

Representative
South Africa

Mrs Lee Weiskopf

Dr Ollendorff

REMARKS

Secretary Frankel

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR

CIP

YOUTH LEADERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS

WASHINGTON, D.C.

AUGUST 26, 1965

Mr James
noonan

1 1/2 hrs ago
At City
Tommy's
our President's
birthday

I want to thank Harry McPherson for that introduction. I understand Harry was the speaker on this occasion last year and that this group heard a very good speech.

I also want to thank Dr. Ollendorff for inviting me to speak this year. I am told that he is the man responsible for beginning this program 10 years ago and for guiding and directing it ever since. This is a great accomplishment and we salute him for it.

Thank you Mrs Dr Ollendorff
Came to us - 1959

①

So much good going on

Feel so good

Interfaith
Plans for Program

- 2 -

② Exciting Days
- Alive
- Change
- Discovery
- Humankind

Dr. Ollendorff's work is an example of creative social work on an international scale. One man was able to accomplish a great deal -- in a very short time -- through the support he initially received from the citizens of Cleveland.

The program has now moved far beyond Cleveland. I would therefore give the same warm gratitude to each of the other cities where the program now operates, and to their leaders -- and through them to all the citizens and families who have provided home-stays and other help. They have not only made this program possible financially, but have also enriched it by their own personal contributions of friendship, hospitality and kindness. It is literally true, I'm told, that the actual costs of the program would be more than doubled if it

were not for the hospitality of citizens of Philadelphia,
Chicago, Minneapolis-St. Paul, and San Francisco, as
well as of Cleveland.

↳ A few of us here this evening reached the age of
political and social awareness in the 1930's. We have a lot
to be thankful for. ↳ None of us can recall the 1930's --
the Depression years -- with much pleasure. But we
in America have seen a nation on the move since that
time, and I would like to share with you some of this
sense of forward movement as I have experienced it.
I was a student during the 1930's. It was a time of
depressed agriculture, of depressed cities and depressed
people.

↳ But great hopes were born in the 1930's, through
the farsighted domestic reforms initiated by President

"now
stronger -
Active
faith"

Franklin Roosevelt. Some of those hopes had to be deferred because of World War II. But, we returned to them, and expanded them, once that great crisis was safely passed.

Since World War II the American people have assumed greater world responsibilities than ever before in their history. At the same time, we have accepted greater domestic responsibilities -- for social justice, for wider educational opportunity, and for general social betterment.

All of us here tonight know that the world is not as it was in 1945 -- that we have taken giant strides forward in creating a greater interdependence among mankind. That interdependence has been fostered by the United Nations, the World Bank, and other international institutions.

↳ It has been fostered by the fact that our world has been shrunk by modern communication.

↳ And interdependence has been thrust upon us, too, by the fact of the nuclear age and its threat and promise to all of us.

↳ In such an age it is imperative that we communicate, that we come to know each other better.

↳ From our exchange programs, such as the one in which you are participating, we have made it possible for thousands of you to visit our country and thousands of Americans to visit yours. *CB*

↳ In the last year, we have seen in the United States great efforts toward building a Great Society. *(Define)*

↳ You have heard much of this great effort while you have been here.

↳ I understand that some of you, in fact, have done field work this summer which has enabled you to see the anti-poverty program -- among others -- in action.

↳ Our objective in America is to create an environment of opportunity, in which each man, woman and child can have an equal chance both to contribute to and share in our common progress.

↳ To create that society of opportunity we are undertaking great national programs, we are making national investments in our resources -- both our material and human resources.

↳ Part of our effort is our struggle to break down barriers between men -- barriers based on a man's skin color, his religion, his last name, ^{religion} his ideology.

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Concern
Human
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desire for more action, and prompt action, on civil rights.

Two weeks ago we were all saddened to see violence
come to Los Angeles. We regret that those involved in
this violence did not know how to engineer social protest
without tearing down the very fabric of their society. But
neither do we condone the conditions that contributed to
this eruption. These conditions must be examined and
corrected -- and they will be. Because a great majority
of American citizens are determined that they shall be.

For a social worker and youth leader, I think there
are already conclusions of special interest to be drawn
from these distressing days.

↳ One is the need for more general public awareness that conditions which breed violence and despair must be acknowledged and cleared away. We must do more than treat symptoms. We must remove causes.

↳ This Administration's war on poverty has already increased public awareness of the need to root out these causes and replace them with more hopeful conditions.

A key element in making the war on poverty successful is full participation on the community level -- not only by responsible community wide groups, official and unofficial, but also by direct representatives of the poor themselves. Only in this way can close communications be established. Only in this way can those most directly affected know that something better lies ahead.

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poverty
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↳ The Los Angeles riots have brought to many more of our citizens the realization that we cannot permit conditions of misery in a country where conditions of prosperity and well-being are so widespread and so open for all to see. ↳ Our open society exposes our weaknesses. But it also may speed the correction of injustices which still crush some of our citizens. ↳ There is still much to do. But we are gaining, always gaining, and we will not be satisfied until those injustices are as distant as the Great Depression seems today.

↳ I know that you, too, in your own societies are equally dedicated to victory over poverty, disease, and injustice.

↳ What should be our goal in this world of today?

↳ Arnold Toynbee said, and I agree, that our age can be remembered "not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which man dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race."

↳ I think we can make available the full benefits of civilization, not only to our own poor and under-privileged, but also to other peoples of the world who seek opportunity for a better life.

↳ I do not believe that by helping others, we deprive ourselves. We are all ^{-weaker-} less, in this world, for hunger . . . poverty . . . disease. . . tyranny. . . yes, hate, existing anywhere among the Family of Man.

*We are stronger — when we help others
when we share*

Yes, I believe that the promise of man can be fulfilled. I believe we can extend hope and a better life to millions of human beings who have known nothing but desperation and despair.

Peace / And, finally, we may -- if we never cease trying -- achieve peace.

Peace is like a great cathedral. Each generation adds something to it. It requires the plan of a master architect. It requires the labors of many.

We in America ^{help} build peace with foreign aid. We build peace with Food for Peace. We build peace with the Peace Corps . . . with technical assistance . . . with the Alliance for Progress in Latin America.

We build peace whenever we help anybody with our voluntary religious, non-sectarian groups around the world. We build peace with an exchange of peoples.

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↳ Man cannot live through nuclear holocaust. The same man who has developed instruments of total destruction -- and we now have them I can assure you -- is the same man who can develop the instruments to build a better world.

↳ Standing over this world, like a cloud, is the nuclear power that mankind has created. We have released the atom's tremendous force of destruction. And yet scientists tell us that that same force can do more good for mankind than any force that man has ever released before.

↳ We must be men and women of compassion . . . of courage . . . of perseverance. We must unceasingly devote ourselves to the search for justice . . . and for peace.

And, if we do, we may create one day the kind of world society seen by the American author Thomas Wolfe:

"To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity -- to every man the right to live, to work, to be himself and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him."

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Head table guests at Cleveland International Program dinner
on Thursday, August 26th.

1. Miss Dorothy Gibson, San Francisco Director.
2. Mr. James Brownlow, Chicago Council Member.
3. Mr. Shelton Granger, Deputy Assistant Secretary of HEW for
International Affairs.
4. Mrs. Leonard Langer, Twin Cities Director.
5. David Osborne, Acting Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs.
6. Stuart Loomis, Council Member from San Francisco.
7. Harry McPherson.
8. Dr. Henry Ollendorf.
9. Dr. Charles Frankel, new Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs.
10. Mrs. Pramda Ramasar, Indian lady from South ^Africa who will give
expression of thanks on behalf of the foreign students.
11. Mr. James Noonan, President of the Council.
12. Harold Howland, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Cultural Affairs.
13. Mrs. William Brueckner, Chicago Director.
14. Mr. Worth Loomis, Council Member from Cleveland.
15. Mrs. John McCrum, Philadelphia Director.
16. Mrs. Lee Weiskops, Dr. Ollendorf's Assistant.

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE THE
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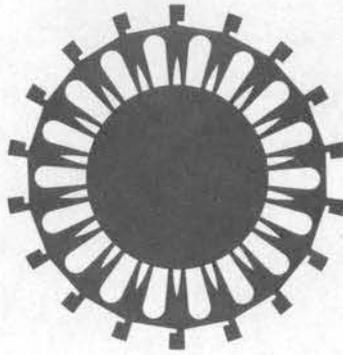
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Sandy S.
Ruth

[Transcript]



THE COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS FOR YOUTH LEADERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS, INC.
2123 EAST 9TH STREET / CLEVELAND, OHIO 44115 U. S. A. / AREA CODE 216 • 861-5478 / CABLE ADDRESS CIPRO

November 10, 1965

Mr. William Connell
Administrative Assistant
Office of the Vice President
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mr. Connell:

We are sending enclosed the tape transcript of the Vice President's address at our Tenth Anniversary dinner in Washington on August 26, 1965. The tape itself is on its way to you under separate cover.

Very truly yours,

Thelma Ballard

Mrs. David H. Ballard

Enclosure

[* Tape not in files when they were processed Dec. 1976]

REMARKS
(Transcript of Tape)

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

THE COUNCIL OF INTERNATIONAL PROGRAMS
FOR YOUTH LEADERS AND SOCIAL WORKERS

FINAL DINNER, WASHINGTON, D. C., AUGUST 26, 1965

Dr. Ollendorff, you must be a very happy man because I see written on the faces, the countenance, of the people that are here tonight, genuine happiness and a sense of dignity. And this is do in part to your friendship and your helpfulness and your association with them.

I gather that Mrs. Lee Weiskopf is a rather popular person around here.

(applause)

I said to my friend, Harry, "She isn't planning to run for office anywhere, is she?" Because those of us in public life always have to be on guard lest there may be a new threat to our rather tenuous hold upon these public offices. Mrs. Weiskopf, I know that the affection which has been manifested here tonight in the reception given to you is one that you richly deserve and I want to join in it enthusiastically.

And to the lovely lady from South Africa that spoke to us, may I say that as I watched you, I couldn't help but feel how very, very fortunate we are in this country to have people of your quality and your mind--that incisive mind, the delicateness and the kindness and the intelligence that you so very obviously displayed to all of us. And I want to thank you for saying what you have said as the representative of these better than one hundred and fifty young people and social workers that have visited the United States.

I was, of course, particularly pleased that James Noonan, from my own home state of Minnesota, is the Chairman of the Council and that he was here tonight and that I could meet him and greet him and he do the same for me as I came to this building.

And to Secretary Frankel, whom I haven't had a chance to really visit with, I want to say that this is as good a way to get acquainted as any. You're going to hear my views tonight and I trust we'll still be friends when we're through with the evening.

I was thinking about one year ago tonight and about this invitation that you extended to me, because one year ago tonight was a very important tonight for me. One year ago tonight, Lyndon B. Johnson, President of the United States, said to a Convention at Atlantic City that he'd like to have Hubert Humphrey as his Vice President.

(applause)

So it's mighty important. Tomorrow, our President celebrates his birthday. I wrote him a little personal note this afternoon and it isn't proper to reveal all the thoughts or words in a personal note. But, generally, on a birthday you say "Happy Birthday"--a traditional greeting--and it means a great deal. And I said, "Mr. President, somewhere someone has written that happiness is sharing and giving." And I happen to believe that the President of the United States--first of all, I know he made me mighty happy a year ago, I know that--but more importantly he's been giving of himself, of his tremendous talent, of his great leadership ability, and of his warm heart, his incisive mind. He's been giving to our people and to this nation and to this world. And many people tonight--the lame, the sick, the elderly, the children, the people that have been dispossessed, denied, the people who have suffered injustice--they are happier because of a President and of a Government and of a people. And when a President can have others happier, then he, indeed, has a happy birthday. And I think tomorrow will be the happiest birthday of his life and I'm sure you share with me that feeling of happiness and respect for him.

I've been told, Dr. Ollendorff, that it was about ten years ago that you started this Program and you've been its guiding light and its director, so to speak, ever since. I can't help but think for a moment of how lucky this country is. First of all, it was very lucky because my mother came here. She was an immigrant.

(applause)

And then it was very lucky because Dr. Ollendorff came here.

(applause)

How fortunate it is to have an open heart, open gates, open hands, and an open mind-- a sense of openness, of real freedom. Imagine what we would have lost here in the United States and imagine what you would have lost were it not for the fact that this good man--who came to the United States because there was great injustice in some parts of the world and the world was about to be plunged into a conflagration and into horrible bloodshed--he came here, he found a home--and, by the way, a very lovely wife, too--and he came here and he has been doing things for all of us. If ever there was a little testimony needed to pass the Immigration Bill that now is before the Senate of the United States, coming out of committee, Dr. Ollendorff you are the living testimony and testimonial that we need to assure its passage.

(applause)

You, Doctor, are the example of what one man can do. I keep hearing every so often, "Well, what can I do, I'm just one man. It's a big country, big world, big problems, everything is so complex and so confused. What can one person do?" Well, you found out. You know what you can do as one person. It's the one person that does everything. Because you just add up the one, one, one, one, one, and you get the job done. But just think of what one talented, dedicated, really committed person could do and has done. And there are others here. I could go through this audience and surely, as I've found from the applause for people that have been introduced here tonight, that there are many that, again, give witness to the fact that an

individual can move the world--for good or for evil. So individualism is important and what we do with our lives is important and what we do about our lives with other people is important. And again I say that this is the kind of practical, empirical, practical (sic), pragmatic evidence that we need when we talk about human dignity and individualism and personal liberty and freedom of choice--and all that we talk about when we try to define freedom. It's here in the individual, in an environment in which that individual creative spirit can work.

I feel mighty good tonight and I didn't feel so good just before I came over here. I've been wrestling around with a sort of low-grade, summer cold. I'd like to get a high-grade, summer cold sometime. I think they must be better. But these are long days and I must go tomorrow to speak to thousands of young people in Florida. And tomorrow night I'm going to be at Tampa, Florida, for the first anniversary of our war on poverty. The author of that program in the House was Congressman Gibbon and I thought as Chairman of the Advisory Council of the Office of Economic Opportunity, this war on poverty, that I'd go there and pay tribute to this Congressman--a Congressman, one man, who gave leadership to so many others and has done such a magnificent job for his country.

But when I walked in this door, after signing mail and going through those miserable stacks of paper--just as Harry McPherson was telling you.... (This is the curse of this country. Everything here is in quadruplicate. We used to have it just in duplicate, but we have to send so many memos around--the paper industry thrives in America, I want you to know, and Washington is its best customer.) But I sort of, like most of us, I always have a sort of a bad hour in the day. I always tell my staff, "Don't call me between six and eight--just leave me alone." I'm rather tired and I guess my blood sugar must be low and there's something that happens to me. I really don't like very many people between six and eight. I sign my mail and all the mean, little letters I want to send out, I send out during that hour--the good ones

I send out earlier in the day. My secretary always intercepts the mail between six and eight and looks it over carefully. But when I walked in here, I felt something. I sensed that this was different, that this was an unusual meeting--and this is not to flatter you, it is a fact. And as I sat here at this table, just for this moment, to have a cup of coffee and just to look at you and to sort of get the feel of what this is all about, I just felt stronger and richer and happier and more filled with the zest of life--and just felt real good and began to feel better all the time.

These are good days. I know that everybody tells us about how difficult the days are and there hasn't been a day in the life of any people or nation but what there have been problems. Sometimes when I go to my home city and turn on the television--and I've done this many times--there'll be a thirteen-minute telecast and ten minutes of the thirteen will be about accidents. I don't know why people think that's real news, but it is a fact. I sometimes wonder what we do with this great media (sic) called television, when we could do so much good with it--if it was only to entertain people. After all, just to laugh is good medicine, just to enjoy life. But when they just recite to you that so-and-so was run over and somebody shot so-and-so and the airplane crashed and so many people were killed and they robbed John Jones' store--ten minutes of it, you get to wondering if the whole world hasn't just become an impossible place. And then you just walk out and see the people and you see that it's not at all impossible. It's not bad, it's a challenge, it's an opportunity, it's an exciting place. I hear many people talk about "the good old days." That apparently was before I was born; I can't remember them. The only good day I know is this one and I think there may be a better one tomorrow. That's the way I try to live--each day hoping that this is the best day of my life--and try to look a little bit ahead for the tomorrow to see if we can't make it a little bit better--if I had lived that long to work on it.

Exciting days. Why, just think of those two astronauts up there--having a ball! Why, they scared the living daylights out of the doctor the other day, saying that they had just taken off their space suits. The doctor almost had a heart attack--not the astronauts. But imagine, just think of it, less than sixty years ago, in this nation, Orville Wright and his brother, Wilbur, took a thing they called an airplane off the ground, that weighed 200 pounds, for twelve seconds. And that was the dawn of aviation. And Conrad and Cooper are going to be up there--flying around the world I don't know how many times, three hundred and some orbits, I guess--for eight days. And they'll come back safely. They will have learned many things about the universe; they'll have made many experiments; they will have proven, at least, that man is the master of his environment. What an exciting day. And, by the way, the man that's in charge of the whole operation--it's very interesting because we here in the United States go around saying that Christopher Columbus discovered America, he was a great explorer--well, who do you think is in charge of the manned orbital flight? His name is Christopher Columbus Kraft--"Chris Kraft," they call him. We've even got our own Christopher Columbus in 1965.

What an exciting time to live. What an exciting time and a good time it is, because in this year more people are concerned about the welfare of human beings than at any time in the history of the world. More today than yesterday--if for no other reason than that there are just more people. But we are concerned. What an exciting time to be alive, particularly, may I say, as an American. When I know that my country is rich, when I know that it has incredible--almost unbelievable--power, and yet I know that that power is limited and controlled; that I know there's a sense of conscience and morality about its use, and that I know that our nation understands that this wealth is not just for luxury, that I know that this country of ours, with all of its limitations--and I'm going to tell you about some of them--with all of our problems and limitations and all of our sins and, at times, our mistakes, we still

have a conscience, we still are concerned, we still have a sense of compassion. And we think that the compassionate man is the strong man and the compassionate nation is the strong nation--in fact, the only nation that really is strong is the one that can admit its own shortcomings. And the only man or woman that really has character is one that can examine the frailties of his or her own character and admit them and try to do something about them.

And so it's so good to talk to people that are interested in people. There're a lot of good things happening. I had in my office, at six o'clock this evening, a group of men that came in from the Inter-Faith Movement, people that are trying to remove not only from America but from the whole world, religious bigotry and intolerance. They wanted to talk about an expanded program. They needed to talk to some official of this Government. It thought it was good that they came and wanted to talk to the Vice President. I had an opportunity today to visit with an Ambassador from another country, a country that doesn't always seem to get along so well with us, and we had a wonderful exchange of views. And I found many common denominators, and I said, "Why can't we just emphasize a few of the things we agree on? Why is it that we always have to have a shouting contest? Why can't we as individuals--let's start with you, Mr. Ambassador, and the Vice President--why don't we just say something nice about each other's country today? Maybe somebody would listen, and maybe it would be helpful."

People today in the world are crying out for acceptance, for self-sufficiency, for self-respect. They want to be accepted in the family of man as dignified, worthy human beings. There is a great revolution going on in the world, and it's the revolution for human dignity. And we're a part of it. And, as I've told many an audience, a lot of it started right here; and I don't want my country to ever get so self-satisfied or to get so proper or well-organized or so rich or so well-dressed that we forget that we're the people that said man has certain, inalienable, natural, God-given rights--not given to him by law, or by statute, or by kings, or monarchs, or

governments, but rights that come with him by birth--the fact that he is human and that of these rights, at least some of them are the right to life and the right to liberty (which makes life more than survival) and the right to pursue happiness--to seek it, at least, even if you don't find it, at least to look for it. And the only reason that governments are instituted amongst men is to secure these rights--that's its only excuse. Governments have but one purpose--justice. And when a government does not mete out justice, it has lost its purpose and it is an illegal government, for all practical purposes--at least, it's immoral. It has defied and defiled the real purpose of organized society.

Well, Dr. Ollendorff, your program that started in Cleveland has moved a long ways. And I'm glad, too, that it started in Cleveland, because I don't want to think that everything has to start in Washington. Really, it's good to know that many good things in this America start not in the Capital, but out where the great multitude of people live. And I'm so pleased, too, that you had a chance to see America and not just a sort of tailormade portion of it, that you've had a chance to see it, its beauty and its ugliness, its hopes and its despair, its wealth and its poverty, its strength and its weakness. Because that's people, that's the way it is. And I think that on balance that you'll maybe do us right when you return, that you will at least know that there's a sense here of trying to do what needs to be done to make this a better place.

I want to take a moment, before I forget it, to express the thanks of all of us, and particularly of this Government; the thanks to the cities that have helped so much the leaders; to the citizens, the families that have gone out of their way to provide homestays and other help. You've not only made this program possible financially, but you also have enriched it. May I say to those families, by personal contributions of friendship and hospitality and kindness, the personal approach, the personal touch--one of the reasons I believe so strongly in voluntary groups, in

voluntarism, because there is a sense of personal identification, warmth with it. I don't say that government programs lack that; I simply say they don't generally have as much of it as when people at a local level in their own community, in their own way, decide that they're going to do something about a particular problem or extend the hand of personal friendship and fellowship. I know that the citizens of Philadelphia and Chicago and Minneapolis and St. Paul and San Francisco, as well as Cleveland, have contributed immeasurably to this effort.

Now, let me just take you back--some of you. Most of you are too young for this, but I'm looking around the room and I spot a few here and there. A few of us here this evening reached the age of political and social awareness in the 1930's. I cast my first vote in November, 1932, and I don't mind telling you, I cast it for Franklin Delano Roosevelt. You can clap for that--that's all right!

(applause)

I think it's fair to say that very few of us, if any, recall all of those early days of the 1930's--the depression days and depression years--with much pleasure. Those years left a permanent mark on me. I've often thought, and I've said, that my father would have lived another ten years were it not for those years. I saw it take the life right out of him. I saw the land of our country destroyed--not only the people, but the land. Mountains of it blown out and blown about as if it were sand on the desert. And I saw hopes destroyed and despair grip millions and millions of people. But we in America have seen a nation on the move since that time. We didn't give up, and I can't help but recall again the last words from the pen of Franklin Roosevelt, as he was there in Warm Springs, Georgia, in 1945, and was preparing a message for Jefferson Day. And the last words that he wrote were these: "Let us move forward with a strong and active faith." Here was a man that was in his fourth term as President, through the depression years, through those cruel war years, with unbelievable burdens, and yet his vision was for tomorrow. Let us move forward, and not just timidly and

just creeping along, but with a strong and an active faith. Those have been words that have moved me ever since they were written. I felt that if a man that was literally a casualty of the war and of the depression could have that much faith, that much optimism, that much conviction about the future, then some of us that are younger and more fortunate ought to be able to match it.

And so this nation and this world, in a very real sense, have been moving forward; there's a great forward movement in the world today. It's restless, it's disorderly--there's never been a change in the world (in anything, by the way) that didn't bring with it a certain degree of chaos, trouble, and disorder. Any great period or epic in humanity leaves in its wake some destruction, some turmoil. Every great revolution has been untidy and disorderly, filled with violence all too often--even the Industrial Revolution, even the period of the Renaissance and the Reformation, even the period of the growth of parliamentary institutions, even the change from the livery stable to the automobile, the creation of trade unions and their right to live and organize. I wonder how many of our fellow Americans have forgotten that period when people were beaten, when there was violence, when there were murders. Why? Because a man wanted to belong to a union and organize and bargain collectively. And out of all of this, despite all of the memories of troubles, came something better.

And there were in our country at one time, many men who exploited the wealth of this nation, its resources; but even as they did it and as we condemned them, they built a nation. Oh, for every tree that was saved, they destroyed three; but they built a nation. And today, their descendents are some of our best citizens--generous, kind, considerate; enlightened, philanthropic, charitable. But some people once called them the "robber barons." They were the exploiters. It was a period of change. I say this because I think we current events specialists--those of us that just listen to that radio every morning and watch the TV and look at the newspaper everyday--we begin to think that somehow or another this has never happened before, some of the disorder that we see now. I want to assure you that as somewhat of a student of history--I'd like to

remember a little of what I studied once in college--that it has always been thus. The only difference is that we are making more progress faster now than ever before. More people are beginning to see the sunlight than ever before. More people are breaking out of despair and indifference than ever before. More people think and feel that they have a chance. The politics of hope is becoming the politics of reality for more and more people--I'm not speaking of my own country alone, I'm speaking of every country all over the world, even in places where there are grave and severe ideological differences. I was in the Soviet Union two years ago, and I saw a great change there from the five years preceding. And I came back and said on the floor of the Senate that there is a new force at work in the Soviet Union--the consumer, the people. There are changes. Even communism changes. Everything changes. Capitalism changes. Change is the order of the day. The question is, what do you do with it? How do you direct it?

Well, when I see social workers and young leaders, I'm almost happy that it was my lot to have come into political consciousness during this depression period. I was a student then. I was a young man then, and I think now that I sense some of the problems that people have that are not so fortunate as I am at this moment, or as our country is at this moment. It's very difficult for some people to understand the poor if you've never been poor. And very difficult to understand the unbelievable drain upon physical and human and financial resources that sickness brings if you've never really had it, to face it personally or in your family. I don't say that the only way you understand the problems of the poor and the problems of the disenfranchised, the problems of the dispossessed is to have been one; but I, I'll tell you, you sure have a better understanding of it if you were. And one of the things that we need above all is an identification with people. We never will help people help themselves by standing above them. We only help them help themselves when we stand alongside of them--breathe with them, live with them, work with them, think with them, and, indeed, even die with them.

This is what's happened here in America today in the great civil rights movement. There are martyrs of this movement--white and colored alike--not merely an intellectual class that somehow or another decided that people should have equal rights. That was necessary, too. We need the prophets. We need the intelligentsia. We need the intellectual. But we also needed the people who stood hand in hand and who marched together and said, "We shall overcome." And because they had that empathy, that spiritual oneness--I don't know how to really describe it, except to say it's a spiritual unity, a spiritual oneness--because they had it, they made great progress. And America's changed, and, in fact, the whole world is the better for it. I think the most important, single foreign policy development in the United States of America was the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964. Not just its domestic importance--that was important--but we were able to come, in a sense, with clean hands to the world, admitting our failure, confessing our sin, recognizing our inadequacy, and saying, "All right, surely we were guilty, but we paid the price--and we're paying it yet--and we have corrected it, we have changed it, so that today in the United States of America, there is but one citizenship--not first-class, not second-class, but one." And that one citizenship is just to be a citizen of the United States, without any regard to all the little things, or the things that are relatively unimportant--your religion, your name, your color, or your creed.

Well, out of these moments of anguish and pain come some reform movements, and we saw those reform movements in the 1930's. The Social Security program that we have today, of course, is a product of that, just to mention it. And then came the great war that interrupted this path of reform, this movement of people. People had to become almost savage for a while. And the amazing thing to me is that people have done as well as they have, when for better than two hundred years, we literally taught ourselves that other people's problems were not ours, that we could live alone, that we could isolate ourselves from the world. We had to learn in those war years of the 40's and in the post-war years that there is no living alone, that the central fact of our

time is interdependence, that the world in which we live shrinks everyday, that everybody's business is our business, and our business is your business. As I've said to my constituents and friends out in the middle west, where some of you've lived these months, what happens in the Middle East is more important to the lives of the people in Minnesota, North Dakota, South Dakota, Illinois, Iowa, and other places there than what happens in the middle west, because the whole hope of peace may very well rest in what happens in any section of the world.

So, we are neighbors, even if we don't know each other too well. We'll get acquainted, one way or another, and I hope it can be so in peace rather than in the more difficult, tragic assignments of trouble and war.

Now, that interdependence that I speak of has been fostered in this world by people like yourselves. You're educators, not just social workers. You're teachers. You're leaders. And our first responsibility, it seems to me, is to foster and to be the advocates of interdependence. I know that nationalism is a powerful force in the world, and it can be for good. And nationalism is here, you have to deal with it. It is even a more powerful force than any other "ism" that I can think of--more than communism, more than internationalism. Nationalism--but despite nationalism, you and I know that there must be an interdependence. And we foster it by the United Nations, by the World Bank, by a host of agencies and instrumentalities, so that it becomes not only an idea and a concept, but it becomes a reality of a social, political, economic structure. And that interdependence has been thrust upon us, too, by the fact of the Nuclear Age and its threat and its promise to all of us. I would say the greatest issue confronting mankind today is nuclear proliferation, how we're going to control this monster that we've let loose. And I must say that if more of the monsters are in more cages that are more fragile than those that presently restrain the monsters now, that peace will be a very doubtful and dubious possibility.

So, it's in this type of age, such as the Nuclear Age, that it is imperative that we communicate with each other; and that's what you're doing. You get to know us, and we get to know you. And from our exchange programs, we communicate. We communicate a thousand and one different ways. I only hope that when you return to your lands, your countries, that you will take the time to tell the story of your experiences--as I know you will--and that you will keep these friendships and these associations that you've developed while you're here. Communicate, speak frankly as a friend, and help us to learn and to know more about one another.

Now, you've heard a great deal, I'm sure, in these few months that you've been here, about the Great Society in our country. Well, every government, every nation, has a way of explaining its purpose, its objective. What do we mean by this Great Society? Well, we mean you. We mean service. We mean sharing. We mean care. We mean human welfare. We mean education. To put it simply, the Great Society is not just quantitative, it doesn't mean just more gross national product, bigger profits, more people at work, better wages, higher dividends. All of those are important--don't misunderstand me. Without them, society won't be very good. But a Great Society is qualitative, and it is also one in which the least of these--the littlest, the simplest, the weakest--is thought of, as well as the strongest and the best and the finest. It is one in which the judgments and the effects of government and the social structure are made available to help the weak as well as the strong. So, what we seek in the Great Society, above all, is to enrich our lives and not merely to expand our bank accounts; to really enrich our lives in terms of know^{ing} that the community in which we live is a better community because we live there; to take on the duties of citizenship as well as the privileges; to take on the responsibilities as well as the opportunities. And I hope that when you return to your native lands, you will think of the Great Society in America as our effort to improve our character, to make us a better people, a more

humble people, a kinder people, a friendly people, a more generous people, a more honorable people, a people that appreciate some of the simpler and yet even some of the more beautiful things of life--the music, the art, the literature--not only of our own but of others, understanding the universality of music and art and literature, understanding the universality of science and medicine and how it can be used to improve the lot of man. The Great Society is just another way of saying man has unbelievable power and wealth at his fingertips. And what is he going to do with it? Is he going to debauch himself, or is he going to save himself? Is he going to destroy himself, or is he going to make life meaningful? And I think the time is at hand for America to speak of the Great Society for its own people, and also as a sort of vision--because we need to dream big dreams and have mighty visions. Think of what kind of world this would be if there were no idealists. The world wasn't made by the conscience of a conservative, but rather by the dream of an idealist. We need ideals, and we need people who think ahead, willing to take that intellectual and, yes, even that personal risk, to be chided and criticised and even to be run out of their own hometown--like a prophet without honor in his own country--because he believes. So, the Great Society calls for idealists. It has room for dissent. It has not only room for it, but a need for debate and discussion and dissent, and also for decision. So, we've been busily engaged in this Great Society, and you've seen some of it.

Now, I don't need to tell you about how big the Empire State Building is. And I don't really need to tell you what our gross national product is. And I don't need to tell you about how much we produce on our farms and how much more we could produce if the Government would but let us. All sorts of things I could tell you about, but these things you already know. But you've been learning about something else, too. You've been out there working in this anti-poverty program, and you've learned something that some Americans didn't find out, and haven't found out even yet. You've learned

that there are people in America that have much to contribute; but, for some reason or another, the gates are locked. Nobody'll let them in. I want you to know that this War on Poverty that we're attempting to launch--it's kind of difficult to get that war started, others come much more easily--but this War on Poverty that we are seeking to launch leaves no room for conscientious objectors. Everybody needs to be in on it. And what is more, this War on Poverty is not designed to make poverty more tolerable. I first graduated in Pharmacy, and then decided to go back to the university and study in Political Science and Economics and History. And I know all about the pain relievers. But I'm here to tell you, as a reasonably active pharmacist, that all the pain relievers in the world will never cure the disease. And if you keep taking them, you can't take enough; the pain relievers will finally kill you. So, I want it crystal clear before you go home that there's no effort being made in America today to make our poverty, where we have it, tolerable. We're trying to get at the root causes, and we don't know much about it. We've always known that there have been poor people. You know it--there are plenty of them in your countries. And we have too many here. And ours even stand out more so because the others are so well off. For some reason or another, about thirty million people in this country were left behind in the backwash as the mainstream of American life moved ahead at a rapid pace. And I'm not going to spend any time blaming somebody; I don't know whose fault it was. All I know is that it's here, just like I know that there's a universe. And I know that we're exploring that universe and the cosmos. And I know that we're spending billions to do it. And I know that we've made some mistakes in doing it. We almost had a very serious one in this Gemini V flight, but fortunately it worked out because of backup systems, because of extra, built-in protections. What I'm saying to you is that as we explore the ways to get at the root causes of this poverty, we're going to make mistakes. And you're

going to read about them, because there are just some folks just waiting to say, "See, I told you^l--those social workers, those teachers, those do-gooders. I don't want to be a do-gooder; I want to be a "good-doer." We're going to make some mistakes because we don't know all the answers.

Why is it that a family will be in the vicious cycle of poverty for five generations? Why? What do you do to break those chains--in your country and my country? What is it that's happening to family life in many of our communities? And we know that it's happening in our Negro community. Why? What are we going to do about it? Does it really answer the problem just to educate somebody, and train him? Does that really take care of it? Is the way that you approach the problem of poverty just to go in and clean out the slums? I think if that was the case, we could most likely get all the contractors and all the builders and all the trade unions and all the bankers. We could really launch a terrific program here. But the simple fact of the matter is that we know that not any one of these alone does the job, because we tried them. One at a time, they don't seem to work. And, therefore, it's sort of like when we take modern vitamins (again I go back to my original training). We have what we call vitamin, you know, compounds, complexes--twelve different vitamin B's. And if you really want to get a good vitamin, come see me, because you can have about forty different kinds--all in one pill. And why do you take that one? Because the doctor that prescribes it is not quite sure that any one of the vitamins is the one you really need, and he's not going to take any chances. He gives you the whole works. Well, we found out that sometimes that didn't even work in medicine. We're going to find out in this War on Poverty, my dear friends, that some of the things that we try don't work. And if you find in your country something that is working, please let us know. There ought to be no pride of authorship, no sovereignty, here. I would hope that we could at least establish at an international level an interchange of ideas, of techniques, of concepts in the struggle against disease, illiteracy, and poverty, where we kept no

secrets, where nothing is marked "secret," "confidential," or "for limited use only." Let's have it for everybody.

So, I want you to know that you may be reading about some of our mistakes, but I'll tell you something. The only man that ever made a mistake is the one that tried to do something. And, again, I want to say that the sins of omission are much worse than the sins of commission. And we're going to plunge into this in typical American fashion. I suppose there'll just be a lot of things happening and we'll have Congressmen and others saying, "Look at the money we wasted" and something else--and we will waste some. We've done it. This is an old habit. But I want to tell you something, "Mr. Poverty" is going to know he's been in a fight. I want you to know that. We're going to give him "fits," as they say, in this fight. We're out to win.

And we're out to do something else. We're not just trying to only help some people that are classified as poor. The whole society needs upgrading. This is why we're working today on education, as never before. Our purpose is the conservation and the development of human resources. The only real wealth in your country is the human being. The only real power is in the brain and the heart and the spirit. And it is the development of intellectual power, it is the conservation and the development and the health of the human being that represents real power in this modern world. The power of the forests and the mines is secondary, because it's only worthwhile when man puts his hand to it and his mind to it.

So, we're going to put on the pedestal, "King Education," or "Saint Education," or "Hero Education." We're going to launch this war, and again and again we're going to stay at it until we win it, with your help. And we need teamwork in this one. This ought to be a great coalition, the war on these terrible, ancient enemies of illiteracy and backwardness, of hopelessness, and of disease--yes, and of poverty, as we speak of it.

Now, all of this has, of course, no meaning if we can't learn how to live together.

Recently, and it's been mentioned here, we had a terrible tragedy in our country, and it was the riot out in the Los Angeles area. I think this riot, however, has brought people to a realization that we cannot permit the conditions of misery in a country where conditions of prosperity and well-being are so widespread and so open to all of us to see. Everything is relative. It's very difficult for some people to believe that the gap between the rich and the poor in the world is growing, but it is. The gap between the rich nations and the poor nations--some of you here come from nations that when you look at gross national product and per capita income, it's very low. And while you have improved, the simple fact is that the gap between the few rich and the many poor is widening. And the late and beloved Pope John, in one of his great Encyclicals--I believe it was Mater et Magistra--I'm not speaking as a member of his faith, but I speak of him/as a great leader, as a great leader, a tremendous humanitarian--maybe, one who has done more in his few, short years to unite a world than anyone in the memory of recent man, at least. And he said that there is no peace in a world in which there is a constant widening gap between the rich and the poor, particularly when you live in a period of rising expectations. And I think he was right. This simply says that the rich nations have to do more to help others, in order to save themselves. And the poor nations have to do more to help themselves, so that others can help them. It means an upgrading of our effort. And the growth in the United States between the rich and the poor, in the white community and the Negro community--something to which I've addressed myself many times--it's alarming; it's shocking. To be sure, the per capita income of many in the Negro community has grown, but not nearly as fast as people of comparable education in the white community. And that is one of the causes of misery and riots and turmoil. This is not to condone violence and murder, because I want to say--almost to paraphrase the President--that it doesn't make any difference whether you have a

t-shirt on or a nightshirt, like a Ku Klux Klaner, violence is violence and murder is murder and arson is arson and plunder is plunder. And it doesn't make any difference whether the violence is in Alabama, Mississippi, or Los Angeles, or New York; it is not to be condoned. But it is to arouse, at least, one's mind to looking at why. And we're beginning to look now at why, and we see some injustices. So, we're going to try to see if those injustices can't be corrected.

Arnold Toynbee said, I think, and stated about as well as anybody, what our objective ought to be. He said that our age can be remembered "not for its horrifying crimes nor its astonishing inventions, but because it is the first generation since the dawn of history in which man dared to believe it practical to make the benefits of civilization available to the whole human race." That's the new discovery. This is the great discovery of the Twentieth Century. We have now discovered that we can banish hunger from the face of the earth. There's no need for famine any longer. We have now discovered that we can perform miracles. We can make the blind see and the deaf hear. We can even revive what the doctors say is a dead man. We can educate the people that supposedly are not capable of education. We can employ the mentally retarded. We find places for people. What a new discovery we are making, this new discovery that the benefits of civilization can be made available to the whole human race, and not to just a few of us.

I'm not one of those that believe that by helping others, we deprive ourselves. We are all less, all weaker in this world, for the hunger of any man, for poverty, disease, or tyranny, wherever it exists anywhere amongst the Family of Man. And we are all stronger when we help others. And I think the best example of this is my country. This nation--despite some of its critics, and many of them within our own country (most of them)--since World War II has given, by grants or gifts, a hundred and fifty billion or more dollars, and another four or five millions of dollars in other forms. And the more we've given, the more we've had. And, yet, I lived as a young man at a

time when we closed our doors to the immigrant. We closed our gates. We closed up our trade. We closed up our minds to new ideas. And we closed our hearts to human suffering. And pretty soon, we closed our banks and closed down our factories--just closed up the whole thing. The fact is that a man gains as he gives, grows as he shares, matures as he helps; and the same is true of a nation. So, maybe we can make the benefits of our present civilization for all of mankind.

But none of it will be true unless there's peace. And the most important word in the English language--and it's translated and known in every language--is the word peace. And man has sought it for centuries and seldom been able to grasp it. But let me just give you some words of assurance. There's been more peace in the world in the last two hundred years than in the preceding seven thousand. That's not bad; we've made some progress. There's more concern about human welfare, too. But we've gotten to the point now where peace is not a subject to talk about. It is imperative, because this same Great Society that we speak of has created the weapons of total destruction. And don't let anybody kid you, my friends, it is total destruction. Every once and a while, someone gets into an argument, "Who's got the most bombs--the United States or the Russians?" Why do you need more bombs after you've killed everybody? I can just assure you that both countries have more bombs than needed to win any war--if there's anything left to win after you've had the fight. If it only takes a hundred of the megaton bombs to destroy most of civilization, why do you need five hundred? And, so, maybe there is a great deal of sense to the plans of some people to see if we can't phase out this overproduction, this surplusage of the weapons of mass destruction. But I'm happy to tell you, tonight, that most responsible leaders in any country--at least in the nuclear powers--are so concerned over this nuclear power that they are deeply concerned lest they be dragged into some conflict which unleashes this power. So, there are many, many controls--both legal and institutional. If we despair

of the peace, there'll be none. And I know many people despair of it, because there are wars here and there and skirmishes here and there. Armies--look at the amount of money that nations are spending on armaments. Now, let me just be very frank with you. It's bad enough for a rich nation to spend money on armaments; it's unforgivable for a poor one, because, truly, it's only the rich nations that can afford this. And the little one can't do much about it anyhow, because if the juggernaut starts starts to move, there is no place to hide for the little one. And I've often thought that rather than having all of the disarmament moves and all of the arms control efforts seem to be centered around the big powers, the little powers--that have so much to gain in a peaceful world--should lead, insist, and use their good offices, and maintain a benevolent objectivity.

Peace is like a cathedral. One of the most important addresses ever given on peace in our time was given on the tenth day of June, 1963, by the late President Kennedy, at American University. I hope that many of you will find the time or the means to get that address, because it was a very singularly important speech. It's only one of many from the great statesman. President Johnson's address before the United Nations--his first address--was a very powerful speech. President Kennedy said that "peace is a process." I can only paraphrase it; he went on to point out that it isn't something you just reach out and get or that you just sort of say, "I want it, I think I'll order it" or "I'll hope for it, and it will arrive" or "It'll come to me on some holiday." He also said, and it's surely been said by people throughout the ages, that peace is not static--it's dynamic. It requires more courage to obtain than any battle won on a battlefield. And it requires time and patience and perserverance. I like to describe peace like a beautiful cathedral. Many of you come from lands in which there are temples and cathedrals. We have a cathedral here in Washington--the National Cathedral. It's not an old cathedral--in terms of the age of cathedrals in Europe, or

of the great temples in Asia and Africa, but I know that this cathedral is the work of generations. It wasn't built overnight, and it isn't yet done--we're still building. And peace is like a cathedral. It requires the plan of a master architect and the labors of many. It takes the work and the sacrifice of generations. But you have to start, and each generation has an obligation to add something to it. I think we're all, in a sense, trying to build for peace. And if we don't lose hope, we'll find it. And building for peace doesn't mean just the absence of war, because peace is more than the absence of war. Peace is progress. Peace is harmony. Peace is enlightenment. Peace is brotherhood. Peace is understanding. It has a force, a character, a spirit all of its own. It's not negative; it's positive. And when I hear people say, "There's no peace now because there's a struggle in Southeast Asia, or there's a struggle in the Near East"--it is true that these are blemishes upon the cloak of peace. But the real movement of peace is what you're doing--better family life, better social conditions, the building of viable economies, the finding of places for people to live, the education of the masses of people (and not just the elite). And I think we're building peace when we have foreign aid, when we have cultural exchanges. I just think we ought to have more of it. I think we're building for peace in my country when we have food for peace. And I want to live for the day when we turn the great productive power of this America of ours open to produce--without ruining markets--and we can do it internationally. And we build for peace with the Peace Corps that you visited, through teachers and doctors and technicians and community builders. And through the Alliance for Progress in Latin America, there's more peace now. We build for peace whenever we help anybody with our voluntary, non-profit, religious, non-sectarian groups, working around the world. And we build for peace in the United Nations. And with all of its weaknesses, it's still the best that we have. And I'm grateful that my country, once again, has renewed its faith in and is determined to strengthen the United Nations.

We've quit arguing over the bookkeeping system, and we're getting the United Nations, once again, to be more than just a debating society--to be an action group.

I leave you with this thought. It's not new, but it needs to be repeated, just as one repeats his own personal commitment. We must win that peace. We have to have people that believe in peace with a passion, because without it there is none. If we can get the same excitement, if you please, about helping man as we do about putting one on the moon, you'd be surprised what we can do. And I want to say to you what I've said to every other group. I'm Chairman of the Space Council--I don't want to be misunderstood. It's very important work, I think; tremendous scientific discovery. It's a fascinating experience, and it's an expensive one; and only a very few, if any, nations can afford it. But I say to this audience tonight, any nation that can afford to spend and invest thirty billion dollars to put a man on the moon--which we will do--can afford to make reasonable, responsible investments to help put a man on his feet on this earth. And that's what we're going to try to do--not just our men, but mankind all over. Imagine what it would mean in the next five years if another thirty billion dollars could be committed in the war on hunger--because hunger is starting to show its ugly head. Standing over this world like a dark cloud, is this nuclear power that mankind has created; and, yet, scientists tell us that the same force can do more good for mankind than any force that man has ever released before.

So, my charge to you is what you already are, but it's good to repeat it. I'm an old educator, and education is the process of saturation, osmosis, and repetition. We must be men and women of compassion--total compassion--of indomitable courage, with patience and perserverance. Don't give up. Don't lose faith. Have a strong and an active faith. And we must unceasingly--no matter what the trials and tribulations, no matter what governments say or do (because governments come and go, but people live on forever)--we must unceasingly search for justice and for peace. And if we do, I think

that one day we're going to have the kind of a world society that was seen by that American author, Thomas Wolfe. And I'll leave you with a little Americana. Here's what Thomas Wolf said; here's the kind of society that he believed we ought to have:

"To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining, golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him."

This is what we mean by opportunity. And on the shield and seal of this land today is emblazoned a word that you don't see, but it's there--because it's the spirit of the land--"opportunity." Opportunity for everyone. Strike down and strike off these chains that enslave us--fear and prejudice and poverty--and release man--constant process of emancipation--and release him from the prisons of his ghettos, slums, his ignorance, and his prejudice, his bitterness, and let him have opportunity. I think if we do that, believe it like a great religious faith, we'll have more conferences like this all over the world. And you'd be surprised how much happier mankind will be. Thank you very much.

(applause)



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