

FOR RELEASE: 10/8/66
Saturday AM's

REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
"FESTIVAL OF IDEAS"
UNIVERSITY OF WEST VIRGINIA
MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA
October 7, 1966

We have just entered the last third of the 20th Century.

The overall changes the first two-thirds of this century have brought to our public and private lives have been greater than those in the several centuries preceding. And, if we talk about technological change alone, we see more new developments than in the 5 thousand years preceding.

I tell you today that the next 33 years will make the last 66 seem a period of comparative stability.

These years are the ones in which you will be in charge.

Change has almost come to be synonymous with progress -- but this is not always so. "The art of progress," as Alfred North Whitehead wrote, "is to preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order."

It is upon you that responsibility will fall for insuring that the changes in the rest of this century are synonymous with progress, and that they serve the cause of man's happiness and well-being.

Your first step in mastering change is to study it, as you are doing at this university.

A great deal of what you study is statistical.

Reports and studies cross my desk each day -- each one filled with orderly ranks of figures which attempt to fix and chart new trends. This mass of statistical information always seems to indicate that we have more of everything.

And it also points to a number of what each specialist calls an "explosion" in his field -- a population explosion, an education explosion, a technology explosion, an information explosion, a consumption explosion, a distribution explosion, a production explosion. Every day I am informed of a new explosion -- all of which leads me to conclude that we are, above all, going through an explosion explosion.

Fair enough. Our change is rapid -- and "explosion" is as good a description as any of what we face all around us today.

Yet, at the same time, this mass of statistical data does have a certain opacity.

Disraeli said: "There are three kinds of falsehoods -- lies, damned lies, and statistics."

I would not go so far as to make any such charge about the statistics we live with today. They are far better than those Disraeli knew.

But I do believe we must be careful not to confuse statistics with wisdom. To do so would be to put the world almanac in the same category as Plato and Locke.

For instance, in quantitative terms, we know today that we have a Gross National Product of almost three-quarters of a trillion dollars . . . the ability to produce a plane which will fly at 2 thousand miles per hour . . . a college population of 5 million students . . . a national inventory of 60 million TV sets . . . more than a half-million scientific papers published each year.

We know that there are sub-patterns: That, for instance, the percentage of 18 and 19-year-olds in school has gone up from 7 per cent in 1940, to 29 per cent in 1950, to 38 per cent in 1960, and that it will be 50 per cent by 1970.

All these facts indicate economic prosperity and growth . . . a broader base of education . . . a greater scientific and technological capacity . . . a wider ownership of material goods.

Yet, if we look more closely we see other things too: That, for instance, in the shading of high-income areas on census maps, the shading never falls on neighborhoods where Negroes live; that, in a time of prosperity in the rich nations, per-capita income is going down in the poor nations of the world.

And we increasingly feel - I know I do - that it is imperative to apply critical, qualitative measures to what we see -- that it is necessary to see how change is affecting people and their lives.

We have over 2 thousand institutions of higher education in our country. The question is: What proportion of their students are receiving both a solid technical grounding and the ability to think for themselves?

We have, in our cities, billions of dollars of new investment in office buildings and luxury apartments. The question is: Are the families who live in the shadow of these buildings -- that is, the majority of the people who live in our central cities -- better-housed or worse-housed today than they were yesterday?

I see signs in our society that more and more of our young people are looking beyond the normal quantitative measures -- I mean, literally, signs as those I recently saw on a college campus in the West: "I am a human being, not a punch card. Please do not staple, spindle, or mutilate."

Many of our young people are reacting to the large forces, mass production, and cookie-cutter questionnaires which surround them.

Some of these concerns manifest themselves in ways that are not always constructive. Just being against bigness or mass production or impersonality is not enough -- nor I might add, is sign-carrying, of itself, enough.

But I see, too, the constructive expressions of our young people in reaction to these same forces.

I see the work of our Peace Corps volunteers in alien places.

I see the commitment of our people in VISTA, making their individual efforts count directly here at home.

I see the dedication of our young people -- both in uniform and in shirtsleeve - in Vietnam.

I see the excellence in everyday work contributed by young men and women in government service.

I see the new awareness of teenagers and young adults of the democratic political process, and their increasing participation in it.

Ten years ago our campus bulletin boards were monopolized by notices of social events. Today these same bulletin boards are filled with notices of political activity, of volunteer work, of opportunities to exchange ideas and to be of public service -- all outside the classroom itself.

The fact is that it is precisely in a society of bigness, of the quantitative, of wholesale technological change that it is all the more important for the individual citizen to become both concerned with and involved in what is happening around him.

I said earlier that the breakthroughs to come during your working lifetimes will dwarf those since the turn of the century.

There is no reason why we should react to them as Luddites, threshing out to destroy what we do not understand.

There is no great secret about their shape or direction -- at least so far as science and technology are concerned.

And there is no reason why we, and you, cannot now prepare ourselves to meet them and temper them to essentially human objectives.

As chairman of the Space Council I am quite sure today, for instance, that we shall see ahead the establishment of permanent bases on the moon. . .the development of a whole family of earth-orbiting stations, manned and supplied by regular ferry services . . .the launching of unmanned probes to every part of the solar system, and probably manned expeditions as well.

As chairman of the new Marine Sciences Council, I am equally sure that we shall develop man's capability to live on the ocean's floor . . . that we shall use the tides as energy sources . . .that we shall use de-salinated water to make deserts bloom.

In the next 15 years alone -- the years in which you will be at the peak of your creative and productive abilities -- we shall certainly see:

In medicine, the routine transplanation of internal organs from one person to another and the widespread use of artificial organs.

In education, a general use of teaching machines in far more sophisticated ways than today.

In psychiatry, the common use of drugs to modify the personality.

In industry, the application of automation to many kinds of management decision-making.

In engineering, the channeling of water from surplus areas to shortage areas thousands of miles away.

In worldwide communication, the everyday use of translating machines.

By the year 2 thousand -- when many of you will bear direct responsibility for national policy -- the scientists tell us we can foresee the virtual elimination of bacterial and viral diseases . . .the modification of genetic chemistry . . .the evolution of universal language. . .commercial transport by ballistic missile . . .the use

of robots for everyday work and of high-IQ computers for sophisticated tasks . . .and the probable creation, in the laboratory, of primitive forms of artificial life . . .and shortly thereafter, chemical control of the aging process . . .and perhaps even modified control of gravity.

Many of these things we will welcome without reservation. A few bear with them seeds of great danger.

The widest number are, in a sense, "neutral."

Their benefit to man will depend most largely upon man's wisdom in using them.

Many of the mistakes, the injustices, the imbalances, and undesirable social conditions, caused by change, which we live with today are here because earlier in this century they either were not foreseen -- after all, they got here in a hurry -- or because their probability was ignored.

Today we have the opportunity to avoid the mistakes of the past. We have a good idea of what lies ahead. What remains for us is to prepare ourselves to master it -- as Whitehead said, "to preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order."

How do we do it?

The first and absolute priority is that we realize, that in our increasingly complex and changing world, we can never be satisfied with our present level of knowledge.

The days are past when a high school or college diploma could mark the end of a man's education. Already many jobs of 10 years ago are obsolete.

Most of you, in your lifetimes, will not only hold several jobs -- you will pursue several careers. All of you, in your lives, will need continuous education.

We in the federal government are doing everything we can to build the kind of environment where such education will be possible and available. In the past three years alone, we have more than doubled our federal investments in education.

We have undertaken a national war on poverty. We have committed ourselves to the redevelopment of people and of geographic areas. We have more than doubled, too, our federal investments in health.

All these things aimed at upgrading our resources -- at helping our people and the places where they live be better able to make their way in the future.

The second priority is to bring to bear all our resources most efficiently in the harnessing of the future.

We speak a great deal these days of the concept of "creative federalism" -- a concept still not widely understood.

This is a concept which is embodied in all the new laws, and all the new programs, which stand today under the Great Society heading.

What we are trying to do, under this concept, is promote effective, timely and productive cooperation among all levels of government, and the private sector as well, to meet problems which cut across old jurisdictions.

What we are trying to do, also, is to encourage initiative at state, local and individual levels and to meet that initiative with federal assistance. For we know that, in a society of big problems, programs and institutions, we must avoid every tendency which would move responsibility for problem-solving and for leadership further away from the individual.

And this brings me to allude once more to the final priority we face in the immediate years ahead: The necessity for the individual citizen not to abdicate his responsibility.

I am encouraged, as I have said, by the new concern and sense of personal involvement I see in your generation.

It not only must be sustained. It must be increased and translated into constructive action.

Nostalgia . . .the desire to return to a simpler world . . .escape, by whatever means -- are luxuries we can no longer afford.

The individual cannot shrug his shoulders and withdraw to his television opiate, leaving decisions and matters of individual concern to others.

To do so would be to guarantee the weakening of our democratic system and the victory of faceless impersonality, and to leave the field to change unharnessed and unchanneled.

For all the actions in the world by governments -- federal, state, and local -- and by the private institutions within our society will be fruitless if they are done to the individual citizen instead of with and by him.

Individual responsibility and individual participation -- these are the most effective antidotes to "alienation," "estrangement," "dehumanization," and all the other phenomena which are beginning to so much concern us.

Finally, may I say this:

If we continue to increase our knowledge . . .if we efficiently use the tools at hand . . .if we nurture in our society a sense of individual participation and responsibility, I believe we may in the long run be able not only to master science and machine but also to create a freer, more rewarding world environment.

Social and political change is, indeed, harder to predict and to create than material change -- although they are clearly interrelated.

Yet I cannot help but believe that, as man increasingly masters his environment . . .as he increasingly overcomes many of his everyday concerns for food, shelter and health. . .as he increasingly uses his knowledge to reduce many of today's urgent human pressures, he may also learn to live more peacefully and in greater harmony with his neighbor.

If he does not, the changes for his survival -- given the awesome potentialities for destruction which lie within our progress -- will not be great.

As we enter the final third of this century, this is what opens up before you. This is what lies within your hands.

The challenges, and the opportunities, are immense. For my own part, I am confident that you will make change your ally and not your enemy.

I am sure that you will make your commitment, as other Americans have before you, to the premise that history is not a mindless juggernaut, but something to be shaped by man exercising his own free will.

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REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

"FESTIVAL OF IDEAS"

MORGANTOWN, WEST VIRGINIA

OCTOBER 7, 1966

UNIVERSITY OF WEST VIRGINIA

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Industrialist
&
Farmer*

*David Hardesty
Sarah Ruth Meek*

*Wheeler + Mary Alice
Gov Smith
President Heflin
Sen Randolph
Cong Staggers*

~~*John Barringer*~~

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J.P.*

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#

Festival of Ideas Speech - 7 Oct 66 Morgantown, W. Va.

I would like to present the Acting President of West Virginia University, Dr. Harry B. Heflin. (applause) "Mr. Hardesty and ladies and gentlemen: We are going to move right along with our program today. You have been waiting very patiently for something that we all think is well worth waiting for, and we'll move right along with our introductions of our stage guests. This student committee and faculty committee, if not anything else, has added beauty as well as brains to this end of our introductions: Mrs. Hubert Humphrey; (applause) Mrs. Hulett Smith; (applause) Mrs. Harry B. Heflin; (applause) and Miss Sarah Ruth Meek, Vice-President of the student body. (applause) And now the Governor of West Virginia." (applause)

"Mr. Vice President and his lovely lady, Senator Randolph and Congressman Stagers, distinguished guests, members of the student body, President and Mrs. Heflin, and lovely Miss Meek and Mr. Hardesty: I am delighted that I have this chance to again be in Morgantown at West Virginia University, to meet with a group such as this, composed of those young minds that are going to be the leaders of tomorrow. On behalf of all of West Virginia, those members of our Board of Public Works that are with us here today, the leaders of your community, I know I share your enthusiasm and your sincerity in welcoming to West Virginia the Vice President of the United States; and I am sure that we are going to have a wonderful message from him. Thank you for your invitation so that Mrs. Smith and I could be with you." (applause)

(Congressman Harley O. Stagers of the second Congressional District) (applause)

"Now we are down to getting pretty close to the speaker, and the gentleman that is going to introduce the speaker I will introduce now. He is no stranger to anyone, I think, in West Virginia. He has been a member of congress for a long period of time, a Senator from West Virginia. He has been extremely helpful to West Virginia University; and many times he has served as a member of the Benedum Foundation Board, a board that gave West Virginia University a million dollars not too long ago. And, this takes a real friend who can find a million dollars for West Virginia University. There has never been a time that the University has contacted him that he did not

respond immediately and very effectively. I would like to introduce to you now Senator Jennings Randolph." (applause)

"President Harry Heflin, members of the faculty, and members of the student body of the West Virginia University. The President of the United States has created the President's Committee On Youth Opportunities. The man called by the President to share that important assignment is your honored guest this afternoon. This is a thrilling and exciting hour, and we give a West Virginia University and a West Virginia welcome to the Vice President of the United States." (applause)

"Thank you Senator Randolph and my dear friends, thank you. Now I know why a Vice President leaves Washington--so he can hear such a wonderful and enthusiastic warm reception. It makes Vice Presidents feel good to find out something like this. Governor Hulett Smith and Mrs. Smith and President Heflin and Mrs. Heflin and my good friend Congressman Harley Staggers, it is very good to be in your presence once again, as I have earlier this afternoon at least with most of you. We were at Elkins, W.Va., today for the Forest Festival; and it was a beautiful and delightful occasion, and I know that on that occasion both Senator Randolph and Congressman Staggers were very pleased with the fine audience that was there and, hopefully, the program. But I do know that Congressman Staggers is the No. 1 propagandist for the University of West Virginia. Every place I go he has something good to say about it. As a matter of fact, according to him you have never lost a football game, never lost a basketball game, everyone is a Phi Beta Kappa (applause); and the only two people I know that have tried to copy on this objective description of the qualities of this great University are Senator Jennings Randolph and Governor Hulett Smith. They think that Congressman Staggers is really just a little bit timid about proclaiming the wonders of this University. Now coming from the University of Minnesota I come in humility. So far we haven't won many games this year. It is undoubtedly due to the quality of the referee (laughter). Last week, however, I think it might have been due to the power of Kansas; and this coming week we hope to do business with Indiana, but I was just

there the other night and it appears to me that they have no humane treatment in store for us. So if I act a little bit downcast today you will know it is for a good reason, we have been humiliated. But I want to talk to you about something that is in the realm of ideas. First, however, I do want to say a word about David Hardesty, the President of the Student Body. He was at the airport to greet me, and a very fine young man. And then he introduced me to the Vice President of the Student Body; and I couldn't help say to him, "Dave it appears to me that you have a much better looking Vice President than Lyndon Johnson has." (laughter) (applause) And I want you to know, Sarah Ruth, that the kind of applause that you receive from this audience is the standard that I think they ought to have for every Vice President, no matter where he is. You have elevated the office; you have made me feel good. Today I want to join your program on this Festival of Ideas. I have some ideas written down here, and I hope to spend a little time looking at those notes; and then I want to just visit with you too, as a refugee from a classroom myself, a former student and a former professor. Dr. Heflin, I wanted you to note that I said former professor. Politics is a precarious business. I may need work (laughter and applause). You know I once taught courses in American Government--let me see--oh, about eight, oh my goodness, a long time ago. All I can say is that having been in government 18 years I feel that I owe all of my students a refund. (laughter) Because any relationship between what I taught and what happened is sheer coincidence. (laughter) But I do find my work in government a thrilling experience, a challengeing one; and may I say, like going to graduate school, a continuance seminar in which we are never quite sure that we settle anything but we discuss everything. Well, I don't think I need to remind you that you are in the last third of the twentieth century. This is the first time that has ever happened; therefore, make the most out of it. It will be the last time it happens too. And the overall changes of the first two-thirds of this century really brought to our public and private lives greater changes than had taken place in several preceding centuries. If there is one word that characterizes the times in which we live and in which I live, it's change. And if we talk about technological change, more has happened in the last

sixty-six years than in the preceding five thousand; and I tell you that the next thirty-three years will make the last sixty-six years look like you were standing still. This is a base from which we are going to build, and these are years that you will be in charge. These next few years, these next thirty-three, these will be the years in which you will be watching out for the interest of my grandchildren, and you will be taking care of my Medicare so I want you to be on the stick, as we say: I want you to know what is going on. And I thought I would share a few thoughts with you. Change to some people is almost synonymous with progress but possibly that isn't always so. "The art of progress," said Alfred North Whitehead, "is to preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order." In other words, to permit change to develop in an orderly manner. Now it is upon you that the responsibility is going to rest, and I think you will do pretty well with it. Your first step in mastering change is to study it and to recognize that it is here and that is what you are doing at the university. The university is, for all practical purposes, like putting on glasses for a person that has poor vision. It gives you the opportunity to see what has been, what is, and what may be. Now, reports and studies by the dozens go across my desk. I have a brief case out in the airplane packed with all kinds of documents and I'm afraid that I spend far too much time looking at those reports. The mass of statistical information always seems to indicate that we have more of everything. It also points to a number of what each specialist calls an explosion in his field. Everything's exploding--population explosion, education explosion, information explosion, technological explosion. I think it is an explosion of explosions that we are going through today. Everything is just busting out all over. Now fair enough I guess that is as good an analysis of what is happening that one can make in a hurry. Change is rapid and sometimes drastic and dramatic. Explosion is a good description, yet at the same time this mass of statistical data does have a certain opacity to it. It has a tendency to dazzle you--almost to paralyze you by its ever-mounting flow. Disraeli, a great Political Scientist and a great Prime Minister, said that there are three kinds of falsehoods: lies, damn lies, and statistics. You ought to remember tha, all of you

Political Science students. It will do you well in government later on. The first two sometimes describe your opponents, according to your own subjective analysis. Now, I would not go so far as to make any such charge about the statistics that we live with today. They are far better than Disraeli ever knew. But I do believe that we must be careful not to confuse statistics with wisdom. To do so would be to put the World Almanac in a class with Plato and Lock and Aristotle. And really the World Almanac is not that good. And rather than to clutter up your mind with a lot of statistics, spend yourself a dollar and get the World Almanac and carry it around and save you time. For instance, in quantitative terms we know today that we have a gross National Product of about three quarter trillion dollars. That sounds bigger than seven hundred and fifty billion. And we have the ability to produce a plane that will fly 2,000 miles per hour. I saw the mock up of that--two of them, one at Lockheed and one at Boeing. We have a college population of over five million students and we haven't even got started. It is just the beginning. A national inventory of sixty million T.V. sets, most of which aren't working--only part of the time. And we have more than a half million scientific papers published each year. Now how about that for statistics. Well, we know that there are some sub-patterns too. For instance the percentage of 18 and 19 year olds in school has gone up 7% in 1940. Just think of that, only 7% in 1940 to 29% in 1950, to 38% in 1960 and it will be 50% in 1970. The percentage of 18 and 19 year olds in the total school population. Now all of these facts indicate that America is on the move--Economic prosperity and growth in broader base of education, a greater scientific and technological capacity, a wider ownership of material goods. Yet, if we look more closely, we see some other things too. And here is where I want to attract the attention of young people, young people that I have great faith in. For instance, in the shading of high income areas on the census maps--and you help you know when you are in class, economics or statistics or social science. You get all of those curves and charts and maps. They are very confusing and they change all the time, too; so try to remember them for the next test. But don't keep them forever cause you'll miss them

on the second test. The shading never falls in those high income areas. The shading never falls on areas where negroes live; that happens to be one of the sociological facts of our times. That in the time of prosperity in the rich nations, per capita income is going up but per capita income in this time of prosperity in poor nations is going down. The gap between the rich and the poor widens even as the world enjoys the greatest prosperity it has ever known. And that gap between the rich and the poor is the most dangerous threat to world peace that we have. It's much more dangerous than a nuclear weapon. As the late Pope John said, "Where there is constant want, there is no peace; and if you really want to contribute to the peace of the world, you are going to have to make up your mind to do something about closing that gap between the rich and the poor because it is a constant, living threat to your lives." And we increasingly feel, at least I do, that it is imperative to apply critical and quantitative measures to what we see and not just quantitative evaluation. That it is necessary today to see how change affects our lives and other peoples lives, not just how it adds up on these charts. We are a little chart dizzy in this country you know. Statistical analysis is the favorite past time of the sudo-intellectual. We have over 2,000 institutions of higher education in our country. The question is, what proportion of their students are receiving both a solid technical grounding and the ability to think for themselves. What is the degree of self-motivation, of ferment, of restlessness, of reaching out, of challenging old orthodoxies, and making them stand the test of objective analysis in the contemporary period. We have in our cities billions of dollars of new investments in office buildings and luxury apartments going up all over America. There isn't a city you can go to that there isn't a magnificent new office building going up or some new high rise apartment that very few can afford to live in. The question is, are the families who live in the shadows of these big buildings, these costly commercial structures; that is the majority of the people in the center of the central city, are they better housed today or worse off than they were yesterday? My fellow Americans, the truth is they are worse off and that low income housing in America is the greatest social need of this Nation. And yet we build, build,

build, build big commercial structures and say we are rich. But the lives of the people that live within the shadow of these buildings become more barren and more bitter, exploding in violence in the streets. Now, I see signs in our society that more and more of our young people are concerned about these matters. And that they are looking beyond the normal quantitative measures. I saw a sign recently when I was out in California--and they have many sign painters out there. Oh, they are really good, creative both in terms of the color on the sign and the figure as well as the message. And one of them read as follows, "I am a human being not a punch card, please do not staple, spindle or mutilate." End of quote. That sign carried quite a message in this society of mass movement, mass technology, everything big, big, big. Because you see, that sign told that an individual was trying to find his place, his identity. Everybody wants to be something. And they do not want to be caught up in the mass and lost in it. They are seeking some way to be themselves. And many of our young people today are acting or reacting to the large forces, mass productions, and cookie cutter questionnaires, which are surrounding them. We ask more people more foolish questions per day in this country than anybody could ever dream up. We are all the time quizzing people about something and we really ought to find out if they have time to think out what they want to do with their lives. Now some of these concerns of young people manifest themselves in ways that are not always constructive. Just being against bigness and mass production or impersonality is not enough. Just a strike out against what is and say I am against it, doesn't prove that you are either intelligent or courageous. It just proves that you are mean and angry or at least one or the other. Nor, might I add, that sign carrying is itself enough. Some people that carry placards would be a whole lot better off to know how to participate rather than just to protest. It is their right to dissent, it surely is their right to paint their signs, to carry them and to say what they will; but the country and they themselves would be better if they were participants, if they were involved rather than just protestants removing themselves from the real scene of struggle. But I see two constructive expressions of young people. For example, I see the work of our Peace Corp, volunteers in alien places. This is one

of the most magnificent programs that America has ever launched and has done this nation more good internationally than any other program, because the real voice of America, the real spirit of America is manifested in the daily deeds and the good works of these thousands of volunteers. I see the commitment of our young people in what we call VISTA, Volunteers in Service To America, working in the ghettos and the slums of our cities, extending the learned hand of help to someone that needs help. I see the dedication of our young people in uniform and shirt sleeves in Viet Nam and I have seen it, and let me tell you my fellow Americans that there is less complaining among them in a year of service than there is in a week of civilian life back home amongst us. This is the finest group of men that has ever served this country in combat or in civic service. I see the excellence in everyday work contributed by young men and women in government service and I see a new awareness of teenagers and young adults of the democratic political process and their increasing participation in it. Ten years ago our campus bulletin boards were monopolized by notices of social events. I can remember some ten or twelve years ago going to a college campus like this and before we could ever get on the platform, the dean of student affairs would get me aside and say, "I hope you aren't going to talk about anything controversial." And I would say immediately, because I have a rebellious spirit, I would say, "look, I don't even agree with the weather." Today, I do, I must confess. But now the bulletin boards in most of our colleges and universities are filled with notices of meetings of political activities, of volunteer work, or of an opportunity to exchange ideas to be of public service, all outside the classroom itself. Of course, there are always a few notices of going some place or wanting a date, I know, but there is a great ferment among young people today, and it is precisely in this society of bigness, of wholesale technological change, that it is all the more important for the individual citizen to become both concerned with and involved in what is happening around him. You know politics is the people's business. And if the people don't take care of their business, somebody gives them the business. They get in trouble, and many a time when I was in a classroom I would have my students say that they didn't want to get involved in

politics because they said it was too dirty. And I would say to them what I will say to you that if that is what you think, there is only one way to change it. Get your own political bar of ivory soap and get in and clean it up or shut up. If you are going to stand on the sidelines and be the critics and not be in the battle, you are not really a participant. What you are is a Monday morning quarterback and the nation is loaded with them and there is no premium on them at all. What we need out of young people today more than anything else is their willingness not only to stand there and evaluate and criticize if you please but to offer alternatives, constructive alternatives, and then get into the struggle and see if those alternatives will work. There is a wide-open opportunity for you. Now I said earlier today that there were breakthroughs that were coming in during your life time that would dwarf those of the past century and I want to take a few moments in my capacity as chairman of the Space Counsel of your government and chairman of the Oceanographic Counsel to talk to you. By the way, you will notice that whenever the Congress gives the Vice President any new duties like for example the Chairman of the Aeronautics Space Counsel or Chairman of the Marine Resources Engineering and Development Counsel that it is either a responsibility out of this world or deep in the bottom of the ocean. (laughter) I don't know why Jennings Randolph and Harley Staggers feel that way about me, but these are two remarkably and two very exciting responsibilities. All of us have read for example of the daring voyages of these early explorers, of the English and Spanish, Portugese, French, Dutch, but I think we are in a greater adventureous age than they ever knew. Just as the earth seemed to have closed in on us with no more places to discover, limited frontiers have been opened up. They are in outer space as I have said and in the depth of the ocean, and they are scientific and technological laboratories and in the mind of men. These new frontiers are rushing toward us at a breath-taking pace, and I am going to just sight some of them to you. Before 1970, I said, before 1970, we shall have achieved a man landing on the moon. I can visualize many more spectacular breakthroughs ahead--breakthroughs that the scientists with which I am privileged to work tell me that are as sure as the sun comes up in the east and sets

in the west--the exploration of the moon's surface and possibly the establishment of one or more permanent bases there, within the next ten years, the development of recoverable and reusable launching vehicles and maneuverable space ships with a consequent drastic reduction in the cost of space travel, the development of a whole family of earth orbiting stations manned and supplied by regular ferry services, sending people up in outer space to repair communication satellites. I said to George Meany, of the AFL-CIO, the other day, I said "Are you going to organize those fellows?" You've got the plumbers organized, steam fitters, electricians, what about those men who are going up there and put a new panel on a communications satellite?" That's what we're trying now, that's what Gemini II was about, that's what Gemini 12 and the Agena docking procedure was about, that's what this moving around in outer space with the tools is all about. We are practicing, and in a very few weeks we will be doing another big exercise where we will be practicing the repair of satellites in space. In fact, we are going to be building laboratories in space as big as a living room and living in them in ten years--prefabricated, sending them up piece by piece, putting them together, and filling them with the facilities that are necessary for the exploration of the stars and of the solar system. We'll be building space ports in a number of places for the departure and arrival of space craft. We will have improvement of the propulsion methods using nuclear as well as chemical sources of power. I have seen it. I was at Lossalmoose only a month ago and saw the great new nuclear propulsion units that make chemical units obsolete. Incredible developments. We'll have the launching of man probes to every part of the solar system; in fact, we are now contemplating in our space counsel and we will be meeting next week. What after the moon? What we call post apollo and we are contemplating visits to Venus and Mars at a minimum. And we are going to need nuclear power for that sustained flight. And I might add that some of our far-out dreamers, and you never know who is far out any more, have gone even further. They have even visualized the distance of future space missions to other solar systems which will take several generations to make. Now about the ocean, well I tell President

Johnson that he has charge of this land surface of the United States but as you may have noticed by looking at your map, four-fifths of the earth's surface is the ocean. What does he get?--The rest. I am in charge of oceans and I want to tell you the fish I work with are sometimes easier to manage than some of the people that he has to put up with. But truly, the exploration of the ocean resources is an exciting challenge. Radical improvements of fisheries to make up the protean deficiency prevalent amongst millions of people throughout the earth and protean deficiency not only limits the strength of the body, but it also destroys the vitality of the mind. And then we are going to have the large scale use of the salinated water to make the deserts bloom. It is now economically feasible and very shortly we shall be negotiating international agreements on this. I was at Loyola, California, ten days ago. I drank water from the ocean, desalinated water, pure, so pure they had to contaminate it so that it was fit for human consumption. Yes, indeed, it was so pure that it was absolutely pure, distilled. And they can produce it now for slightly less than 20¢ a thousand gallons, which makes it economically feasible. Five years ago it cost 80¢ a thousand gallons. And with nuclear energy it will still be reduced, and imagine what it will mean in this world when you recognize that only one percent of the earth's surface is really tillable and usable. The rest of it is desert, mountain, rock, and a good deal of it desert. And when we can bring fresh water to bear upon the desert as the scriptures say, they shall bloom, and in your lifetime just as surely as you are in this room right now. The only question that we will have is, how will we divide it up? Let us hope that man will have enough sense not to fight over it. And then the development of man's capability to live and work in extended periods on the ocean floor as pioneered by Scott Carpenter. We hope to be able to build underground cities, underwater cities in the oceans in the coming years; laboratories, places in which to live if need be, factories, and we will. We are mining the sea right now. We're digging out valuable metals. We are exploring ocean beds and taking out oils and gas. It is becoming one of the great industries. So oceanography is not just something for the laboratories. It is something for man and the development of commercial ocean farming for fish, like the transition from

hunting to agriculture that mankind made years ago. Now here are some of the developments that we can foresee in the next 15 years. Look what you are going to have ahead of you, its marvelous. Anybody that can't get excited about this is cheating the undertaker. This is terrific: In education the widespread use of teaching machines, and other new techniques which will individualize education. And something else, that we are now working on; world-wide communication satellites so we can tie in the world 25 or 30 great universities, all at one same time and you can have a lecture here at West Virginia University and it will be televised in New Delhi or Teran or Rome, or someplace else, or you can have somebody speaking at the University of Paris and it will be televised here and instantaneous translation by machines. This is already possible. This is not theoretical, it is just a matter now of the economics, and we are making the economics work. In mdeicine, the routine transplanting of internal organs from one person to another, and the development of artificial ones. We are working on an artificial heart, Dr. DeBakey right now. That will have within it an atomic battery, an isotope that we are working on that will keep that heart beating for five years time in perfect rhythm and then when the battery runs down, why you have a little time the heart can stay still for a little while until you put a new battery in it, bum, bum,bum, here she goes again. Modernn medicine, somebody once ask me, "What is your favorite line in scripture," I said it is in the Book, the Gospel According to Saint John, 'Greater things that I have done, yea shall do also.' And if the twentieth century does not prove that to be true then my name is not, Hubert Humphrey. We have raised people from the dead. They have been dead, psychologically dead. The blind have been made to see, the hald and the lame have been made to walk. The leper has been cured. And we have only begun. And the breakthroughs that we have now are just tremendous. In psychiatry the common use of drugs to control personality. That would be good. I can think of several people that I am anxious to help treat right away. (laughter) In industry, the application of automation in some of the decision-making at the management level, and this right now is going on in some of your great plants and corporations. Feeding data into the computer and

decisions being made by the machines. In engineering, the channeling of water from surplus area over thousands of miles into the deficient areas. They are possible and needed as of now. In world-wide communications the employment, as I said, of translating machines. Now, you might say that there is nothing very surprising here and you would be right. Everything that I have read to you, there is not a surprise in the lot because experience shows that it take a number of years for a new idea to make its way from its inception in the scientists mind into general application into everyday life. Therefore, the world of 15 years from now already exists in the laboratory. Everything I have said has been done in the laboratory. And now it is merely upgrading it from a laboratory experiment, a successful experiment in the laboratory, to everyday life. I saw in Lossalmoose, for example, a new high intensity excellerator. In present nuclear physics we liberate one tenth of one percent of the energy of the atom. One tenth of one percent of the energy of the atom. We now hope through the Meson excellerator, M E S O N, Meson excellerator to be able to liberate ten percent of the energy of the atom. Do you know what this would mean in terms of power in the world? Power for industry. We could eliminate all air polution which is the result of fossil fuels, toxic gases and indeed much of the hope of air pollution control lies in the utilization of nuclear energy. But once we are able to break, to split the atom and not only split it into its proton and its nutron but also to split the nuclei that is the child of both, and understand that then we are really going to be going places in terms of power. Oh, what a fascinating job I have. To go through these hugh laboratories where men 30, 35, 25, speak in a different language are at work. Exploring life itself, encleour life. Chemical control of the aging process is no longer a dream. Rising life expectancy to over 100 years, the growth of new limbs and internal organs, through biochemical stimulation. They predict that in the year of 2100 at least. The fascimile reproduction in the home of newspapers and magazines. The widespread use of robots for the use of household tasks. That will be good. Fellows you won't have to do a lick back home, just buy a robot. Completely automated highway transportation, which may be the only way that we can save ourself from mass slaughter. The commercial production of metals

by the transmutation of elements. Making the old dream of the ultimate come true. This is in the works. Welding man and machine together by a direct electro-mechanical tie in between the human brain and the computer. They tell me that it is possible. I don't know they are smarter than I am, they say that they can do it. And just possibly the control of gravity through some modification of the gravitational field. Now these things may seem incredible, but we cannot dismiss them as impossible. When we think of the staggering excelleration of scientific and technological progress which has already taken place. It took man ten thousand years from the first use of metals to the industrial revolution. Which is now only a century and a half old. By way of contrast the first commercial computer and the computer has changed our lives, it has changed all of industry. It has changed all of the systems of weapons. The computer is only 17 years old. And remember that John Glenn's space capsule is only 4 years old. And he just barely got up there and got down. And we are going to be up there for weeks, months. It is already that first computer that is only 17 years old and that space capsules are museum pieces in your own Smithsonean Institution in Washington. They are as old as the first locomotive, the first sewing machine, the first telegraph machine in terms of technology. Now somebody once said that how many more marvels may come to pass in this and future generations. They just put their hands and say this just can't be. Well I want to remind you of what Saint Augustine said, 'You know the author of The City of Man and The City of God, a great philosopher, early church father. Listen to what St. Augustine said. He said, "Man looks about the universe in awe at its wonders and forgets that he himself is the greatest wonder of all." Its man that is the great wonder and also man that is the great problem, and the great challenge. Now of all the things I have talked to you about, their benefit to man will depend most largely upon man's wisdom in using them. Many of the mistakes, the imbalances, the injustices, the undesirable social conditions caused by change which we live with today are here because earlier in this century they were not forseen or people like yourselves sat in an audience like this and said it can't be. That fellow is talking through his hat, he is wild, he doesn't know what he is talking about. They refuse to

believe. Today we have the opportunity to avoid the mistakes of the past. Everything I have said to you is not a possibility, it is a reality. We have a good idea of what lies ahead. What remains for us is not to doubt what lies ahead, but to prepare ourselves to master it. As Whitehead said, earlier in my remarks to you, to preserve order amid change and to preserve change amid order. Now how do you do it? Well, the first and absolute priority is that we realize that we can never be satisfied with the present level of knowledge. The days are pasted when a high school or college diploma could mark the end of a man's education. You learn every day or you start to dry up. To put it candidly, many jobs of ten years ago are already obsolete. And a good deal of the technical information that was funneled into your brain you should flush out. Most of you in your lifetimes will not only hold several jobs, you will pursue several careers and you will travel the world over. And yet in your present day, 60% of the American people have never been 250 miles away from home. And only 5% of the American people have ever been on an airplane. You realize what we are looking forward to in the next five years? Airplanes that carry five and six hundred people for short flights. Hopefully to be able to get 15% of the American people to start to use air space. Do you have any idea of what this means in control of flight. And the kind of computers and electronic devices that sensors that we must have to be able to guide flight. Oh, what a world! We'll do it of course because we have to. Now, we in the Federal Government are doing something at least or trying to help to build the kind of environment, where a continuous education is possible and available. We have doubled our investments in education in the last few years. We have committed ourselves to the redevelopment of people and geographic areas and we have doubled to our Federal investments in health and we are beginning now to mine the human kind. Mine. M I N E. To lift it out of the dirt. And to go into that sixth of the population that for all practical purposes for years has been forgotten and left out of the main stream. And bringing it back in to get participation, from those who are poor, and those who are deprived and those who are bitter, and those who feel helpless and hopeless. And this is going to be the most difficult task of all. Easier to put a man on the moon than to put

him on his feet. Much easier. May I suggest just for your consideration even though I am Chairman of the Space Counsel that any nation that can afford to spend billions to put a man on the moon ought to be willing to make adequate investments to help put a man on his feet right here on earth. (applause) Yes, there are many things that we need to do, to harness our resources, to exercise cooperation of every level of government. But above all, let me say the necessity for the individual citizen not to advocate his own responsibility is at the head of the list. Citizenship in this country doesn't merely give you rights. Maybe you ought to talk about that. I keep hearing about academic freedom and I believe in it. I am an old professor. And I am for academic freedom because I think it is the fountain of all other freedoms, intellectual freedom. But let me say with equal candor there is such a thing as responsibility. Both in citizenship and in what one utters. You should offer people options. Even as you offer them your subjective criticisms. Well, I am therefore concerned and yet encouraged. I am encouraged because I see the personal involvement of this generation. And it must be sustained and increased. This thing called nostalgia, this looking back, this desire to a simpler world. You know there are a lot of people now that really want to stop the world and get off. And if I thought we could, I have some suggestions for the first exits. But, some people think that I should be the first. But, may I say quite candidly that you can't stop the world and you can't go back. The individual cannot shrug his shoulders and withdraw to his television opiate. The late shows. You know there is something sinister about those late shows. They really do take you back. And while they are entertaining I don't think they are very inspiring. Leaving decisions and matters of individual concerns guarantee the weakening of our democratic system and the victory of faceless impersonality. And to leave this field of technology and science and change that I have talked about unharnessed and unchanneled. The question that we have to ask ourselves is, can we make science our servant rather than our master? Are we willing to do as much in terms of the liberal sciences, the applied and basic sciences that we teach and study. For all the actions in the world by governments and by private institutions within our society will be fruitless if they are done to the individual

citizen instead of with him and by him. And the temptation now is to do things for him rather than to do things with him, and by him. This has been one of the weaknesses in our foreign policy. We Americans have been so fabulously rich that when we get into some trouble we say write a check. We even do it in terms of parking our car. Rather than to obey the law we take the tickets and write a check. Check book mentality, check book morality, check book foreign policy. And very candidly, my friend, all of us are guilty of it, most all at least. And it has a way of corroding and corrupting. Individual responsibility and participation--these are the most effective antidotes to alienation, estrangement, and dehumanization, and all of the other phenomenon which we are beginning to see about us, and which concerns us. If we continue to increase our knowledge, however, if we effeciently use the tools at hand and if we nurture in our society a sense of individual participation and responsibility, I believe that we will not only be able to master science and the machine, but be able to create a freer and more rewarding world environment. The whole purpose of all of this science is to emancipate man. The whole purpose of all of this science is to develop what Plato taught of the philosopher, King. And what Aristotle really talked about in much more meaningful terms, the full man, the total man, the enriched man. Social and political change. Harder to predict and to create than material change, to be sure that they are inter-related. But I cannot believe that as man increasingly masters his environment, as he increasingly used his knowledge to reduce many of today's most urgent human pressures, he may also learn to live more peacefully and with greater harmony with his neighbor. That is our goal. If he does not, the chances for his survival, given the awesome possibilities of destruction which are in all of this science and technology, will not be very great. Survival will be hanging by a very thin thread. So my fellow students, as we enter this third quarter or shall I say this final chapter of the twentieth century, this last third, I suggest that what lies ahead for you is a world of unbelievable advance and progress if you will it. The challenges and the opportunities are immense. The most exciting and adventurous spirit error in human history. Explorations are being made that literally mistify the whole mind of man. And I am competent that you will make

change your ally, if you want to, and not make it your enemy. So, ladies and gentlemen I came here to enjoy your Festival of Ideas. And I have tried to put out a few ideas both in science and technology, which are realities. And then to say to you above all that the most difficult problem that God ever knew was man's nature and what to do about it. And the real task of mankind is to be able to organize a social system that can channel the constructive energies of individuals, to individual betterment. And in our time, of course, the most immediate task is to find a way to adjust to an enduring peace through the ever wider use of knowledge and wisdom, but also with the ever-present recognition that knowledge and wisdom alone without spirit and morality are not enough. Thank you very much." (applause)

Question and Answer Period

What are some of the things that you want to talk about? In fact, in most of my university appearances I just do it that way. I just have a panel where they start working me over because I am to the opinion that every good red-blooded American is entitled to a bite, one bite out off a live American politician. And I thought that you ought not to be biting on Senator Randolph, or Congressman Staggers or Governor Hulett Smith, but take me. Now, if there are any questions I surely wouldn't want to foreclose that opportunity to you, and I shall try to be as candid as I can. If you have a question just raise your hand and speak up. This is your chance. The question is, what steps do I think that our government should take, I gather, to reduce or control the conflict in Asia and, I gather by that, you see if I am right, to bring this to a halt. Is that right? Let me just say first of all that our involvement in Asia is not something new. This is something that needs to be clearly understood by the American people regardless of your current views on Viet Nam. We have been a Pacific and Asian power ever since the beginning of our republic, that is our interest has been there. A great deal of our interest. We have a Pacific coast line, and, of course, in the latter part of the 19th century and the early part of the 20th century we have had definite interests there. First in Hawaii and Philippines but long before that our clipper ships opened up China and touches the coast of China and we were in Japan. We had interests through our churches and our missionaries and student and educational work. Three wars in this generation have started in which we have been involved in Asia: Pearl Harbor, the Korean War and Viet Nam. And I might add that under these wars we have been the one to start them. We were attacked at Pearl Harbor, there was open aggression in Korea, and we came to the aid of a nation that asked our aid and was a protocol member of the treaty in Southeast Asia after it had been the victim of aggression. Whatever may be your feelings about our present military situation there, our involvement, let me just make this clear. This government your government, has tried to pursue since Dwight Eisenhower and the administration

of John Kennedy and of Lyndon Johnson a policy of finding a peaceful solution to the conflict in Southeast Asia. You keep in mind that that part of the world, Viet Nam, South Viet Nam itself, was dominated a thousand years by Chinese colonialism mandarin rule a thousand years, a hundred years of French colonialism and 26 years of war, since 1940 you can see some of the problems that we have there. It is a wonder that there is anything left, but there is. There is a strong and vital people there. President Johnson's first major initiative in this area was in the John Hopkins speech of last April, a year ago this past April, when he said that we were prepared for unconditional negotiations. In other words, we were prepared even to discuss the possibility of negotiations with no preconditions. He also said at that time that we were prepared to treat north and south Viet Nam as neutrals, non-aliened, that we were prepared to aid economically both the north and the south. He said we seek no destruction of any regime. And that has been a continuity of policy. He invited North Viet Nam to participate in our economic assistance of bilateral and multilateral arrangements. To become a member of the Asian development bank. But we happen to be a member of the United Nations and I think that some of the students here might be interested to know that the two major obligations of the United Nations charter are as follows: I served as a delegate to the United Nations for two years. The two major obligations are number one to surpress aggression, those are the exact words, and to promote self-determination. Now I know that many nations do not live by those obligations. And that happens in your community life. A lot of people take on a lot of duties and obligations and do not fulfill them. If that does not relieve us a lot of that responsibility. There is unprovoked aggression in North Viet Nam and we have said that we are resistant. We will tempt with other free nations to resist it. And our other desire is to promote self-determination. To permit the people of South Viet Nam to work out their own destiny. To decide if they want to be a part of North Viet Nam or whether they want to be an independent state, what form of government they want, whether they want to be an aliened country or neutral country. And we have said that we are wanting, our purpose is a succession of hostilities. Cease fire on both parts. We are

prepared as of this very moment to stop the bombing of the north on the very moment that the north stops its aggression on the south. Or the continued infiltration of its troupes. Your government this week stopped bombing the demilitarized zone even though the demilitarized zone has been a corridor for the infiltration of thousands of North Vietnamese regulars--a total violation of every agreement ever signed by North Viet Nam. The demilitarized zone is supposed to be what it says, demilitarized. And because it was demilitarized and because there was no forces there, thousands of North Vietnamese regulars with vast quantities of ammunitions and weapons have moved across and killed hundreds and hundreds of American marines. Nevertheless, your government today stopped the bombing this week in that area in order to have the International Control Commission which comes out of the Geneva Conference in the Laos agreements of 1962. To have the International Control Commission go in there and find out the degree of infiltration and whose responsibility it is. This is one of our steps for peace. Arthur Goldberg recently outlined in the United Nations further efforts that we would make. We are prepared to engage in another Geneva Conference, as the Geneva Conference of 1954. We are prepared to have the International Control Commission made up of Poland, Canada and India to call a conference to determine whether or not there is any basis for negotiations. We have accepted the good offices of the Secretary General of the United Nations of the Pope. We have accepted the good offices of the 17 non-aligned nations headed by Yugoslavia. We have even worked with the Vice-President of the United Arab Republic. As he sought to open up negotiations with Hanoi. As Vice President of the United States, I went to 14 different Asian nations in the pursuit for some hope of peace. Primarily to India and Pakistan. Two big countries. I asked the President of India if he could use his good offices to get us even a chance to talk. Just to sit down and talk about the possibilities of negotiations. What do you think he told me? He said, "They don't want any peace, Mr. Vice President. They do not want it. So it isn't your government that stands in the void of peace. I can say on my authority as a member of the President's Cabinet, under my oath, under the constitution of my authority as a member of the National Security Counsel and one who has been

involved in every decision relating to our policy in Viet Nam. I can say this to you and to anybody else. We are ready to go anyplace in this world. Anywhere, anytime, to meet with anybody to bring about a political negotiated settlement of the struggle in Asia, in Southeast Asia, in Viet Nam. (applause) Regretably our problem is, we can't find the right people to talk to. But we will persevere, because I believe that you have to be just as courageous in pursuing this elusive thing called peace as you do in pursuing a military operation. And we are unafraid to walk the extra step for peace, we have the courage to do that. And we are unafraid to make our stand in the field of battle. I don't know whether I can say to you that we have any reason for encouragement, but I do know this, that when President Johnson goes to the far east on this important journey, that he will have two hopes in mind. Two objectives. First, that we have a better understanding between we and the United States and the peoples of Asia. To encourage their initiatives, to encourage their own development. To let them know that we are staying with them in their peaceful development and in their protection. Secondly, that we will appeal to every nation and to every leader that we can find to help us to find one thread that may lead to the table of conference and negotiation. To seek peace. But let the world not misunderstand our purpose. We do not seek peace as cowards, and we do not seek peace by being willing to sell out the lives of other people. But we seek an honorable peace in which we are perfectly willing to sit down with adversaries and find out if there is some way to bring this cartilage to a halt. Because this world is bleeding itself to death. The world needs the resources that are being wasted in armament. One of my favorite topics--Latin America, two billion dollars a year in weapons. Latin America, two billion dollars a year in armament. And the alliance for progress makes less progress than it should, because those countries are wasting their resources on obsolete armament. If there ever was a need for a regional disarmament pact, it is in Latin America. The day that we can beat these swords into plow shears, this will be a better world. We'll start to close that gap between the rich and the poor. I am the author of the Disarmament Agency. I was one of the authors of the Nuclear Test Ban Treaty, as you know. I have spent a lifetime in the work for peace.

The author of the Peace Corp and the Senate of the United States. And we simply have to find a way and a means to bring these hostilities to an end. But to do it without turning over 15 million south Vietnamese to communist totalitarianism. Because if we do, there will be no end. Aggression and aggressors have an incessable appetite. I personally believe, my fellow Americans, that we are today taking our stand to prevent World War III. That is my own personal view. And I think that when the militant Asian communism finds out that it can't run over humanity, when it finds out that aggression cannot be an accepted mode of international conduct for the attainment of political purposes. That on that day, then your life is safe. Until Asian militant communism finds that out, your life is in danger. Russian communism has found it out. The Soviet Union is willing today to live in peaceful co-existence, not particularly because they like us, not because they want our system, but because they have learned that this is too dangerous an age to play around in aggression. Asian militant communism headed out of Peking China has to find it out too. And when we take our stand as we are now, in Viet Nam as we did in Greece and Turkey in the 40's as we did in Berlin as we had to do in Cuba in 1962 when we take our stand my fellow Americans then you can have some hope, that you can be married and have a family and live in peace. Until we can do it, you have no such hope. That's my view. Thank you very much.



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