

ADDRESS BY¹⁰
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY³³
TO THE LUTHERAN STUDENT SEMINAR
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Thank you, Dr. Tietjen, my old friend Dr. Van Deusen, and my fellow Minnesotans who are here. I can't tell you how good and reassuring it seems to have Susan Thompson and Howard Holcomb here, just sort of giving me that extra measure of strength and confidence that a man needs under these trying circumstances.

I am very happy to welcome all of you to your nation's capital. I know that you are from many parts of our country, and I know that you have had a very rich and rewarding experience already in the Capital. So, we'll try to make this one at least not on the debit or deficit side, but try to keep the books balanced, if we can.

Today's Schedule

Now, Ray Scherer was supposed to be here with you and, as was indicated, a little event came up that required his absence from the community of Washington. May I say that that same event required that I be a good deal more attentive to some of the things that are happening in Washington. When the President is out of town, the Vice President is supposed to tend to business. I have been an exceedingly busy man this morning and I wasn't at all sure that I was going to get over here, even as much as to have one slice of that fruit cocktail that you provided, much less to be able -- hopefully -- to answer some of your questions and participate in this discussion.

NATO Trip

I was told only Saturday that I was to prepare myself for a 14-day visit to Western Europe. When you travel these days as a public official, you don't go just as you did when you were a Senator. I said to my staff just about ten minutes ago, "Good grief, I've been in Europe half a dozen times, and I never had all this monkey business, all this trouble." Now you can't arrive until a certain hour, because if you arrive too soon the Prime Minister won't be there, and you can't come on this day because the Foreign Minister is in such and such a country. It's a problem of balancing of days and times and personalities, the likes of which I've never encountered before in my life.

On top of that, Congress is in session, and we have a very heavy load of work to do here. So, if I have to run away from you a little prematurely, don't hold it against me. I am just one hour behind in my schedule (which is not unusual at all). I started one hour earlier than usual in order to catch up on some things, but that went by the board.

Dialogue

I want to make just two or three observations, and then, I want to throw this meeting open to your questions. I believe that what we need more than anything else now is the frank give and take of dialogue, of conversation, of questions and answers.

Season of Rebirth¹⁷

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I suppose that the Easter season itself more fully typifies in its spirit what we are trying to do in this nation

than any other one time, because it is the period, of course, of resurrection, of rebirth. What we are really seeking to do in the United States today, above all else, is to have a rebirth of the human spirit and an adventure in opportunity.

Adventure in Opportunity

If there are two words that I would like to use to characterize what is the desire and the design of both public and private agencies today, or public officials and private individuals, it is these. We want to bring more and more of our fellow Americans within this great adventure called America and what America means, this quest for self respect, the fulfillment of human dignity, the remarkable adventure that this nation has had in opportunity for more people than any other people or any other nation has ever known.

I know that you read about the war on poverty. Many of you have been deeply concerned about the encroachment of the large, the huge, government upon the rights of the individual. As to the latter, the encroachment of government, you ought to always be concerned about that, but you want to put it in proper perspective.

Release of Human Spirit

As to the former, the war on poverty, I have a feeling that there is a better term for it, and I've used it. What we're really seeking is not merely to wage war on poverty; what we're really seeking to do is to emancipate, to release the tremendous capability and talent, this God-given talent which millions of our fellow human beings have that has been lost, or at least submerged or encrusted in bitterness, in

frustration, in hatred, in discrimination, in prejudice, in economic and spiritual poverty. This is why I consider the struggle that we wage today in our urban ghettos, the struggle that we wage today out in our rural areas, our areas of rural poverty, more than a war on poverty. It is a release of the human spirit, an adventure in opportunity that every person ought to experience.

I believe that I can document my case. The question is not whether or not we have succeeded or gained our objective; the question is whether or not we are making progress; whether we are beginning to find some of the answers. For a long period of time (and I want to call your attention to this, because I have served here in Washington now for many years, since 1949) -- for a considerable period of time, people really talked themselves into believing there weren't any poor in this country. At least, we conveniently ignored them.

Previous Indifference to Poor

I mention this because sometimes young people come to me and say, "If there wasn't a war on in Vietnam, look how much more we could do." And, I say, "Yes, that's true. We pray for the day that that struggle will come to an end, so that we can put all these resources to work for a much better, constructive, peaceful purpose. But, what were you doing when there wasn't any war, what did you and your parents do after the war in Korea? There were poor in America. The cities had their slums. The farmer was feeling the pinch, many of them of low income and a vast number of them in unbelievable

poverty. There was rank racial discrimination and prejudice and bigotry. What did you do about it? We didn't have any war, but you didn't do anything."

As a matter of fact, during the period of the 50's, we tried to gloss over it and sort of pretend that it wasn't here, push it aside, ignore it. All at once in the early 1960's, it came to our attention apparently some way, somehow, that there were vast numbers of our fellow citizens who had never experienced the joys of full American citizenship, who had never even had the opportunity to vote, much less to have an education. It was finally driven home to us after a number of violent and non-violent demonstrations that racial intolerance -- racial discrimination -- was a fact of our national existence about which something had to be done.

I went through a long period in the nation's capital in being a "civil righter." I went through a long period in this community of advancing propositions such as Medicare, Job Corps, VISTA, Peace Corps, the National Defense Education Act. I went all of that period through the experience of being slapped down -- day after day, year after year, and being called all kinds of names because we were concerned about "the least of these."

Bearing Christian Witness

I've never been able to understand how a person who professed the Christian religion could ignore social injustice. I never could understand how anyone who professed to believe in the New Testament, in the teachings of the New Testament,

could be unconcerned about the poor. I never could understand how people who believed that this was a government of the people, by the people and for the people could expect that government to have little or no interest in the welfare of the people; or, to put it another way, how you could stand in the way of that government trying to do something constructively for the people.

Experiments in Human Betterment

Well, we've been at it now. I don't want to make a case of trying to convince you that we've done everything that we should, because obviously each generation will find more to do. Nor would I have you believe that all of our efforts have been successful, because they haven't. But we Americans are very pragmatic people -- we try; we gain experience by trial and error; we make progress by experimentation. We're not dogmatic or doctrinaire people; we have no closely knit ideology, or any highly refined inflexible doctrine or dogma. We do believe in the exercise of what we call individual freedom, or academic freedom, or intellectual freedom. We do believe in experimentation, and that is what we are doing.

Recent Human Progress

Now we're making some mistakes, but I want to say that much of what we have done today has been very fruitful.

Just a few facts quickly to you -- there are one million young people today in training for jobs; six years ago, there were none. And yet six years ago there

were twice as many unemployed young people as there are today. These young people are being trained for work, so that they can become self-sustaining, self-respecting, self-helping citizens.

There are 35,000 young people who have come out of our slums who, after careful testing, were seen to have fine intelligence and ability, who have been sent on to the great universities of this nation -- 35,000 who before were lost, bitter, frustrated, gone, wasted human resources. Those are the 35,000 that are today in Project Upward Bound.

There are six million young men and women today in our institutions of higher education, of which one million are there because of Federal loans, grants and scholarships. I might say that our institutions of higher education, several of which are represented here, are much better today because of aid to higher education.

There are eight million youngsters in the United States today who were disadvantaged, most of them of minority groups, who are the beneficiaries of elementary and secondary aid to education -- who never had had a chance before in their lives. There are over six million people in the last two years who have been lifted out of what we call the level of poverty, and for the first time in their lives are productive, tax-paying, producing, consuming citizens with a sense of responsibility.

Community Action Workers

There are over a thousand community action committees operating in most of the counties of the United States. And there are 56,000 people who have been taken out of the area of no responsibility, with no participation in public affairs, who are today actual participants in these committees, helping to design their own programs, work out their own future, hopefully to rebuild their own lives in their own communities.

The Volunteer Generation

Now, after having said that, let me tell you there is much more that needs to be done. All I'm saying is, we've begun. We have begun; we have started. Look what has happened in terms of voluntary action, which I think is the characteristic attribute of your generation. I call this generation the "volunteer generation." This is the generation that has given us over 10,000 people for the Peace Corps. I remember when I introduced the legislation for the Peace Corps, they called it "a haven for beatniks and draft dodgers." That's right, that's exactly the terminology that was used on the floor of the Senate of the United States. It's now nice and respectable and receives high praise, but it "werent always that way" -- as they say -- even though may I say, I saw no reason for the original charges against it.

Look what's going on in VISTA -- 5,000 of our young people in Volunteers in Service to America, and many more coming in.

Headlines in Perspective^{yl}

When I read, for example, press notes of the troubles on our campuses, I seldom find the full story. For example, on a campus that I visited only recently where there was a considerable amount of headlines as to certain activities -- the Stanford University campus -- that same university has a larger percentage of its students in the Peace Corps, in VISTA, in Community Action, in tutorial work than any other campus in the United States. That's the good news out of Stanford, not the news of a handful of folks who decided that they are going to bring disgrace upon themselves and the university; and it was only a handful.

But literally, among the thousands of young people who are attending the University of California at Berkeley and Stanford University at Palo Alto, these great universities are pouring out literally thousands of competent, trained, able, gifted, talented and many times unselfish public servants and private citizens. They ought to get a pat on the back, instead of having the whole world think that somehow 250 students out of 60,000 or 40,000 represent the temperament of the whole campus.

When I think of what's going on in the Teacher Corps, where teachers are volunteering to go into the most difficult areas of our cities to help youngsters who have never had a chance in their life, and when I think of what's going on in the Job Corps and the Neighborhood Youth Corps, where we have had over 5,000 of our young people for the first time in their lives have gainful employment, I think there

is something that we can look to with a reasonable degree of, not necessarily pride, but let's say of a realization of progress and of development.

Achieving World Peace

Now, of course, the most difficult assignment that we have today is the assignment to obtain a world in which the conditions of peace can prevail. I know that this is what's most on your heart.

Our Young Population

May I say that one of the things that it would be well for you to keep in mind as we view the world scene today is that over 50% of the entire population of the United States today has no recollection at all of World War II, none. Those that were alive at that time were too young to recall it, and better than 50% of our entire population has no recollection at all of the events that lead up to World War II.

Depression in the '30's

It's very much like my own youngest son, who had heard his father talk about the depression a hundred times (if he ever heard him talk about it once) and who every time would more or less yawn. Not long ago, attending one of our fine universities, Hamline University out in St. Paul, he called me on the phone desperately and said, "Dad, remember when you used to talk to me about the depression?" I said, "Yes." He said, "Well, I've got to write a term paper on it; what do you know about?" I said, "Well, you ought to have listened to your Dad." He told me frankly, "I just didn't think it meant very much, Dad -- you know, just another one of those things we talk about."

Well, there isn't a person here of the younger set that's ever known a depression. A few of us that are a little over 40 may have. I hope you never have to learn about it, but those memories are much different than any academic memory you'll ever have. As I once said, I learned more economics in one South Dakota dust storm than I learned in seven years at the University. Make no mistake about it, I've heard all the economic theory, I've taught it, read it, digested it, and threw a lot of it away because it didn't work. What really counts are the experiences you've had, and, of course, your experiences now are different from the experiences of any other generation.

Aggression in the '30's and '40's

When people today, for example, get up before an audience and say that one of the great threats in the world today is the threat of aggression, there are young audiences that say, "Well, is that a very big threat?"

Understandably, they raise a very legitimate question; because to them, aggression has never really been a serious fact of life. Yet, the '30's are a miserable memorial to the failure of free man to take a stand against those who wanted to use brute force as a means of obtaining political judgments and political decisions. Therefore, it is not to be unexpected that there'd be a little difference in point of view between a man 50 years of age and a young man or young woman of 20, or 21, or 19 or 25 years of age.

The Threat of Poverty to Peace

So with this as a sort of background to my thinking, I'd like to toss this open to you, to remind you that maybe the greatest threat to world peace today is not armament, even though I think the waste in armament is colossal. One of the reasons I go next week to Western Europe is the hope that we can gain some agreement on the nuclear non-proliferation treaty, the hope that we can make some more progress in the whole subject of disarmament to which I've given a life of public service.

The really great threat to world peace is what Pope John described: "where there is constant want, there is no peace." The greatest threat today to world peace is poverty, hunger, illiteracy, unemployment. And, my fellow Americans, the gap between the rich and the poor nations has widened in your lifetime, not narrowed.

For the first time in modern civilization, with all of our fabulous productive capacity and all of our great scientific and technical know-how, the world faces starvation in vast areas. It is incredible that it should, but it does, because population is outstripping food production. For the next decade, mankind on this earth will be in a desperate race between the amount of food and the growing population, whether the amount of food will be equal to the number of mouths to be fed.

Self-Help

Therefore, might I suggest that the greatest concern that you ought to have today is: -- how do you help those who

desperately need help, and how do we do it without looking as if we are just being their welfare agency? How do we do it in a manner that permits them to have self-respect, to maintain their own sense of self-pride, to maintain a sense of human dignity and self-respect? This is not an easy task. The easiest thing in the world is just to give them food. The most difficult thing in the world is to have a program that helps people lift themselves out of their own abyss to higher ground, and these are the things we work on.

All right, that's just preliminary. Now what do you want to ask?

QUESTIONS AND ANSWERS

Q. There is a large part of the American public which responsibly and honestly disagrees with the Administration's position on Vietnam. What effect has this responsible dissent had on the Administration, or what value has it been?

A. Well, there is always a sizable section of the American public that disagrees on everything. That's not to treat your question facetiously. I served in the Congress, and may I say you're lucky if you can ever get 51 votes out of 100 in the Senate. It means that there is always a large bloc that disagrees.

There's a large bloc of the public that disagrees on Medicare, and for 16 years, they prevented it. There's a large bloc of the population that disagrees on the Supreme

Court's decision on prayer in schools. There's a large bloc of the population that disagrees on our Foreign Trade Expansion Act. They think we ought to have high tariffs, and that's coming up again.

Dissent

Now, all of those areas of dissent are voiced and they have their ways of being brought to bear upon the councils of government, upon legislative proposals.

Those of us who serve in public life have to stand the test of the public ballot box, and we never get unanimity. I'd hate to live in a society in which everything was unanimous. There are some societies that try to get it that way, but they go through some rather extreme measures to obtain that kind of a vote. In our society, the point of view of those who disagree on all of these issues is heard, is brought to the public. It sometimes affects elections, and it can change public policy.

Past Foreign Policy Differences

In August, 1940, they thought we ought not to have Selective Service. They just thought that Hitler was a playboy, you didn't need to really worry about him, he wasn't going to bother the United States. And by one vote it was saved, one vote. There was a large group that didn't think we ought to fortify Guam three months before the attack on Pearl Harbor. There was a large body of columnists that thought that Hitler had won the war in 1940, and wrote editorials right in this city saying that we ought to make peace with him, that after

all he wasn't so bad -- he'd only killed some Jews. Really, this is a fact, this is what they wrote right here in this Capital --- eminent columnists -- a large body of opinion.

Then, in Minnesota, we had the America First movement. I remember as a student at the University of Minnesota being for lend-lease. I remember being pummelled physically, and having a microphone smashed right around my face, as a student speaking on the campus of the University of Minnesota. I remember there was a small **Fascist** group that tore the podium apart, and said, why this is a terrible thing this fellow is doing, and they beat us up. I remember that. You weren't around at the time, but I remember it very well.

And there was a large body of public opinion that didn't agree with the Marshall Plan. As a matter of fact, in the election of 1948, the Progressive Party opposed the Marshall Plan and entered a candidate in the field.

Civil Rights Controversy

There was a large body of public opinion, and still to this day, that doesn't agree with Federal activity in the field of civil rights. I fought this battle for 18-20 years. To this day and hour, we can't pass some civil rights bills in Congress, but we keep battling.

This doesn't mean that the other fellow is always wrong. This just simply means that he has the right to state his case. But, if he doesn't win his case, it doesn't mean that he does have the right to tear out the microphone, to break up property. We believe that there should be freedom of expression.

Stand
I've been a dissenter in many things. I was a dissenter when I came to Congress. There were 22 votes for civil rights when I came to Congress -- that makes you a real dissenter! I introduced civil rights legislation. I made a speech in the Democratic Convention in 1948. Every Southern state walked out. That's really some dissent. I had the finger pointed at me from the platform in Philadelphia, and it was said the Mayor of Minneapolis had destroyed the prospects of victory for the Democratic Party! It was said by the then Majority Leader of the Senate. I remember taking a stand, but I didn't go around wanting to destroy people. I just had a point of view and I expressed it.

Anti-Social Actions

I think there is a difference between dissent based upon principle, upon opinion, even prejudice, and dissent based upon violence and riots, and anti-social actions. The greatest danger to dissent, to the protection of dissent, is the abuse of it.

I was up here, for example, not long ago at the Book Awards in New York. There are two ways to burn a book -- one is to burn it, the other is never to read it. And there are two ways to be authoritarian -- one is to be so authoritarian that you don't let anybody talk, and the other is to be so authoritarian that you walk out and don't listen to anybody. What we need in this country is the willingness to listen, because the democratic process requires dialogue and respect for the other fellow's point of view.

Respect for Dissent on Vietnam³⁾

I don't happen to think that people who disagree with me on Vietnam are any less patriotic than I am. As a matter of fact, one of my closest personal friends and a man I hope is re-elected is Senator George McGovern of South Dakota; Senator McGovern and Hubert Humphrey do not agree on all aspects of Vietnam. We agree on some parts, but not all. But, my goodness, I respect his point of view. Not only that, I think that it is healthy that his point of view is expressed. I don't think that a government in a free country ought ever to make decisions of life or death without a minority voice, if there is one, being heard, and not only being heard, being respected and being heard patiently.

I happen to disagree incidentally with Senator Fulbright on his point of view about Vietnam. I happen to think also that he is one of the great United States Senators. Because I disagree with him doesn't mean that I think he ought to be banished from the Congress; to the contrary, I think that he is very much needed in the Congress. I wish that he had a different point of view on this subject. But he used to wish that I had a different point of view on civil rights. I remember when I was censured in the Senate, when every Senator got up and walked out on me once. I don't think that helped them, I think it helped my cause in the long run.

Guaranteed Annual Income

Q. What is your position on guaranteed income and the reverse income tax?

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A. Well, I haven't arrived at any position on it, to be quite frank about it. I think it's far too complicated to say that you're for or against it, because there are a hundred and one different ways of what we call a guaranteed annual income, or an approach to it. The negative tax, which I guess is what you are talking about, is where you actually pay money back to some people who can't pay taxes.

We're not prepared as yet to accept that as a program of this government. However, we have not rejected it. We have asked that every one of these guaranteed income proposals be looked at as to their effectiveness, as to their acceptability, as to whether or not this would really do what you want to have done in terms of combatting poverty, of helping people lift themselves to a better stature, a better place in life. You see, I have never really believed that the great sin of poverty, or the great evil of poverty, was just poverty of the purse. I think there is also the poverty of motivation, the poverty of the spirit, the poverty of a man's desire to make something out of his life.

Need for Job Orientation

I'll give you an example. I just came away from a city where an employer offered 100 jobs. We found 100 people for those 100 jobs. Those 100 people were taken by bus -- given something that you wouldn't be given -- they were given a free ride. They were taken down, they were registered-- 100 young men went in and took 100 jobs. Inside of three days, 85 of them had left. They didn't want the jobs.

Well, I could say: -- that proves that; they're just no good. I could say that. But that didn't prove that at all. You know what it proved? It proved that they weren't ready for the job. Now what did we learn from that? We learned that we can take another 100 boys -- just like them -- or take the same 100 young men between the ages of 19 and 22. We take them and put them in orientation courses. We teach them, first of all, just to wash their face, just to wear clean clothes, not nice clothes, just clean clothes. We teach them how to get the bus and go from the bus stop to their job, how to meet a shop foreman, who he is and what purpose he serves. We teach them such simple things as what do you do when a coffee break happens. Among the first hundred on the coffee break that happened, 50 left; they just took off; they didn't even stop to get their check.

Now what did we find out after a six weeks' orientation course with another hundred? We found out that that hundred went to a job and 95 are still on the job, because they had been changed. There was motivation, there was adjustment, they had learned something about industrial discipline, they knew how to punch a time clock. The other hundred didn't know how to punch a time clock when they came in; they didn't know how to punch it when they went out; they didn't know how to take care of their own time.

You must say to yourself: -- Is this true, could it be? The fact is, yes. We're at a point now where anybody who has

any skill, semi-skill, even common labor can get a job. What we're down to now is the hard core of unemployables under present standards of industry and under their present standards of development.

Police Records

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So we go to industry and we say, "Now, look. Reshape your job descriptions a little, because the people we have to offer you may have a police record." Most everybody in the hard core that we're trying to get a job for in these great urban centers does have a police record. Well, most of your big industries today that have any kind of government contract say, "Well, if you have a guy with a police record, you can't take him in." The personnel officer isn't about ready to lose his job, you know, just to be a nice social fellow for somebody that has a police record.

So we've got to get the Defense Department and industry or NASA or whatever government agency may have a contract with this company to come to an understanding with the company that you can have a certain amount of misdemeanors in the police record, and you can still be employed.

And then we've got to get to that person, get inside of him, so to speak, into his mind, into his heart, into his spirit to want to have a job, to want to be something.

Recruiting the Poor

You know how we have to recruit these people -- it isn't easy to recruit them. There isn't one of you here

who could recruit them, You're too educated; you look too good, you've never experienced their lives. We wouldn't even offer you a job to try to recruit them. You get the poor to recruit the poor. You make a breakthrough in a gang, and I mean a gang that's got lead pipes and clubs, that's been working on each other. You get one or two out of that gang, and he becomes a community representative, as we call him. He goes out and recruits in the back alleys, the taverns, the clubs, and the pool halls, and wherever else. He recruits and brings them in to our training or what we call our urban progress centers.

The poor recruit the poor. They believe them. They wouldn't believe you or believe me. As a matter of fact, there is a great distrust of us. So we have to get one, as we say, of their experience, of their background, who has come up and found that there is a new day. They do a wonderful job with their own neighbors and their old friends. In fact, today, out in Watts, California, and in the Bay area, the best workers we have in the War on Poverty out there, the best people we have to see that riots don't take place again without using clubs -- are the people who led the first riots, or were involved in them, and have found that there is something better in life than that. They've come around -- it's almost like a religious experience; it is a fact. It really is a spiritual experience. We're learning so much from these people, and what a wonderful thing it is.

Helping One Individual

I just want to leave this thought with you -- if some day in your life, you can say that you helped somebody else get a new life, you will have done more than most anybody else that you ever met. We have to personalize this. We can't just think in terms of millions, of thousands, and hundreds. Somehow

or other, we need to think about: - What can I do in this great big society of ours, of big government, of big business, of big labor, and big money, big, big, big? What can I do as an individual to help somebody else become an individual, in the true meaning of the word individual?

Political Clubs and Social Work

This is where some of you as gifted students come in. I told a group of young politicians the other day, they were what they called Teen-Dems -- I said that political parties have lost some of their meaning and I told them why. There was^v a time when a political party served a social function as well as a political function. The old Kelly-Nash machine, the old Tammany Hall machine, was a kind of welfare agency. When an immigrant would come, they would bring him a basket of groceries, some clothes, get him a job. And the ward leader took care if little Timmy O'Rourke got arrested. He went down to see the precinct captain and said, "Now Timmy isn't a bad boy, you know. Let him out. His mother needs him at home." Or, if Ollie Olson got in trouble, they got him out. They were sort of a social worker, benefactor, political leader, all put together.

Now we have hired social workers and everything else, so the poor political ward leader doesn't have very much to do except get in trouble, and he's lost his purpose. Now, what do we need today? I said there ought not to be a single Young Republican Club or Young Democratic Club (they ought not let them even be chartered) unless that club can say, "We are involved in this community; we're out working in recreation; we're out on a playground; we're out with people in tutorial courses; we're doing things that need to be done to help other people." And I said you'd be surprised how effective that kind of politics is. It would be a lot more effective than going out just making speeches.

CIA and Students

Q. Would you comment on the formerly secretive involvement of student organizations with the CIA and how has it affected our image abroad?

A. My first response to you is this: We definitely need the CIA in this country. Every other country has one of its kind. The question is as to the methods that are pursued by the Central Intelligence Agency, and what this contact ought to be.

There is, as you know, a Presidential task force looking into this, and there is a great deal of study and discussion going on now with academic leaders, with civic leaders, with foundation leaders. It is my view that the upshot of this will be that a special private fund will be established that will work with student groups and student leaders, so that government involvement -- which most people interpret as a kind of spy involvement (if it was a spy involvement, they were overpaid because they didn't do much good spying)--that kind of involvement will no longer be present.

I think that it would be much more open for our country, and particularly for the student organizations in our academic communities, if we would face up to the fact that there are a certain number of activities that students alone cannot take care of or pay for, or even colleges cannot take care of or pay for; they need a form of subsidization. But that subsidization should come out of private resources and not out of governmental resources. That subsidization can be for

such purposes as exchanges, as to attend student conferences and to maintain the viability of a student organization so that it doesn't fall into the hands of those who do exactly what our government is being criticized for, but do it so secretly that most people don't know about it.

1968 Elections

Q. Of the leading 1968 contenders, which one do you think is the most likely candidate?

A. You know, there's one thing I found out, that my Republican friends never like to have me pick their candidates. I say in all sincerity, I think it's really too[✓] early to know just how this is going to work out. Fortunately for the Republican Party, they have a number of contenders, and fortunately for the Democratic Party, we know it. We also know that when you have a number, they get in each other's hair. It is too early to predict.

Job Corps

Q. How much truth is there to the statements about the trouble going on in Job Corps Centers, and if it is true, what can be done to correct the situation there?

A. There is some truth to the trouble that is going on in some of these centers. But let me tell you what we are working with. We didn't come to Augsburg, we didn't come to Gustavus Adolphus, and say, "Well now, how many of you would like to drop out of the university and join the Job Corps?" The young men and women who have gone into the Job

Corps in the beginning are, most of them, already in trouble some way, somehow.

Most of them are school dropouts -- about 95% of them. Only 5% of them have ever had a job in their lives. A large percent of them are totally illiterate -- in this great America. 85% of them have never had a physical examination, and 90% of them never had a dental examination. They are industrially illiterate, in the main, and academically so.

They come also from some areas in which the community environment has not always been one of tranquility, in which there has been a bit of the law of the jungle, the ghetto environment, a broken home, if any home at all. I have been out to see these young folks, and if you want to have an experience, you go talk to them privately. First they are very reticent to talk to you, but they will open up after a while. When you have a young fellow say, "Now look, I'm seventeen years of age, and this is my last chance -- that's why I joined the Job Corps," you get a lump in your throat.

The rate of dropouts from the Job Corps today is less than out of our universities, even though all of the Job Corps volunteers, with few exceptions, were dropouts before they entered. When you hear about the costs of training a Job Corps trainee, remember, it's much less than it costs to send a person to a university. Because what you pay to go to the university is only a small fraction of what it costs to educate you. Other people have chipped in all over the country.

When you attend a private school and pay \$2,500 tuition, or even \$3,000, you're not paying for your education, you're just paying for a small slice of it. Hundreds of other people around the nation who have been philanthropists made large charitable contributions, and investments have been made. The college or the university has its income coming in, plus the fact, how can you pay for a library, how can you pay for the genius of a great professor? You can't.

I'd only say this -- we've had 16,000 graduates from the Job Corps, 13,000 of them have obtained jobs and 3,000 have entered the military service. That's not bad. Of the 5% who had ever had a job when they came into the Job Corps, the average pay was 70¢ an hour. Of the 13,000 who got a job when they left the Job Corps, they averaged \$1.71 an hour. No matter how much it costs to train them, don't worry, the government has a way of getting it back when you get on a payroll. So I believe that, by and large, the record is pretty good. There has been some violence, there have been some unfortunate circumstances, but a great deal of effort has been made to try to overcome that.

Guam Conference

Q. Would you tell us something about the Guam Conference?

A. Insofar as I know, what the Guam Conference emphasized is the following: First, rural development and pacification. This is a story that you don't get. Militarily, in Vietnam there is no force that's going to drive us out, whatever may be your views as to whether we should be there. I think we

ought to be there -- I've never had any doubt about it any more than I had any doubt about the fact that we ought to have been in Korea, or I had any doubt about the fact that we ought to have resisted Hitler. But, be that as it may, people have different views. This war will not be won militarily. It will be won militarily, economically, socially, and diplomatically -- there are four fronts. We're making progress. We've made a lot of progress militarily. There hasn't been nearly enough progress on what I call the social and political fronts, but we're making progress.

The constituent assembly has completed its writing of the Constitution, and it has gone to the Directorate and the Directorate has already indicated its approval. There will be district and hamlet elections, free elections, this spring. There will be an election for President, a free election, this summer. The Constituent Assembly will take on parliamentary responsibilities until a new assembly can be elected. It is a fantastic development politically, and I think it is going to shorten the war. That's my view of it. I believe that the expression of self-government will do a great deal to promote defections among the Viet Cong, and I think it will strengthen the will of the people of Vietnam. I believe it represents what we're really talking about -- nation-building.

School Programs

There is a great deal, too, that's going on in the economy. For example, in one year, we trained over 18,500

teachers, we put over six million textbooks in Vietnam. For the first time in their life, children of Vietnam have textbooks. A great university that we've aided there is today becoming a first-class university. 6,500 classrooms have been constructed by A.I.D. and by the Marines -- by our military and civic action. We have 400 R.D., what we call R.D. cadre teams today -- those are the rural development teams -- 59 in number, that go out to the villages.

There are 60 battalions of the Republic of South Vietnam that have been re-trained, if you please. For the first time an Asian army has been trained in civic development. Remember, most Asian armies, not just in Vietnam, live off the country and off the people. They haven't been trained like some other armies. There are great things happening there, but this is what doesn't make the news.

Farm Program

Why, even a simple thing like the hog project. This is the difference between life and death. We've vastly increased our aid programs and our demonstration projects in agriculture -- the production of soybeans, the production of feed grain, the production of rice, and over doubled the production of hogs. We have increased their weight from 130 pounds to over 200 to make them fine pork, which is the choice product of the people of Vietnam. This is the way you build a nation, and may I say to you that it takes a long time to build a nation.

Dissent in U. S. History²⁴

And while you are here, you'd better study your own history. Your own capital was moved eleven times from 1776 to the year 1800 in the United States. Remember this, you had betrayers, you had a Benedict Arnold, and you had an Aaron Burr, and you had the chief of staff of the United States Army under John Adams who was in the pay of the Spanish Queen. You had a secessionist movement in the 1800's in the New England states, and you had a Civil War. We didn't always have it so easy. Of course, it's gotten a little nicer, now we have all got deodorants and all that, but it wasn't always this way.

Nation-Building

I implore young people to remember that what's going on in the world today is nation-building. And nation-building is important.

A by-product that you ought not to forget is Indonesia which today is back in the United Nations, a free nation. Indonesia would never be what it is today were we not in Vietnam -- its own leaders say so. Malaysia and Indonesia were in mortal combat only a year ago -- a war between Indonesia and Malaysia that's over, that's been settled.

I think there are wonderful things happening: The regional conference in Seoul, Korea, of the ten Asian and Pacific nations; the education conference in Southeast Asia at Bangkok; the development of the Mekong River with two dams already constructed or on the way; the first rural electrification cooperative opened only a month ago in South Vietnam.

It only had 95 farm families on it, but by the end of the year, it will have 12,000 and in three years 250,000. We're building nations, and tragically there has to be war.

Seeking Peace

Start I just want you to know that the whole purpose of the Guam Conference was to emphasize building a nation, getting peace, getting political development. This is why Ellsworth Bunker was made Ambassador. Ellsworth Bunker is the greatest diplomat that this country has. He's a born negotiator; he's a man of peace; he's an experienced, able, mature, wise man. Robert Komer was sent over as the President's number one man in what we call "the other war" -- to lead that struggle in South Vietnam. We're putting the best diplomats we have constantly at work, and we're working right at this very hour in the United Nations in what we hope will be a fruitful effort to find some way to bring this struggle to the peace table rather than on the battlefield alone.

Faith in U. S. Government

You must have faith in your government in this, my fellow Americans. The only thing that disturbs me is not that people disagree with our policy. That is a normal thing. People disagreed with our policy in World War II, they disagreed in Korea, a third of the people disagreed in the War of Independence, they were Tories -- a third of the whole population.

What really worries me is when young people start to believe that their President and their Vice President, their

Secretary of State, and their Secretary of Defense would lie to them on a matter of life and death. And this I don't like, frankly.

I have no reason to lie to you. I may be misinformed. You may know more about what Ho Chi Minh thinks than I do; you may have a bigger CIA than I have; you may get more reports than I get, maybe I don't know all that you know. But from what I know, I think we're doing what's right. From what I know, I know I'm telling you the truth as I see it.

I hear people indicate that our President "doesn't want peace"; they call their President "a murderer" and they call their Vice President "an assassin;" you call that dissent, I say that that isn't dissent from an intelligent person. Of all of the people in the world who ought never to do that sort of thing, it is university-educated people.

You can forgive those who don't know any better. Even the Lord said, "Forgive them for they know not what they do."

But you do know what you're doing, and you do know that your Vice President and your Secretary of State are not "murderers" and you have no right to call them such. And you do know that your President is not. You may think he is wrong; you may think he ought not to be President; you may think he ought to be defeated, those are your rights indeed. But to call a man "a murderer" and "an assassin", and to use vile and evil language and to call it dissent, particularly when you have a college degree, I think places higher education in

serious doubt as to its efficacy and its honor. Fortunately,
not very many people do it.

Thank you. I've got to go.

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