the least of the extra-curricular activities is where they have the fewer of the counselors and the psychiatrists and the sociologists, where they have anything but the better teachers. Those school systems are generally found in the low income areas, in the minority areas where we need the best. We need to change this pattern and we better get at it quick. It's later than you think. In fact some people have found out that it was a lot later than they thought. If we are going to do something about this, we must do something about this through the anti-poverty program, and when the anti-poverty program goes to work it runs up against certain established vested interests. Is it any wonder it occasionally is criticized? It upsets the old patterns and the old patterns are the reason we have some of the troublesome patterns and we do not intend to sit idly by and let these festering sores of racial tension, of lack of opportunity of not being wanted, of hopelessness and despair, we don't intend to sit idly by and let this continue even if we have to confront powerful forces.

So we are going to need the best teachers we can find in the National Teacher Corps and we are going to need volunteers for VISTA, Volunteers In Service and Training for America. If you want to find some underdeveloped areas of the world I can show you a few right here where you have the same currency, you can travel, you don't need a passport. You might not think it's America, but it is because it isn't the America that you have known. It is the other America. And we need volunteers in VISTA at home which is our domestic Peace Corps just as we need more volunteers, good ones, in the Peace Corps. We have work to do. Many miles yet to travel and there are other programs of volunteer service, so if you have got a little extra energy that you don't know what to do with I've got a place outside here where you can sign up, but we need you. We need your help in reaching the poor and demonstrating to them that a chance for a new life does exist because that new life isn't going to exist just because we pass a law. It's going to exist when you put your hand in theirs and walk side by side helping them over the bumps, giving them a little extra lift and we'll need your counsel and your leadership in rebuilding our cities, in

restoring our rural areas where poverty is in abundance and in reading the commitment of equal opportunity into the fabric of our society. I wish that I could get as much enthusiasm in America for a massive program of urban rehabilitation as I can for some of the placards and the signs that we see here and there about other parts of the world. There is work to be done at home, my dearly beloved friends and lots of it. And until we do something about it there will be no justice, there will be no equality and there will be no real freedom for those that are the prisoners of these incredible social and economic and political ghettos that literally chain their inhabitants to an existence which is unworthy of this generation. And we need your help in joining the world of scholarship with the world of public affairs, of bridging the gap between the school and the state and of bringing the techniques of reason, analysis and critical thought to the processes of dissent, in the creation and execution of intelligent public policies. Yes I say the opportunities to do something good and to do something about the human condition are legion, but we perceive these only dimly when we permit or aid and abet demonstrations and civil disobedience to become ends in themselves. This is what I would call worshipping the ritual and not participating in spirit. There is a basic and obvious difference between a peaceful demonstration and non-violent protest which we have seen work so effectively, and brutal, uncontrolled, destructive hoodlumism and rioting. The wanton destruction of property and gangsterism, arson and gunfire will only destroy the framework of justice and law that we are laboring to build. In my book there is not a great deal of difference between the small time hoodlum in a T-shirt and in a night shirt and there isn't any room in America for either one. This country has the ways and means through orderly processes of redressing its grievances. No responsible official can condone violence, riot, slaughter in either Los Angeles or Mississippi and may I say that those that participate in it help no one and injure everything that we fight for and work for in terms of equality and justice and opportunity. Our heart cries out against hatred. I believe these words that President Johnson said recently but any of us could say them again and again. Hatred, hate, the toxin of our time, the poison in the streams of freedom. There is no room for hate in a society of people who seek justice and who seek peace and our heart cries out against hatred from wherever that hatred stems, but we must be able to differentiate between constructive and destructive protest in other forms. And I want to say to the National Student Association has demonstrated that it knows how to differentiate and I congratulate you, President Robbins and your officers. I congratulate these student leaders for making your protests, your dissent logical, non-violent, constructive. This is as American as the Fourth of July and it has a very distinct and distinguished place in American history, but the other belongs to Hitler, to Stalin and to their ilk. We do not need the other. Now regardless of the nature of the alleged injustice and regardless of alternative channels of expression or remedy we have seen the techniques of civil disobedience used in recent months to protest everything from our foreign policy to the administration procedures of institutions of higher learning. We have been informed by some persons that they are unrepresented. I suppose everybody sort of feels that way, I feel that way in my home sometimes, outvoted--vote of one, Mrs. Humphrey, and we have been told that therefore feeling non-represented that these people acquire the want to violate necessary laws relating to public assembly and safety.

In other words if you can just convince yourself that you are not represented just go to it. Who cares, they say. Well, everybody cares, because as we said before freedom is indivisible so is respect for law, but let me put the question directly. Just who is unrepresented? I have heard some of the most

influential members of the Congress, particularly of the Senate, raise some honest questions about certain aspects of our foreign policy, in Viet Nam for example. And I have heard these same questions debated and considered and analyzed and fought over, argued about in the highest council of our nation. Let me assure you that there is considerable discussion and argument in the highest councils. What responsible public official has ever suggested for instance that there is no room for discussion and debate on America's policy in Viet Nam? I saw some signs when I came here to this remarkable meeting which said get out of Viet Nam. I agree and the sooner we can get out the better. We want to get out. Sure we want to get out. But by our getting out we don't intend to let somebody else take over. I heard some people not long ago say get out of Mississippi, get out of Alabama, get out of every place. Ladies and gentlemen, let me tell you something. Getting out--before you decide to do that you better decide who is going to occupy your chair, who is going to come in. And I didn't read much about that. I've got a whole new set of signs that we are going to distribute right after the meeting. Now who can deny the existence of many channels for such dissent and debate, from letters to the editor to petitions to one Senator or Congressman, writing articles or even sponsoring teach-ins, write down to Washington and from standing vigil before the Pentagon and organizing peace marches. And then there is another little way that you can channel dissent and debate every two years, there is an election and you would be surprised, some people may get out, some people may stay in, but before you decide who you are going to put out you better figure out who's going to come in. Now with such a--you got the message. Now my good friends with such opportunity, I can see that you understand fully, with such opportunities for expression and we surely have them, if there is any new way to express anything we will figure it out you know and what basis exists for seeking to circumvent the orderly processes of government and policy formulation, and orderly includes peaceful demonstration, it includes petition, it includes placards, signs. What is the rationale for attempting to substitute civil chaos for responsible debate or violence or petition? I would say that it is incumbent upon those who demonstrate against our nation's policies, domestic or foreign, in Southeast Asia or elsewhere, to recognize that dissent is one thing and that decision is another. You can spend all of your time in protest but ultimately somebody has to decide and those public officials who must decide, who must choose amongst the available options have sought to fashion a policy which takes into account the facts of this terribly complex and tragic situation. And that policy is under constant re-evaluation. Constantly new information being fed in, so to speak so that the facts are up-dated and that the policy decisions are relevant.

Let me just say just a very few words about what I believe to be the principle objectives in Viet Nam. This is one of the most controversial of subjects with our academic community and yet I might say that intensity of opposition is no measurement of either quality or quantity. We seek to resist first of all, we seek to resist aggression and to make clear to all that its price comes too high. My fellow Americans I thought we had learned about that. We gave 167,000 casualties in Korea resisting aggression and I am happy to say that the student movement of America did not oppose that movement particularly, that action on our government. It was a hard war, hard and difficult to understand because it wasn't a war of total victory it was a war to make it crystal clear that the policy of brute force and of aggression shall not be the standard of international relations. Had we applied that standard a little earlier in the 1930's, Hitler might not have slaughtered billions and might not have let loose upon this world World War II. But then there were those who said, get out.

There were those who said peace in our times. There were those who said, well so what. What's the Sudan, what's Austria. It's not us, it's not Britain, it's not America, it's not France. Why, what is even Czechoslovakia, it's not France, it's not Britain, it's not the United States. Give them just a little more. And I say that there is no chapter in history from the beginning of reported history that shows that you ever satisfy the appetite of the aggressor by feeding him the morsels of other peoples territory. Never. And while it's not easy for a nation or a people to face up to this horrible and difficult responsibility of keeping the peace and of attempting to maintain some rules of international law and order, it has to be done and we are determined to fulfill our pledge not just to South Viet Nam, but more importantly our pledge to posterity that aggression in all of its new and devious forms shall not be rewarded by appeasement or withdrawal or indifference because the day that that happens the safety of better than a hundred small nations on the face of this earth is in doubt. There is a new form of aggression. It is not the movement of massive divisions. Just as there was a new form of war in World War II, that the French were poorly prepared for, that Hitler with his panzer divisions was well prepared for. The new form of aggression--terrorism, infiltration, subversion, assassination, kidnapping as a well organized, disciplined operation. And it has been going on and on and on. I might say to this audience that had the same number of public officials in America been the victims of assassination as in South Viet Nam in the past three years, better than 10,000 of our Mayors would have been slaughtered and over 30,000 of our other municipal officials. Village chiefs, elected mayors killed, terrorism by the Viet Cong. This is not to say that others are pure as the mountain dew. War is hell. It's an ugly business, but there isn't one centilla of doubt in any chancellory in the world, not one, that this operation of the Viet Cong in South Viet Nam is directed and master-minded from Hanoi and aided and abetted over a long period of time. Long before your government sent thousands of men from this nation to that area. This is known in the United Nations, it is known in Moscow, in London and Paris and Bonn. It is known everywhere and it ought to be known here.

Now, we seek secondly to bring about a just and a peaceful settlement. On the one hand we have made up our minds that we cannot gain a just and a peaceful settlement if you are driven out or if you withdraw. It will be settled then by brute force. Therefore we seek to maintain enough power in the area to bring the men in Hanoi and Peking to their senses and this government has offered no less than fifteen times in the past year to begin unconditional negotiations and discussions for the restoration of peace in Southeast Asia. Even more significantly other nations have also sought to initiate such discussions. The 17 non-committed headed by Yugoslavia and we accepted their bids. The Secretary-General of the United Nations, Uthant. We not only accepted his initiative we encouraged it. The British through the Commonwealth nations, we endorsed their effort. The President of India who is as neutral as a man can be neutral was called an imperialist lackey because he sought to bring about discussions of peace in the Viet Nameese struggle. We are prepared to meet, discuss and seek settlement anyplace, anytime, anywhere. And what is our request? Leave your neighbor alone. Let them fashion their own society. The reply has always been in the negative, sometimes arrogantly so, but this shall not trouble us. We shall continue to pursue it. We shall pursue the peace as relentlessly as we maintain our commitments and order on the battlefield and we seem to be doing quite well. I only hope and pray that we can be as effective in the council of negotiation and peace as we are with the valor and the courage and the fighting ability of the men who today have high spirit and high morale as they seek to do what is their duty and their job. I would only

hope that all through civilian America there might be as much morale and spirit and dedication as there is among those who have been fighting and giving their lives only recently on the battlefields of Viet Nam.

Now thirdly, first to resist, secondly to pursue relentlessly the peace, Mr. Goldberg, our Ambassador to the United Nations directed to use every channel, the Secretary of State directed to use every channel for peace and discussion. Our friendly neighbors asked to use every channel. What's the third objective? We seek to help build a better life for the people of Viet Nam, north and south alike, of all Southeast Asia, of all Asia. I ask you my fellow American, has any other nation offered a billion dollars for an economic development program including North and South Viet Nam, including the entire Southeast area of Asia? What was the response to that? Imperialism, cheap, cheap words, and yet your government and the people of this nation are prepared to go far beyond what we have said. We seek to develop the Mequon Delta, not by ourselves, but in concert with others. We have had our best diplomatic talent all through Europe and Asia seeking to build an Asian Development Bank so that the Asians may run it for themselves and their own good. We seek a multi-national foreign aid program of immense proportions. We have offered to Hanoi and Saigon alike equal treatment. We have said there is no animosity, no bitterness if the war but cease. Let us build a free society, a free society in the sense that you will be free to chart your own future including internationally supervised elections of the entire area. Then I heard somebody say, oh but we really don't believe that because if there were elections the communists would win. I say that history shows that there has never been an election in the history of the world, a national election in which the communists have won, not one. Unless you didn't hear about it, may I say that only recently in the month of May of this year there were provincial elections in South Viet Nam. Even in the areas where the Viet Cong harrassed the voters 67% of all adults, age 21 or over, registered for that election. That's a little bit better than they do some places in the United States. 67% and 73% of the 67% went and voted despite the harrassment, despite the interference of the Viet Cong. Interestingly enough not one single South Viet Nameese leader has defected to North Viet Nam. Not one. Yet I hear through the propaganda that if they had an election they would all vote communist so why don't we let it go now and get out. Well I have been in too many elections to have the opposition talk me out of it before we had the vote. Just this morning, the announcement of doctors, large scale medical supplies to South Viet Nam. Students, hundreds of schools have been built. Over three hundred new hospitals constructed, over two hundred regional medical centers, thousands of tons of rice and food have been distributed, hundreds of volunteers from the voluntary agencies of America in South Viet Nam. Despite unbelievable troubles the peoples that have known no national sovereignty for 1100 years dominated by the Chinese, for 300 years by the French and in recent years the victims of aggression and terrorism, yet they seek to build a society in which people can live and mothers can bring up their children in towns and hamlets that can be peaceful. That's all they are seeking. Get out of Viet Nam. My fellow Americans, if anyone can show us how we can get out of Viet Nam and let people there resolve their own differences through peaceful processes if you can show us how to get out of Viet Nam without having the communists move into Saigon, if you can show us how to get out of Viet Nam without destroying the freedom, what little freedom is left there, we will put the placards that are around here in the hall of fame rather than the hall of shame. The truth is that the protest has but one alternative just leave. Just leave, that's what Hitler said. Why he said to the Poles just leave, we'll take it over. He said to the Czechs just leave and regrettably some people did just leave and we have had others that said the same.

Well I wouldn't want to leave you in any doubt as the Vice-President of the United States, member of the President's cabinet, member of the National Security Council where these decisions are taken. We do not intend to just leave. Now, my friends I would like to just invoke for a moment the memory of a very great man and a very dear friend, one that you knew and one that I have known for years, Adlai Stevenson. Just remember what he said when we discuss all these matters. He said debate issues sensibly and soberly which was another way he had of saying, come let's talk sense to the American people. Now there are honest differences of approach and we ought to debate the issues sensibly and soberly, but it is not sensible or sober to just to protest or to throw yourself down on the tracks or to engage in riot and call it peaceful demonstration. I admire the Ghandi spirit of many people. It takes great courage. I admire the work of many of our great civil rights leaders. It takes great courage. I admire the honest view of the pacifist even though I think he is wrong, very wrong. At least if he states his case soberly and sensibly he is entitled to a hearing, but I do not have much respect for those who have but one alternative, namely get out, dishonor yourself and your pledge, remove yourself from the scene of contest and then say that it's noble. It's not noble. It's cowardly.

Now there is something else that I want to mention in regard to Viet Nam. We must not however become just hypnotized by this area of the world to the exclusion of all other great and going responsibilities. This is what's tending to happen. You'd think that this was it, the whole world. It is not. It is a part of a great complex of problems and difficulties. We must not commit the tragic blunder of thinking that our foreign obligations begin and end in South Viet Nam because we have other obligations and very great ones. There is for example the growing danger of nuclear proliferation which puts into, when placed in proper perspective makes everything else seem rather insignificant because if the nuclear power is proliferated, if it becomes the standard weapon of the day for one and for all then indeed mankind's future is uncertain if not doomed. I think this is the most serious threat to mankind. Therefore the discussions that take place at Geneva today are a part of the same overall struggle for a more peaceful world that takes place on battlefields, rice-paddies, deserts and the slums of our cities at home and abroad. Then there is our responsibility in our wealth and power to help close the gap between the rich and the poor of the world, between the haves and the have-nots. And don't under estimate this one. For despite the determined efforts of this nation and the world bank of the United Nations and other countries the gap between the rich and the poor continues to widen. Interestingly enough or coincidentally it widens here at home. The gap between the affluent white and the poor negro continues to widen and people view things in relationship. There is the doctrine of relativity. Pope John XXIII spelled out the consequences of this widening gap between the rich and the poor nations to which we are giving far too little attention. Listen to these words. They are prophetic. The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods, not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery and hunger. Here is the line. "It is not possible to preserve lasting peace, lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persists". There is no peace in a world of poverty and yet this world of ours is 2/3 sick, 2/3 poor, 2/3 illiterate. And it is to this that we must give our energy. And this is our peace plea. Peace is not static, it is dynamic. Peace is not for the wishing of it or the carrying of the sign for it, peace is for the working of it and the working for it. It's a process.

Peace is like the building of a mighty and a beautiful cathedral. It requires the plan of a master architect and the labors of many. It requires decades, generations of commitment, but it requires the beginning and some vision of its past. The peace is not to be obtained merely by ignoring the brute or yielding to his tyranny or his murder. Peace comes the hard way, resisting aggression, but always seeking the honorable path to the conference table and building economically and socially, opening up avenues of opportunity, trade and investment, foreign aid and voluntary service. You and I will be working for peace we hope to the end of our days and recruiting another generation before we leave this earthly existence so that this other generation can continue in the work and here is the place for action. A place calling for dedication of committed student leaders. I ask you to help us stimulate great international support for the President's Foreign Assistance programs and might I say if you don't think those programs are big enough organize yourself to make them bigger and better. Tell the story of food for peace and work with us. When some of us are trying to make this great instrument of good, this policy of food for peace to make it even more beneficial, I have the feeling my dear friends that if we were willing to shift the emphasis in our agricultural programs from for payment of abundance to be used internationally as a weapon for peace rather than payments for curtailment of production that we would be making a fundamental decision that might well weigh favorably in the scales in the hope for peace. I want you to take seriously as I know you do, but even more so, think about it, talk about it, take seriously America's obligation to help make the benefits of civilization, of our civilization, of our society available to the whole human race. Oh, we are so fortunate, we have so much. I am sure you know that a fact or two always has to, a statistic has to creep into a speech, that over 50, about 50% of the total Gross National Product of the world is here in the United States. The other rest of the world, the other three billion two hundred million people or three billion five hundred million, it's hard to keep track now-a-days. Anyway the other better than three billion have the other 50%. We have much. Much is expected of us and much we shall give. Our common task is to seek in America the rebirth of what John Adams called the spirit of public happiness. That's why I like my work. Frankly I am generally happy with it, not in a frivolous sense but happy because I am privileged to be a part of it. And John Adams defined this spirit of public happiness in a way that I think gets right to what you are doing. He said it was this spirit that possessed the American colonists and won the revolution even before it was fought. He said it was the spirit which delights in participation in public discussion, in public action. That sounds like the charter of the NSA. A spirit of joy in citizenship, in self-government, in self-discipline and self-dedication. I think Adams was right. That is public happiness and we need a lot of it all through America. It is my profound belief that the vast majority of young Americans are captured by this spirit of public happiness and it will be this dedication to the public service found in the hearts of Americans alive today and generations yet unborn that will ensure the ultimate victory of free men in their struggle against injustice, tyranny and oppression.

So, I leave you this morning with the hope in my heart and I trust it's in yours that we are optimists about the future. I have heard many people tell me about those good old days. Well I have lived through quite a few of them and I can't remember just which one was the good one. The only day that I know that's really worthwhile is the one that we are in right now and I would like to live it good enough so that in case I get a chance to be around tomorrow that I'll enjoy living that day too.

I call upon the student leaders now to direct your attention, your bright and incisive minds, your energy, your vitality into these problems of our city, of our poor, of our uneducated, of those who have this sense of hopelessness and despair. I ask you to take a good look not at the battlefields, not only at commitments in South Viet Nam, but take a good look at what we are doing to strengthen the United Nations and what we ought to be doing. What we are doing about foreign aid and what we ought to be doing. What we are doing, if you please, about food for peace and what we ought to be doing. I ask you to get out of the mire and the quagmire of the current events argument about the latest struggle somewhere, someplace in a rice paddy and I ask you to lift yourselves and lift your eyes to a broader and a bigger and a better horizon. Look ahead. Give yourself a chance to think about the kind of country and government that you want five years, ten years from now. What kind of a big city do you think we ought to have. How can we make it liveable and not just surviveable. How can we free ourselves from the jungles of asphalt and concrete and brick and mortar so that man can live in a natural environment of wholesome clean air and fresh water. How can we even, if you please, find the answer of how we can get from our job to our homes in as little time as it takes to get from here to the moon. These are certain little problems that you and I can think about and I have a feeling that in this audience are some of the answers to disease, to social disorder, to injustice, but more significantly answers to the positive, to the building of a just and enduring peace. If my visit with you this morning has given you any encouragement, I hope so. At least I go away from here feeling that I have had a rare and an unusual and a very fortunate experience. I thank you, National Students. I thank each and every one of the student leaders and your officers for letting me come and share these words with you.

will be a twofold one of love. Our love goes out first of all to our brothers in their affliction.

Only the angels of God be the bearers of our greeting, of our remembrance and our affection. May the knowledge that their offerings and their example bring honor to the church of God be their consolation. Instead of giving way to grief, may they draw renewed hope from the common bonds of charity that unite her to them.

Toward those also who oppose Christ and His church, who intimidate and restrict the liberty of those who believe in God, we wish to testify our love, that humble and unrivaled love taught us by the Divine Master: "Love your enemies . . . and pray for them that persecute you" (Matthew, v, 44).

This council will indeed remain firm and unambiguous in matters dealing with right doctrine. Toward those, however, who by blind antireligious prejudice and unjustified opposition cause her so much suffering, the church, instead of condemning, will entertain feelings only of love; for them she will pray, eyes, and inspired with love, we will all pray that God may show them the same mercy that we implore for ourselves. For all of us, may it be love alone that prevails.

May peace among men triumph—the peace that is in these very days being wounded and is bleeding between peoples so sorely in need of peace! We cannot, not even in this moment, hide our most fervent wish that war may end, that mutual respect and concord may return among men and that soon peace may come back and may always triumph.

We have come now to the end of our address. The only purpose of what we have said has been to point out the significance of this last session of the council and to give it renewed energy.

As I see, venerable brothers, we have not touched on any of the matters that will be submitted to the examination of this assembly. Our silence has been deliberate. It is to be interpreted as a sign of our unwillingness to compromise, by any word of ours, your freedom of opinion with regard to the matters to be presented to you.

Nonetheless there are some matters we cannot pass over in silence.

The first is our gratitude toward all who have worked so assiduously on the commissions and subcommissions to improve the composition of the schemata soon to be discussed. Whatever be your final judgment on these schemata, the study, time and labor that have gone into their preparation deserve our admiration and grateful recognition.

In the second place there is the announcement, which we are happy to make to you, of the establishment, in accordance with the wishes of the council, of an episcopal synod, com-

posed of bishops to be chosen for the greater part by the episcopal conferences and approved by us, which will be convened, according to the needs of the church, by the Roman Pontiff for consultation and collaboration when for the general good of the church this will seem opportune to us.

We consider it superfluous to add that this collaboration of the episcopate is meant to turn out to be of the greatest help to the Holy See and to the whole church. And in a special way it can be of use in the day-to-day work of the Roman Curia, to which we owe so much gratitude for its effective help.

Just as do the bishops in their dioceses, so we, too, always need the Curia for carrying out our apostolic responsibilities. Further details will as soon as possible be brought to the notice of this assembly. We did not wish to deprive ourselves of the honor and pleasure of making this brief announcement to you, in order to give you a further proof of our confidence and brotherly esteem.

We are placing under the protection of Mary Most Holy this new proposal, which is full of such splendid possibilities.

The third matter is one of which you are already aware, namely the decision to accept the invitation extended to us to visit the New York headquarters of the United Nations, on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of that world-wide body.

And this we will do, please God, during the present session of the council, absenting ourselves briefly in order to take, with respectful homage to the representatives of the nations there assembled, a message of peace. We would like to believe that our message will have your unanimous support; for our only intention is that through us may be heard your voices, which in obedience to and by virtue of the apostolic mission entrusted by Christ to you as well as to us, are raised in a plea for harmony, justice, brotherhood and peace among men of goodwill, among men beloved of God.

We desire to avail ourselves of this opportunity to extend to all of you who are gathered together from the east and from the west, the fathers of this council and our brothers, our respectful and heartfelt greetings.

We wish to welcome the members of the diplomatic corps with particular sentiments of pleasure and esteem. We extend our welcome likewise to each of the observers, happy and honored at having them with us.

We also greet our dear auditors, ladies as well as gentlemen, the periti [experts] and also those whose assistance contributes to the successful progress of the council, with a special word for the press, radio and television. To all, our apostolic benediction.

## The Nature Of Dissent In A Democracy

### STUDENT ACTION

By VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Delivered before the National Students Association, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin, August 23, 1965

HONORED to participate in this annual conference of the National Students Association. Since becoming a United States Senator, and now Vice President, I have welcomed any speaking engagement on a college campus. As a refugee from the classroom—a former professor of political science—I am careful to keep my academic credentials in order. A politician never forgets the precarious nature of elective

life. We have never established the practice of tenure in public office.

Whenever I meet with young Americans, there is a strong temptation to glorify youth . . . to attempt to shed the thirty-odd years that separate us . . . and to tell you that your vitality and enthusiasm are the ultimate virtues.

Today I intend to resist this temptation. My respect for you

—and for NSA—compel me to go beyond this.

The National Students Association is not, as I understand your excellent work, built around the ego needs of its members. It is a serious organization dedicated to institutional rather than emotional imperatives.

In this same spirit, I wish to discuss today the nature of dissent in a democracy—and the responsibilities which citizens assume when they venture into public debate and action.

In brief, the process is one of preserving the public interest however difficult and confounding this may at times appear. It is *not* one of venting personal frustration or anger; however exhilarating this latter activity may seem.

To be sure, every generation must in some degree react against the old order. I suppose the activities of a young candidate running for Mayor of Minneapolis in 1945 illustrated this assertion vividly.

President Johnson has expressed it well:

"No one knows more than I the fires that burn in the hearts of young men, you yearn for the chance to do better what they see their elders not doing well . . . or not doing at all."

Young people naturally resent the notion that the world or its problems existed before *they* achieved political consciousness.

I am sure that today many young Americans feel that nobody in this country ever heard of free speech, freedom of the press, or civil rights before the early 1960's.

I am not here to recount my work in these areas. Nothing is more boring than the war stories of the old campaigner, even if many of them are true and some battles have been won.

What I do wish to suggest is that we in the United States have created a society in which freedom and equality are meaningful concepts—and not vague abstractions.

I wish to suggest further that ample opportunity does exist for dissent, for protest, and for non-conformity.

*But I must also say that the right to be heard does not automatically include the right to be taken seriously.* The latter depends entirely upon *what* is being said.

I've heard critics say that dissent in America has been silenced, when, in fact, it is simply that little attention is being paid to the critics' views.

Jefferson once wrote that society should be dismantled and reconstructed by each generation in order to insure progress and reform. Although one is unable to accept the explicit meaning of Jefferson's words, the implication is clear. And students should possess in abundance the compassion, the energy, and the unfettered vision needed by a society which seeks to become truly great . . . truly humane.

Today we have embarked on a voyage in quest of such a society. And it is no coincidence that students have assumed both a vital role and an unprecedented responsibility.

I am here today to salute those students who not only dissent, but who by the logic and substance of their argument have compelled the citizens of America to pay attention to their views—to take them seriously.

I am also here to say frankly and critically that the behavior of some young Americans in recent months is not deserving of such attention.

The right of dissent is a vital factor in maintaining the health of our democratic order. But there exists an equal obligation for those with responsibility to decide . . . to act . . . to choose among conflicting opinions and available options.

For the person who must decide—whether it is the President of the United States or a selectman in a New England town meeting—it is not sufficient merely to protest existing conditions. All sane men oppose war, inequality and injustice.

But to act creatively and effectively within an imperfect society—to overcome these evils—demands a precious combination of courage and common sense.

Indeed, the mantle of leadership is not the cloak of comfort but the role of responsibility.

And given America's unprecedented power and world position, the burden of decision and action is especially great. For us, there are few privileges but many duties. There are few luxuries but great sacrifice.

We live in a time of ferment, change, anguish, and, ultimately, hope reborn. There is a sense in what we do today only of fulfilling unkept promises of the past, but also of shaping a better society for the future.

There is restlessness and questioning—as there should be. The youth of America want to be where the action is—this is not a beat or silent generation, but one alive with activity, idealism and compassion.

Students have, for example, emblazoned the cause of civil rights on the conscience of America. And your activity in this historic struggle for human freedom and dignity has indeed been worth taking seriously.

A nation watches its most profound hopes being realized by a student laboring in the heat of a Mississippi county—or in the dirt and deprivation of a New York ghetto—or in the legal research section, of the Justice Department's civil rights division.

Student action in civil rights has been important and productive for three principal reasons.

First, you have isolated and confronted a severe human problem which plagues our society.

Second, you have developed techniques of protest which related constructively to the injustice you seek to remedy.

Third, you have demonstrated a remarkable degree of personal commitment and sacrifice.

The tactics of freedom rides, sit-ins, and picket lines have been crucial factors in tearing down the barriers of legal discrimination in America.

The protests were legitimate. They dramatized outrage and conduct against fellow citizens. And they pricked the conscience of America.

But when laws have been altered to help rather than hinder—when the tools for social change are provided by society itself—then acts of protest and dissent alone are no longer sufficient.

The challenge becomes one of working closely with people . . . of training and teaching . . . of motivating and inspiring those who must benefit from this new framework of law.

In the 1960's our American Congress has passed a remarkable series of social and economic legislation—the Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the Economic Opportunity Act, the Secondary and Elementary Education Act, the Medicare bill—legislation which will significantly alter the quality of life for millions of our fellow Americans.

But these striking legislative achievements will remain mute symbol of our prior failures unless we can achieve intent through vital, effective, and creative programs of action.

To this end the concerns of students and the duty of government are remarkably parallel. Today there is a historic opportunity for students to combine meaningful tactics of protest with challenging programs of social action and achievement.

It lies with you—through constructive action—to make our laws true testaments of our nation's compassion and concern for the impoverished, unemployed, uprooted and oppressed people of America.

We especially need dedicated young people to pay themselves for the burden of public service and responsibility. In a very few years you will be faced with the obligation

decide—and this requires self-discipline, compassion, wisdom and understanding.

We need your assistance in realizing the promise of the anti-poverty program, the National Teachers Corps, the Peace Corps, and other programs of volunteer service.

We need your help in reaching the poor and demonstrating to them that a chance for a new life does exist. And we will need your counsel and leadership in rebuilding our cities, restoring our rural areas, and weaving the commitment of equal opportunity into the fabric of our society.

We need your help in joining the world of scholarship with the world of public affairs . . . of bridging the gap between school and state . . . in bringing the techniques of reason, analysis, and critical thought to the processes of dissent and to the creation and execution of public policies.

Yes the opportunities to do something about the human condition are legion.

But we perceive these only dimly when we permit demonstrations and civil disobedience to become ends in themselves.

There is a basic and obvious difference between peaceful demonstration and non-violent protest and brutal, uncontrolled, destructive hoodlumism and rioting.

The wanton destruction of property . . . gangsterism . . . arson . . . and gunfire will only destroy the framework of justice and law we are laboring to build. No responsible public official can condone violence any more in Los Angeles than in Mississippi.

In the President's words: "Our heart cries out against hatred," from wherever that hatred stems.

But we must also be able to differentiate between constructive and destructive protest in other forms.

Regardless of the nature of the alleged injustice—and regardless of alternative channels of expression—we have seen the techniques of civil disobedience used in recent months to protest everything from our foreign policies to the administrative procedures of institutions of higher learning.

We have, for example, been informed by some persons that they are "unrepresented." And we have been told that, therefore, they acquire the warrant to violate necessary laws relating to public assembly and safety.

But let me put the question directly: Who is unrepresented?

I have heard some of the most influential members of the Senate raise honest questions about certain aspects of our Vietnam policy. And I have heard these same questions debated, considered, and analyzed in the highest councils of our nation.

What responsible public official has ever suggested, for instance, that there is no room for discussion and debate on America's policy in Vietnam?

And who can deny the existence of many channels for such dissent and debate . . . from letters-to-the-editor to petitions to one's Senators or Congressman . . . from writing articles to sponsoring teach-ins . . . from standing vigil before the Pentagon to organizing peace marches?

And with such opportunities for expression what basis exists for seeking to circumvent the orderly processes of government and policy formulation? What is the rationale for attempting to substitute civil chaos for responsible debate?

I must say that it is incumbent upon those who demonstrate against our nation's policies in Southeast Asia to recognize that dissent is one thing, decision is another.

And those public officials who must decide—who must choose among available options—have sought to fashion a policy which takes into account the *facts* of this terribly complex and tragic situation.

In Vietnam we have three policy objectives.

First, we seek to resist aggression and to make clear that its price comes too high. We are determined to fulfill our pledge to South Vietnam that terrorism, subversion and infiltration will not succeed.

Second, we seek to bring about a just and peaceful settlement. We have offered no less than fifteen times to begin unconditional negotiations for the restoration of peace in Southeast Asia. Other nations have also sought to initiate such discussions. But the reply has always been negative.

Third, we seek to build a better life for all the people of Vietnam—North and South. We have undertaken a major program of economic and social development in Southeast Asia—and the response of our adversaries has been one of total silence.

I personally, welcome debate regarding these objectives, if that debate is constructive and based on fact and clear evidence. We must in the words of Adlai Stevenson, "debate issues sensibly and soberly."

But there is something else I would raise in regard to Vietnam: We must not, as citizens, become hypnotized by it to the exclusion of other great, on-going responsibilities in the world.

We must not commit the tragic blunder of thinking that our foreign obligations begin and end in South Vietnam. We have other great obligations. One of these is our responsibility, in our wealth and power, to help close the gap between the rich and the poor of the world between the haves and the have-nots.

For despite the determined efforts of this nation and others, that gap continues to widen.

Pope John XXIII spelled out the consequences of this critical situation:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger . . . it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

Here is a place for action—a place calling for the dedication and creativity of committed student leaders.

Help us stimulate greater national support for the President's foreign assistance programs.

Work with us when our food-for-peace program is under Congressional review.

Take seriously America's obligation to help make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

Our common task is to seek in America the rebirth of what John Adams called "the spirit of public happiness." It was this spirit, said Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought.

It is a spirit which delights in participation in public discussion and public action—a spirit of joy in citizenship, self-government, self-discipline and in dedication.

It is my profound belief that the vast majority of young Americans are captured by this spirit of public happiness. And it will be this dedication to the public service—found in the hearts of Americans alive today and the generations yet unborn—that will insure the ultimate victory of free men in their struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression.

Let us strive to build an America of new faith in old dreams—an America eternally vigorous and creative.

Let us preserve America as a reservoir of hope and faith in the midst of cynicism and despair.

Your work is ahead of you. Seize this opportunity to serve the cause of mankind.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE THE  
NATIONAL STUDENTS ASSOCIATION, UNIVERSITY OF WISCONSIN,  
MADISON, WISCONSIN, AUGUST 23, 1965

I am honored to participate in this annual conference of the National Students Association.

Since becoming a United States Senator, and now Vice President, I have welcomed any speaking engagement on a college campus.

As a refugee from the classroom -- a former professor of political science -- I am careful to keep my academic credentials in order. A politician never forgets the precarious nature of elective life. We have never established the practice of tenure in public office.

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In this same spirit, I wish to discuss today the nature of dissent in a democracy -- and the responsibilities which citizens assume when they venture into public debate and action.

In brief, the process is one of preserving the public interest however difficult and confounding this may at times appear. It is not one of venting personal frustration or anger, however exhilarating this latter activity may seem.

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We need your assistance in realizing the promise of the anti-poverty program, the National Teachers Corps, the Peace Corps, and other programs of volunteer service.

We need your help in reaching the poor and demonstrating to them that a chance for a new life does exist. And we will need your counsel and leadership in rebuilding our cities, restoring our rural areas, and weaving the commitment of equal opportunity into the fabric of our society.

We need your help in joining the world of scholarship with the world of public affairs . . . of bridging the gap between school and state . . . in bringing the techniques of reason, analysis, and critical thought to the processes of dissent and to the creation and execution of public policies.

Yes the opportunities to do something about the human condition are legion.

But we perceive these only dimly when we permit demonstrations and civil disobedience to become ends in themselves.

There is a basic and obvious difference between peaceful demonstration and non-violent protest and brutal, uncontrolled, destructive hoodlumism and rioting.

The wanton destruction of property . . . gangsterism . . . arson . . . and gunfire will only destroy the framework of justice and law we are laboring to build. No responsible public official can condone violence anymore in Los Angeles than in Mississippi.

In the President's words: "Our heart cries out against hatred," from wherever that hatred stems.

But we must also be able to differentiate between constructive and destructive protest in other forms.

Regardless of the nature of the alleged injustice -- and regardless of alternative channels of expression -- we have seen the techniques of civil disobedience used in recent months to protest everything from our foreign policies to the administrative procedures of institutions of higher learning.

We have, for example, been informed by some persons that they are "unrepresented." And we have been told that, therefore, they acquire the warrant to violate necessary laws relating to public assembly and safety.

But let me put the question directly: Who is unrepresented?

I have heard some of the most influential members of the Senate raise honest questions about certain aspects of our Vietnam policy. And I have head these same questions debated, considered, and analyzed in the highest councils of our nation.

What responsible public official has ever suggested, for instance, that there is no room for discussion and debate on America's policy in Vietnam?

And who can deny the existence of many channels for such dissent and debate . . . from letters-to-the-editor to petitions to one's Senators or Congressman . . . from writing articles to sponsoring teach-ins . . . from standing vigil before the Pentagon to organizing peace marches?

And with such opportunities for expression what basis exists for seeking to circumvent the orderly processes of government and policy formulation? What is the rationale for attempting to substitute civil chaos for responsible debate?

I must say that it is incumbent upon those who demonstrate against our nation's policies in Southeast Asia to recognize that dissent is one thing, decision is another.

And those public officials who must decide -- who must choose among available options -- have sought to fashion a policy which takes into account the facts of this terribly complex and tragic situation.

In Vietnam we have three policy objectives.

First, we seek to resist aggression and to make clear that its price comes too high. We are determined to fulfill our pledge to South Vietnam that terrorism, subversion and infiltration will not succeed.

Second, we seek to bring about a just and peaceful settlement. We have offered no less than fifteen times to begin unconditional negotiations for the restoration of peace in Southeast Asia. Other nations have also sought to initiate such discussions. But the reply has always been negative.

Third, we seek to build a better life for all the people of Vietnam -- North and South. We have undertaken a major program of economic and social development in Southeast Asia -- and the response of our adversaries has been one of total silence.

I personally, welcome debate regarding these objectives, if that debate is constructive and based on fact and clear evidence. We must in the words of Adlai Stevenson, "debate issues sensibly and soberly."

But there is something else I would raise in regard to Vietnam: We must not, as citizens, be come hypnotized by it to the exclusion of other great, on-going responsibilities in the world.

We must not commit the tragic blunder of thinking that our foreign obligations begin and end in South Vietnam. We have other great obligations. One of these is our responsibility, in our wealth and power, to help close the gap between the rich and the

poor of the world between the haves and the have-nots.

For despite the determined efforts of this nation and others, that gap continues to widen.

Pope John XXIII spelled out the consequences of this critical situation:

"The solidarity which binds all men and makes them members of the same family requires political communities enjoying an abundance of material goods not to remain indifferent to those political communities whose citizens suffer from poverty, misery, and hunger . . . it is not possible to preserve lasting peace if glaring economic and social inequality among them persist."

Here is a place for action -- a place calling for the dedication and creativity of committed student leaders.

Help us stimulate greater national support for the President's foreign assistance programs.

Work with us when our food-for-peace program is under Congressional review.

Take seriously America's obligation to help make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race.

Our common task is to seek in America the rebirth of what John Adams called "the spirit of public happiness." It was this spirit, said Adams, that possessed the American colonists and won the Revolution even before it was fought.

It is a spirit which delights in participation in public discussion and public action -- a spirit of joy in citizenship, self-government, self-discipline and in dedication.

It is my profound belief that the vast majority of young Americans are captured by this spirit of public happiness. And it will be this dedication to the public service -- found in the hearts of Americans alive today and the generations yet unborn -- that will insure the ultimate victory of free men in their struggle against the forces of tyranny and oppression.

Let us strive to build an America of new faith in old dreams -- an America eternally vigorous and creative.

Let us preserve America as a reservoir of hope and faith in the midst of cynicism and despair.

Your work is ahead of you. Seize this opportunity to serve the cause of mankind.



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