

OPENING NOTES

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

STUDENT QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION

UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

SEPTEMBER 28, 1967

Greetings, Now Generation.

I want to congratulate you. It took me  
thirty-eight years to make the cover of Time magazine.  
You did it in twenty.

I was reading the other day what Time had to  
say in its cover story about the composite Now Generation  
man:

"He...will land on the moon, cure cancer  
and the common cold, lay out smog-free cities, enrich

Dr Sabini

Prof Lester  
Panichats

the underdeveloped world and...write finis to poverty and war."

There was only one trouble with that paragraph. It came right under a Time picture of five young men asleep and basking in the sun on a Florida beach.

I want to take just a few moments now for a serious preface to our discussion. I am not here for a lecture or an address, but to respond to your thoughts and questions.

There is a great paradox in our society today, which I have not yet seen noted in the press.

We are told that this nation, particularly the majority of its youth, is impatient...restless...unwilling to wait....demanding now the changes for which its instincts for justice cry.

And at the same time we are told that this nation

and its people are tired of change...unwilling to "move too fast"...yearning for tranquility...demanding a pause in the pace of progress.

I have an announcement. I'm for and with the "Now" people and against the "Pause."

It would be the ultimate tragedy of this century if the United States became enveloped with a lethargic spirit and succumbed to the temptation of a luxurious pause. We cannot afford a pause. Time is on the side of men of movement, and the world will not wait for the tired nor the timid.

You all know what the Pause People say.

All the major goals of 1933 are achieved.

Aren't the Civil Rights Acts of 1964 and 1965 enough?

Social justice is here.

Utopia has arrived.

Nirvana is come.

The Pause People would simply have us close up shop and go bowling. Slow down, simmer down, cool it, they command.

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The Romans thought they had it made, that it was time for a Pause. And they never recovered from it.

The United States, in the 1920's thought it was time for normalcy, for a pause. And it took us three decades to pull out of that one.

I cannot conceive of more false reasoning than that which suggests we should stop, relax a bit and pause in our quest for human justice. I just can't buy it.

Not when two-thirds of the world's people are hungry, sick, uneducated and despairing.

Not when starvation and disease stalk large parts of our own hemisphere.

Not when this United States is still ~~blotched~~ <sup>blotched</sup> with ~~areas~~ <sup>areas</sup> of poverty, blemished with racial injustice and blighted with ~~decaying cities~~ <sup>slums in our cities</sup> and polluted skies and streams.

We do not have to look far or speak in the abstract to find compelling arguments against the Pause ~~people~~.

There are children today -- even teen-agers -- living in our big cities who have never stepped on a beach or leaped into a swimming pool. - <sup>Schools</sup> Jobs, Health

There are pre-school children who have never had a story read to them, or seen a book.

Those may seem to be little things. But add them to all the other lacks of our slums and ghettos -- too few parks, too many outdated books, too few teachers, inadequate housing and shallow opportunities -- and you have a people who will not and should not pause.

↳ The pause recommended today is not the pause

that refreshes.

↳ It's the pause that stifles, chokes, and shrivels  
the human spirit.

~~Am~~ with you. I want to be where the action is.

And I suggest that one need not be 25 or under to  
be of the Now Generation.

↳ Winston Churchill was a Now man, and I liked  
what he said:

"The beaches of history are paved with the  
bleached bones of those who waited, and while waiting died."

Pope John XXIII was a Now man, and I liked what  
he told a group of Cardinals in 1959 who thought that  
the Ecumenical Council couldn't possibly be held by 1963:

"All right," said John, "we'll have it in 1962 then."

But there must be, in the midst of those who chant  
"Now," at least a few who ask and challenge: "How?"

It is up to those of us in politics and government  
to try to answer that question.

I'm ready for your questions.

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UNIVERSITY OF CINCINNATI

Panel Presentation

Featuring

THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

Student Panel:

Mr. David Altman  
Editor of The News Record

Miss Marsha Greer  
President of Memorial Hall

Mr. Steve Nechemias  
Second-year Law Student

Mr. Glen Weissenberger  
President, local Interfraternity Council  
President, Regional Great Lakes Fraternity Council

MODERATOR:

Wilbur R. Lester, Esq.  
Professor of Law, University of Cincinnati

Jointly Sponsored by Orientation Board and the Arts and Sciences Tribunal

Held at the Fieldhouse, Thursday, September 28, 1967,  
between the hours of 1:40 and 2:40 o'clock p.m.

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1 MODERATOR LESTER: May we come to order.

2 Members of the entering class, honored guests,  
3 ladies and gentlemen, welcome.

4 Most of you probably know the general nature  
5 of this gathering, but for those of you who don't, and to  
6 refresh the recollection of those who do, permit me to point  
7 out with some specificity the nature of this meeting.

8 It is an educational activity of the University  
9 of Cincinnati students. It is a part of the Orientation Week  
10 sponsored by the Orientation Board and the Arts and Sciences  
11 Tribunal.

12 Still more specifically, as an educational  
13 meeting we must have an atmosphere of free discussion and  
14 free inquiry under orderly procedures.

15 Our honored guest has agreed to answer  
16 questions. For many reasons, including the one that he has  
17 taught political science at the university level, I am sure  
18 his answers will be both interesting and to the point.

19 Our panel of students is prepared to ask sharp  
20 and penetrating questions. The members of the panel wish to  
21 thank the many of you who submitted suggestions. The panel  
22 will try to reflect your interests.

23 All of us in this Fieldhouse wish to hear each  
24 question and each answer. Any disturbance, such as shuffling  
25 about, blocking the view of others, or shouting, will deny

1 some of us the opportunity to hear a question, or to hear an  
2 answer. I am confident that nearly all, if not all of you,  
3 want to help in making this a good meeting. If any person,  
4 however, persists in disrupting our discussion, he must be  
5 prepared to leave.

6 This is the format we will follow:

7 First, our honored guest will make introductory  
8 remarks for five or ten minutes.

9 Second, the four students on the platform  
10 with me will question our guest for about twenty minutes.

11 I shall act as moderator.

12 By the way, since there is no one to introduce  
13 the introducer, I am Wilbur Lester, of the Law School  
14 faculty.

15 Third, toward the end of the program, except  
16 for an emergency, please stay seated until our honored  
17 guest and his party have left the Fieldhouse.

18 There are two brief words of thanks. I wish  
19 to thank the Brass Choir and its director.

20 I wish to thank two students who worked as  
21 hard as these four to be ready in case one of these should  
22 be ill. Those two students are Miss Joe Ann Greiser, an  
23 officer of Mortar Board, and Mr. John Hagner, President of  
24 O.D.K.

25 At this time I will introduce the members of

1 our panel, who are seated in alphabetical order.

2 Mr. David Altman, Editor of the News Record.

3 Miss Marsha Greer, President of Memorial Hall  
4 for the past five quarters.

5 Mr. Stephen Nechemias, second-year law  
6 student, and among our best.

7 Mr. Glen Weissenberger, President of both the  
8 local Interfraternity Council, and the Regional Great Lakes  
9 Fraternity Council.

10 I request our honored guest be brought to the  
11 platform.

12 (Vice-President Humphrey was escorted to the  
13 speakers' platform.) (Applause.)

14 U.C. PRESIDENT LANGSAM: Ladies and gentlemen,  
15 the University is unusually fortunate in the distinction of  
16 its guest today.

17 Allow me first to ask Mrs. Humphrey to stand  
18 and be recognized. Won't you, please.

19 (Applause.)

20 PRES. LANGSAM: Now, ladies and gentlemen,  
21 the Vice-President of the United States.

22 (Applause.)

23 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you. Thank  
24 you, very much, Mr. President. I am generally accustomed to  
25 addressing people as Mr. President.

1 Dr. Langsam, I am very honored and pleased  
2 that Mrs. Humphrey and I have the privilege of being on  
3 this great campus of the University of Cincinnati; and it's  
4 good to have as our moderator one of your most distinguished  
5 leaders in academic life, Professor Lester.

6 I have met the members of the panel. They  
7 treated me with civility when I came into the auditorium.  
8 I trust they will be that way from here on out.

9 There is, however, no commitment on their  
10 part or mine as to how this is all going to come out; a  
11 totally unrehearsed program, which undoubtedly will be  
12 revealed by the nature of my answers to their intelligent  
13 questions.

14 I was just told while we were in the wings,  
15 so to speak, a little about this great university's history;  
16 the first west of the Alleghenies in many of the disciplines  
17 law, medicine, pharmacy, just to mention a few.

18 And also of some of its great sons and  
19 daughters: the former President of the United States,  
20 William Howard Taft; a student, professor and dean, a former  
21 Vice-President of the United States, Mr. Dawes; former  
22 Speaker of the House, Nicholas Longworth.

23 So you have your share of politicians. I  
24 thought I'd just make you stand up and be a little respectful  
25 of politicians before we started. I know you wouldn't want

1 to say anything or do anything that would in any way cast  
2 reflection upon those men of public life.

3 Now, this is a rather unusual set of  
4 circumstances. I generally am accustomed to speaking  
5 standing up, but I appreciate the privilege of sitting down.  
6 This is going to be a question and answer. I have a few  
7 remarks that will not take very long, ~~if just~~, and then we  
8 will go to it.

9 One of our most illustrious scientists,  
10 Dr. Sabin, of polio fame, is a gentleman that I've known and  
11 respected for years, and I did want to take this opportunity  
12 of paying my respects to him while I am here on your campus.

13 My first line of prepared manuscript of these  
14 immortal words is, Greetings, you new generation. I think  
15 I'm really greeting members of the new class, the freshman  
16 class, the Class of '71, so I want to welcome you into the  
17 rigors of academic life. Some of you will be casualties  
18 along the way. None of you, I hope, will be fatalities. And  
19 I trust that I can come back here later on and see many of  
20 you get your degrees.

21 I want to congratulate you for many things.  
22 It took me 38 years to get on the cover of Life Magazine,  
23 and you did it in 20, because I just saw a cover of Life with  
24 a picture of the New Generation. I don't know if I recognize  
25 any of you from that picture, but you were there.

1 I was reading the other day about the  
2 composite of this new generation. Maybe you didn't know you  
3 were all of this. I think I should let you in on the  
4 secret. This is the composite NOW generation man. Not just  
5 the New Generation, but the NOW generation man.

6 He will land on the moon.

7 Goodbye.

8 (Laughter.)

9 He will cure cancer and the common cold.

10 He will lay out smog-free cities.

11 He will enrich the underdeveloped world, and  
12 write finis to poverty and war.

13 Well, you are an ambitious crowd. I hope  
14 that you can make it. Those are very noble ideals.

15 There was only one trouble with that paragraph,  
16 and it was as I read it. It came right under a Time picture  
17 of five young men asleep and basking in the sun on a  
18 Florida beach. I don't really think you're going to do all  
19 those things sleeping. It was the wrong picture for the  
20 right lyrics.

21 I want to take just a few moments now, though,  
22 of serious preface to this discussion. I am not here for a  
23 lecture. You will get plenty of those from here on out.  
24 Nor am I here to address you, but rather to respond.

25 There is a great paradox in our society today

1 which I have not yet seen properly noted in the press. We  
2 are told that this nation, particularly the majority of its  
3 youth, is impatient, restless, unwilling to wait, demanding  
4 right now the changes for which its instincts for justice cry  
5 out. At the same time we are told that this nation and its  
6 people are tired, tired of change, unwilling to move, or move  
7 too fast, yearning for tranquillity, and demanding a pause in  
8 the pace of progress.

9                   You get this all in the same magazine, the  
10 same story.

11                   Well, now, I thought I ought to choose up  
12 sides on these separate pleas that are made of these  
13 separate positions. I have an announcement. I am for and  
14 with the NOW people, the N O W people; and I really can't  
15 quite join, in fact I'm against, the "pause" people.

16                   I think it would be the ultimate tragedy of  
17 this century if the United States became enveloped with a  
18 lethargic spirit and fell victim to the temptation of a  
19 luxurious pause. Time is on the side of men of movement,  
20 and the world will not wait for the tired nor the timid. You  
21 either join change, and direct its course, or it rolls over  
22 you, and you have no recourse but to call it quits.

23                   Now, the Romans thought they had made it.  
24 They became quite satisfied, and they said it was time for a  
25 pause. "Live it up; just enjoy what we have." They never

1 quite recovered from that lost weekend.

2           The United States, in the 1920's, after  
3 World War I, thought it was time for a return to normalcy,  
4 for a pause, "Take it easy; enjoy what we have." And it took  
5 us three decades to pull out of that lost weekend.

6           Now, I cannot conceive of more false reasoning  
7 than that which suggests that we should stop, relax a bit,  
8 and pause in the quest for human justice, individual improve-  
9 ment, or excellence. I just can't buy that argument. Not when  
10 there are two-thirds of the world's people that are hungry  
11 and sick, uneducated and despairing; and not when it is  
12 generally accepted that where there is constant want there  
13 can be no peace; not when starvation and disease stalk large  
14 parts of the earth, and, indeed, of our own hemisphere. And  
15 I can't believe that we ought to quit, take it easy, roll  
16 over and play dead, pause, when this great country of ours  
17 is still afflicted by blotches of poverty in some areas, and  
18 in all too many instances blemished with racial injustice,  
19 and is victimized by blighted slums in our cities, and the  
20 blight of polluted skies and streams; just to mention a few  
21 of the tasks ahead.

22           We do not have to look very far, or to speak  
23 in the abstract, to find compelling arguments against the  
24 pause. There are children today, far too many of them, that  
25 have never seen a doctor, never had a physical checkup, never

1 been on a beach, never leaped into a swimming pool, never  
2 known what it was to really see the great out-of-doors.

3           There are far too many young people today that  
4 have never had the refreshing experience of a job; what's  
5 more, never learned how to work, have had no training for  
6 it.

7           And there are far too many people today that  
8 believe that the only duty of government is welfare, rather  
9 than to have a state of society in which there is opportunity,  
10 so that you can do something about your own welfare, rather  
11 than having other people take care of it.

12           It's the pause that I am talking about now  
13 that stifles and chokes and shrivels the human spirit, and  
14 I am one of those that likes to be where the action is.  
15 That's why I am in politics. There is plenty of action  
16 there. You are not quite sure just what is going to happen,  
17 but there is plenty of action.

18           I suggest that one need not be 25 or under to  
19 be a member of the New Generation. As a former teacher I  
20 have found students at age 19 that should have been  
21 collecting Social Security and were ready for Medicare.

22           (Applause.)

23           I have also found people in the history of  
24 our country, like Oliver Wendell Holmes, who was speaking  
25 to his dear friend Justice Brandeis as he was walking down

1 one of the streets of Washington, when Brandeis was about  
2 85, and he said to Holmes as he saw a beautiful young thing  
3 walk by, he said, "Oh, what I'd give to be 70 again." Now,  
4 that's a young man. He is of the New Generation.

5 Winston Churchill, one of my heroes -- we  
6 all have them, you know -- he was a NOW man, and I liked  
7 what he said: "The beaches of history are paved with the  
8 bleached bones of those who waited, and, while waiting, died."

9 Pope John XXIII was a NOW man, and I like what  
10 he told the College of Cardinals in 1959, who thought that  
11 the Ecumenical Council couldn't possibly be held by 1963.  
12 "All right," said John, "we'll have it in 1962." What a man.

13 But there must be in the midst of those who  
14 chant NOW at least a few of us who ask and challenge, HOW?

15 If you want to do things now, the question is,  
16 How? And it's up to those of us in education, as students,  
17 those of us in politics and government, to try to find that  
18 answer, or the answer to that question.

19 Now I am ready for some of the questions  
20 over here.

21 Thank you.

22 (Applause.)

23 MODERATOR LESTER: Marsha, would you ask the  
24 first question.

25 MISS GREER: I have sort of a broad personal

1 question to start with, Mr. Vice-President. I was wondering  
2 how you feel about this subject:

3 After the death of Presidents Roosevelt and  
4 Kennedy there was existing a feeling that the vice-president's  
5 role in government should be increased. As vice-president  
6 do you feel that the role has expanded? And, if so, how?

7 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I sure do. It  
8 surely has.

9 You know, John Adams once said of the  
10 vice-presidency, "It's either nothing or everything." And he  
11 also had some other little things to say about how the mind  
12 of man could have fashioned such an inconsequential position,  
13 sort of a way to humiliate humankind.

14 I've often said the vice-presidency was maybe  
15 designed for people who were somewhat aggressive and brash, and  
16 it gives us a sense of humility; to force action, you see.

17 But the vice-presidency, like every other  
18 office, or every other position, changes, not so much by  
19 law as by practice. And I would say that since the late  
20 1920's, maybe starting with -- Well, I think possibly Mr.  
21 Dawes was an active vice-president, in international matters  
22 in particular -- but let's say that since the middle twenties,  
23 and up through the thirties, and up until now, the office  
24 has taken on new significance and new duties, both by  
25 statute and by precedent.

1 Through statute the vice-president is now a  
2 member of the cabinet. He is a member of the National  
3 Security Council. He is the Chairman of the Advisory Council  
4 of the Peace Corps. He is the Chairman of the Advisory  
5 Council of the Office of Economic Opportunity. He is,  
6 more importantly, the Chairman of the Space Council,  
7 coordinating all of the activities of this government in  
8 space research and development. He is Chairman of the  
9 Marine Resources and Engineering Development Council, known  
10 as oceanography. Now these are the official positions that  
11 are by statute. He is, of course, the presiding officer of  
12 the Senate.

13 By tradition and precedent he is often a  
14 spokesman for the administration. He has less administrative  
15 duties than many, so he can be, as we say, more out around  
16 the country.

17 I have presently the role of serving as the  
18 liaison officer, speaking of my own vice-presidency, with  
19 the local government officials, only last week meeting with  
20 some 400 presidents of school boards; meeting with the mayors,  
21 city managers, local government officials, and state legis-  
22 lative leaders.

23 I am Chairman of the President's Council on  
24 Youth Opportunity, trying to coordinate the youth activities  
25 of our government, working with local government. I am a

1 member of the Smithsonian Board of Regents. I finally  
2 became a regent of a great educational institution, the  
3 Smithsonian Institution being one of our very finest and  
4 greatest.

5 Now, those are some of the duties, plus  
6 foreign travel, a great deal of work with heads of state  
7 that come to visit in Washington, foreign ministers, and  
8 meeting regularly with the President on legislative  
9 programs -- a full day's work, I can assure you, of about  
10 sixteen to eighteen hours.

11 The Vice-President is an expert in few, if  
12 any areas, and a general practitioner. I am one of the  
13 few general practitioners left in government.

14 MODERATOR LESTER: Steve.

15 MR. NECHEMIAS: Mr. Vice-President, do you  
16 think that Ronald Reagan will be your counterpart as  
17 vice-presidential candidate in 1968?

18 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I really couldn't  
19 say. I'll tell you, the Republicans have never really asked  
20 me about the choice for their candidates.

21 (Laughter, and applause.)

22 MR. NECHEMIAS: The question presupposes your  
23 own candidacy. Is that a safe assumption?

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, it's a good  
25 one, let's put it that way. I don't know whether it's safe,

1 but there is something about what you said that is reassuring  
2 to me.

3 (Laughter.)

4 MODERATOR LESTER: Glen.

5 MR. WEISSENBERGER: I would like to turn to  
6 the national scene a minute.

7 Mr. Vice-President, the President has stated,  
8 "Much can explain, but nothing can justify the riots of 1967."  
9 Would you analyze the situation with this statement?

10 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think it's  
11 really self-analytical, and self-explanatory. What the  
12 President has said, which most of us I think would tend to  
13 agree with, that the riots are symptomatic of social  
14 conditions that are in many instances intolerable, or at  
15 least very bad; that there are inequities and injustices  
16 that have not been corrected; too many of our people have  
17 been deprived of a real opportunity for first-class  
18 citizenship and participation in American life.

19 Many have said that what he also implied by  
20 his statement, that while these things may be true, while  
21 we have poverty, and we have slums, and we have inadequate  
22 education for some people in some areas, and we have one-  
23 seventh of our population in what you call, under the  
24 standards, as poverty, that we have a way to redress these  
25 grievances, other than violence. We have the ballot box;

1 we have ways of peaceful protest, ways or petition. We  
2 have many ways to find answers, rather than indulging in  
3 violence, and lawlessness, and rioting, and looting, and  
4 arson, which frequently works on the innocent. The very  
5 people that are supposed to be helped are the ones that  
6 are injured.

7           So what the President has said, that in a  
8 society of law, under law, that we have the processes of law  
9 to correct the injustices, and we ought to work through  
10 those processes; that you cannot tolerate nor condone  
11 lawlessness, violence, rioting, in the name of social  
12 justice. You just can't do it. It's unjust, and it all  
13 too often brings damage upon the very people that it is  
14 supposed to symbolize trying to help.

15           So I believe the President's statement speaks  
16 for itself, and it's very concise. Obviously you can see why  
17 he's President and I'm Vice-President. He said it in a short  
18 statement and I had to spend three minutes on it.

19           MODERATOR LESTER: Dave.

20           MR. ALTMAN: Mr. Vice-President, there is  
21 another question the Republicans may not have contacted you  
22 about, but I wonder if you can speculate for me on what you  
23 think the top issue of the 1968 election will be.

24           VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't know if I  
25 can say THE top issue, because that really calls for possibly

1 a greater understanding of what's going on in this country  
2 than I possess. But I think there are two or three issues  
3 that will be of relatively equal priority.

4 One of the concerns of the people, which will  
5 be voiced a great deal in the campaign, is the subject of  
6 lawlessness and violence and crime. Whether or not that  
7 issue will be discussed in a manner that is helpful or  
8 constructive is yet to be seen, because, really, most  
9 law enforcement is a local government-- state government and  
10 local government responsibility. There are more police  
11 officers in New York City than the total number of federal  
12 inspectors in all the departments of government of the  
13 federal government. We do not have a national police force,  
14 and I'm opposed to one. I think the federal government is  
15 big enough, without having a national police force working  
16 all the precincts. I think this will be an issue, though.  
17 I think people are concerned about it, I think they are  
18 going to be talking about it, and they will be blaming each  
19 other.

20 I am sure there will be great discussion on  
21 Viet Nam. There will be those that think the administration's  
22 position-- There'll be several positions. There will be  
23 those that are opposed completely to what the administration  
24 is trying to do; those who think we ought to do a whole lot  
25 more; and those who think we ought to get out. And then

1 there will be others who will just kind of weave in between.  
2 But that will be surely an issue.

3 And then I imagine one of the other issues  
4 will be whether or not this administration has really  
5 promoted the economic and social well-being of the country,  
6 and I come out four-squarely and say it has.

7 Those will be the basic, the more basic issues.

8 MR. ALTMAN: Do you think the "make or break"  
9 issue is yet to emerge, then, and will emerge over the next  
10 year?

11 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't think there  
12 is a "make or break" issue, one issue. I think that every-  
13 thing we say will be conditioned primarily by the war, and  
14 general concern in the nation about crime and lawlessness.

15 MODERATOR LESTER: Marsha.

16 MISS GREER: Mr. Vice-President, I have  
17 another question.

18 In the light of the recent racial violence  
19 that exists in the country right now, could you please  
20 evaluate for us the success or the failures of various  
21 government programs, such as the Job Corps, or Aid to  
22 Dependent Children, or Slum Clearance, in relation to this  
23 type of a problem.

24 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: One thing that  
25 Americans ought to understand is that this phenomena of

1 rising expectations, which most college students have heard  
2 about, and which is talked about frequently in the literature  
3 and the language of our time, is not peculiar to Asia, or  
4 South America, or Africa. There are rising expectations in  
5 America. And I suppose one of the indications of the  
6 success of certain efforts is the restlessness of people who  
7 for the first time have been touched by a modicum of improve-  
8 ment, and want much more. I think it was Napoleon that once  
9 said that the poor never really revolt. They are too poor,  
10 too sick, too indolent. Most all revolutions, most all  
11 radical movements, have been led by educated people. They  
12 have generally been led by people who have really had some  
13 of the good things of life, and are dissatisfied because so  
14 many of their compatriots, or of their group, so to speak,  
15 have not shared in this. Our own Revolution wasn't led by  
16 poor people. It wasn't led by illiterates, either. There  
17 hasn't been any. The French revolution wasn't led by poor  
18 people, nor was it led by illiterates. The communist  
19 revolution was not led by the poor, nor by illiterates.  
20 The poor and the illiterates never lead anything. They  
21 just die.

22                   It's when you start to come out of that  
23 sickness, that despair, that things begin to happen. Now,  
24 this is the paradox of it. On the one hand some people  
25 say, "Well, don't arouse them," just as there have been

1 great men who have said about China, "She's a sleeping  
2 giant. Let her sleep." But she isn't sleeping any more.  
3 She's dangerous, a dangerous giant. She's awake. And  
4 how she's going to conduct herself may be very important in  
5 your lives.

6 Our slums are no longer just slums. They're  
7 awake. People are wanting things.

8 I think the one instrument that has changed  
9 the world more than anything else in the last hundred years  
10 is the television. And maybe add to that the transistor  
11 radio. People no longer live in ignorance. Even if they  
12 can't read or write, they can hear, and they can see, and  
13 as the Chinese philosopher said, "One picture is worth  
14 ten thousand words." And when you see the conditions of the  
15 world on that tube -- and the poor people see that as well  
16 as the rich -- in the furthest corners of the earth there's  
17 still public television, and in our cities and our ghettos  
18 there are many televisions, private and public. And for  
19 the first time poor people are seeing, or somebody that's  
20 had a high-school education, or a tenth-grade education,  
21 that just knows enough, and has had his sensitivity developed  
22 enough, is seeing how you live, how the rest of America lives.  
23 You can't hide any more. You can't hide the poor, and you  
24 can't hide the rich. We're out there, we've got that  
25 television camera on us. And we're fighting a war on

1 television. We have riots on television. Not make-believe  
2 wars, not cowboys and Indians, but real wars, right in your  
3 front room now, on that television tube, right there. Mothers  
4 have seen their own sons killed, watched it on television.  
5 It has actually happened in America. They've seen their  
6 own sons killed in battle on American television broadcasts  
7 from Viet Nam.

8                   And you've seen riots, right on television;  
9 you've seen members of your own family involved in that riot,  
10 right on television. It's changed everything. So this is a  
11 whole new ball game, as we say.

12                   Now, are these programs working? Well, the  
13 answer is Yes. Are they doing enough? The answer is No.  
14 Does it mean we ought to do more? I think so. But I want  
15 to be very clear what we're trying to do.

16                   If all that we were trying to do today was to  
17 ease the pain of poverty, we'd just continue to write out  
18 checks. There's an easy way to take care of poverty of the  
19 purse - just give everybody some money. Some people think  
20 that's what we ought to do, too. And some people say we  
21 ought not to give them anything. Those are the two extremes.

22                   We try to take a middle course. We've said  
23 to a young fellow, for example, in the Job Corps: "You're  
24 not just going to get money. We're going to pay you a  
25 little bit, \$60 a month, or so; but you're going to go to

1 school; your're going to learn a trade; you're going to learn  
2 how to act; you're going to learn how to be a part of  
3 society."

4 Now, we've trained over 70,000 like this,  
5 every one of them a school drop-out, every one of them  
6 unemployed; 80 percent of them never had a physical examination  
7 in their life; 55 percent of them illiterate; fellow Americans  
8 from your home town; and today their average rate of pay  
9 for those 70-some thousand is \$1.92 an hour, and 70 percent  
10 of the total number of graduates have gotten a job, 10 percent  
11 went back to school, and the rest of them joined the armed  
12 forces.

13 Now, I submit to you that's a pretty good  
14 record of rescue. The trouble is we need not 70,000, or  
15 90,000, but we need 250,000.

16 We benefited last year in education eight and  
17 a half million youngsters that had disadvantaged educational  
18 backgrounds, or deprived educational backgrounds. The  
19 Headstart Program. My goodness, if we'd never done anything  
20 else in the last few years than Headstart, it's been worth  
21 it all. We've given little kids the first chance in their  
22 life to have a decent environment, the first chance to get  
23 some good food, the first chance to be cleaned up and have  
24 good clothes, and for the first time we've brought parents  
25 in that never knew a school authority, never met a school

1 authority, never met a teacher; and they've been brought  
2 together.

3 Project Upward Bound, 38,000 young people  
4 just like in this room here today, that were ready to drop  
5 out of school, or were school drop-outs, that had basic  
6 intelligence, had been picked up, given an opportunity, and  
7 they are in the great universities of America right now, in  
8 over 200 of our universities and colleges -- Project  
9 Upward Bound students.

10 How do I know but what one of those students  
11 will become one of the great scientists? Because most  
12 great scientists started with nothing. Most of the people  
13 that you really talk about today started with very humble  
14 beginnings.

15 I think that a lot of the things we're doing  
16 has been very helpful. We've experimented, and we've made  
17 mistakes. There's always somebody being overpaid; there's  
18 always somebody goofing off on the job. And there'll be  
19 some students here that will be goofing off on the job, too,  
20 and some professors that will be goofing off on the job.  
21 And there will be some politicians that do it, and some  
22 preachers that do it. But you don't close up the churches  
23 or the schools or the government.

24 Now, what you have to have is a sense of  
25 perspective. And one of the real problems today is what makes

1 news are people's mistakes. Not people's achievements, but  
2 people's mistakes. For every time an achievement is reported,  
3 ten failures are reported. It's what we call the "journalism  
4 of protest," of conflict, rather than of advocacy and  
5 achievement.

6           You don't get your name in the paper because  
7 you drove home and didn't get arrested. You get your name  
8 in the paper if you got drunk and drove home and got  
9 arrested. You don't get your name put in the paper as a  
10 government official if you do a good job every day. You're  
11 lucky if you can get reelected.

12           (Applause and laughter.)

13           MODERATOR LESTER: Glen.

14           MR. WEISSENBERGER: How does the administra-  
15 tion plan to meet the needs for the funds for the programs  
16 you have just been discussing, while supporting a war in  
17 Viet Nam? Will we be only able to do an insufficient job  
18 in both areas?

19           What I am really trying to say is: Will the  
20 continuation of the war financially hamper President Johnson's  
21 Great Society?

22           VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, obviously,  
23 when you take on national commitments, and international  
24 commitments, with limited resources, you are not able to do  
25 everything you want to do.

1 I would like very much, speaking for myself,  
2 for us to be able to devote more funds, let's say to our  
3 cities, and to our education. I'll only say this: we're  
4 giving more to it now than ever before, war or no war. And  
5 when I hear people criticize that we're not doing enough,  
6 I always remember the years that I put in Congress and we  
7 couldn't get anybody to do anything.

8 We're spending right now three times as much  
9 money on federal aid to education as we did four years ago.  
10 We have urban programs now that are three to four times larger  
11 than any we ever had four years ago. I know it ought to maybe  
12 be a little more. Some people think it's too much already.  
13 And they may have a point in some of these programs. But,  
14 speaking for myself, there are certain programs I would like  
15 to see expanded. But I want to be quite frank with you:  
16 there are certain things I would like to do with my family  
17 that we can't do. There are certain things I would like to  
18 buy that we can't buy. And I have to tell my son that,  
19 "You can't expect to have a home as good as your dad has the  
20 first day you get out of college." It doesn't make any  
21 impact, I want you to know, but I tell him that.

22 People want things in a hurry. You can't get  
23 everything in a hurry. There are no instant solutions.

24 Now, let's talk about the international thing.  
25 There are some people today that say, "Well, we ought to just

1 take care of things at home, and we just don't have the  
2 means to take care of it abroad, and do the things at home  
3 that we need to do."

4 We don't have that easy choice.

5 I want to remind this audience of something.  
6 What kind of a world do you think you would be living in today  
7 if Harry Truman hadn't stood firm after World War II with  
8 old Joe Stalin?

9 And, by the way, Harry Truman spoke to him in  
10 words that he could clearly understand, that didn't take a  
11 Harvard degree to explain what he meant.

12 (Applause.)

13 The Soviet Union refused to take the troops  
14 out of Iran. Harry Truman said, "I'll give you five days,  
15 Joe, or I'll send the Fifteenth Air Force and the American  
16 Army in to push you out. Now, make up your mind what you're  
17 going to do." Joe got the message. He left.

18 There was a possibility of Greece and Turkey  
19 going completely into the Communist orbit. A President of  
20 the United States with a hostile congress said, "We're going  
21 to do something about it." He sent men, equipment, and  
22 money, and we met them.

23 The President of the United States had the  
24 choice when the Soviets were going to take over Berlin. His  
25 cabinet was against him. The newspapers were against him,

1 most of them. Most of the politicians were against him, in  
2 Congress. And Harry Truman said, "We're going to take care  
3 of Berlin. We'll have the airlift. If need be we'll send  
4 our forces in." And we did. And Berlin is a free city.

5 John Kennedy was faced with Mr. Khrushchev,  
6 when Mr. Khrushchev said to Mr. Kennedy at Vienna, "Maybe  
7 this is the time and the place to have the war." And John  
8 Kennedy had Berlin again threatened, in 1961. You know  
9 what he did? He called up 250,000 reservists, gentlemen, and  
10 ladies, right in this United States, and sent 50,000 of them  
11 to Europe. We appropriated -- and I was there -- in one  
12 afternoon, an additional eight billion dollars, just like  
13 that, and said to the Soviet Union, "Now, we're going to  
14 come into Berlin, and we're going to stay there." And we  
15 sent a division of troops, and the Vice-President of the  
16 United States was sent to Berlin to welcome those troops,  
17 and those troops were ordered to go through the corridor,  
18 and if they were stopped, to shoot. How, you know the fact  
19 that they didn't have to was just our good luck.

20 But imagine the kind of a world it would have  
21 been had we given in every place. Imagine the kind of a  
22 world it would have been if Mr. Khrushchev got by with those  
23 missiles down in Cuba. We've got enough trouble with just  
24 old Castro, much less those missiles.

25 Imagine the kind of world it would have been

1 in Korea.

2 And, by the way, I -- Oh, my goodness, I  
3 was going to show you a little paper. My secretary has it  
4 here, a little paper I was going to show you from Korea,  
5 1951, '52.

6 (Handed to Mr. Humphrey).

7 Here's a little statement I thought some of  
8 you might be interested in. Listen to this statement.  
9 This is a news quote from a prominent newspaper.

10 "American airmen cheerfully machine-gunned  
11 civilians in North \_\_\_\_\_, and wiped out village  
12 after village."

13 What country do you think they are talking  
14 about?

15 "You are inhuman, you Americans, because you  
16 are bogged down in this \_\_\_\_\_ war, which you aren't  
17 able to get out of, and which you are waging with a ferocity,  
18 a spitefulness, a cold insensitivity that stupifies the world  
19 and fills it with indignation.

20 "3. Fighting on will prolong indefinitely  
21 the terrible sufferings of the \_\_\_\_\_ people."

22 Now, that all says, "...civilians in North  
23 Vietnam, and wiped out village after village. ... You are  
24 inhuman, you Americans, because you are bogged down in this  
25 immoral war. . . . Fighting on will prolong indefinitely

1 the terrible sufferings of the Vietnamese people."

2 No, that isn't what it says at all. These  
3 are statements on Korea, 1951, from Le Monde, a French  
4 newspaper; from Favaral, in this free 1951. And from one of  
5 our leading American publications in 1952. The same line,  
6 same business; same statements. They didn't even take time  
7 to correct or change the words.

8 Imagine the kind of a world it would have been  
9 had Korea gone down the drain. There wouldn't have been a  
10 free Japan today.

11 So, what I'm saying is, we don't have easy  
12 options. It's 20 years since World War II, and, believe me,  
13 without American forces in Europe, without Americans standing  
14 guard and taking up the real heavy duties, we couldn't be  
15 where we are today.

16 And I think young people today have to ask  
17 themselves the question: "What kind of world would it have  
18 been today if somebody had not taken some of these stands?"  
19 "Oh, it may have been a better one," some people will say.

20 I think it's entirely probable that we could  
21 just forget the whole world for the next ten years, and live  
22 it up and have ourselves a ball like no one's ever had, and  
23 no one really would touch us. I don't think there's much  
24 doubt that we could do that. I think we could. We frankly  
25 did do that for a while. Adolph Hitler had no more right to

1 take over Germany than I have a right to take over the  
2 universe. Adolph Hitler went in and fortified the Rhineland  
3 without ever having a right to do it. He violated every  
4 treaty, and people stood back and let him do it, because we  
5 were on a binge. We weren't going to do anything about it.

6 When Franklin Roosevelt said "Quarantine the  
7 aggressor," in 1937, he lost the next Congress. He never  
8 opened his mouth on quarantining the aggressor for another  
9 three years. It was the most unpopular political statement  
10 a president ever made.

11 The draft was extended, 202 to 203, August  
12 30, 1940, before Pearl Harbor. Hitler had already conquered  
13 the Lowlands. One vote in Congress, one vote, the refusal  
14 to fortify Guam. The American people, 1940.

15 I think that these stands that we've taken  
16 have been vital to our security. They've been costly,  
17 they've been difficult, they've been painful; but we weren't  
18 intended to have a much easier life than we have. Despite  
19 all of this we have the best life on the earth.

20 MODERATOR LESTER: Mr. Vice-President, I think  
21 Steve has a question that follows up right along this line.

22 MR. NECHEMIAS: Mr. Vice-President, do you  
23 see any way that we can continue this Truman policy, and  
24 avoid the Viet Nams of the 1970's?

25 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, I do. I

1 personally believe that the struggle that's being fought out  
2 in Asia today is not over Viet Nam at all. If I thought  
3 it was only over Viet Nam I would seriously doubt whether the  
4 cost of it, and the sacrifice of it would be justified.  
5 And I understand many times why people are very concerned,  
6 and very discouraged and very upset about the struggle in  
7 Southeast Asia.

8 It's my view that what's going on in that  
9 part of the world is very similar to what went on in Europe  
10 in the immediate postwar years. Asian Communist aggression,  
11 Asian Communist militancy, Chinese variety, is on the march.  
12 If it succeeds, it's only a matter of time until you will  
13 have to take a stand some place else.

14 Now, the interesting thing about this part of  
15 the world is what the people who live there think. I  
16 sometimes doubt that we are quite fully able to comprehend  
17 their views and their feelings.

18 The Prime Minister of Singapore, who only two  
19 years ago was very critical of the United States, and made  
20 some very damaging statements about our country, will be a  
21 guest of the President of the United States shortly, at his  
22 request -- not the President's request. This is the man who  
23 said within the month that American presence in Viet Nam  
24 is the only hope for freedom and independence in Asia.

25 General Sukharto, of Indonesia, and the

1 Foreign Minister of Indonesia, the men who have purged their  
2 nation, in part, at least, of the Communist control which was  
3 over that country only a year and a half or two years ago,  
4 have said repeatedly that American presence in Southeast  
5 Asia gave them the opportunity and the chance to rid their  
6 country of foreign domination and Communist control.

7           Nay Win, of Burma, who only a year and a half  
8 ago didn't dare leave his country -- was a captive, literally,  
9 of Communist China -- today has spoken out openly about the  
10 importance of American presence in Asia.

11           I've been in Asia three times, and I'm no  
12 expert on this part of the world; I've talked to the leaders  
13 of 14 of their countries. Many of them -- all of them are  
14 disturbed over the war. So am I. I hope that war is never  
15 popular. Somebody said to me the other day that this is an  
16 unpopular war, and I said, "Thank God. I hope we never have  
17 a war that becomes popular." I can't think of anything that  
18 would be a greater debasement of character than to make war  
19 popular.

20           But every one of these leaders, every one,  
21 from the President of India to the President of Korea, every  
22 one of them, are fully convinced that our presence in South-  
23 east Asia is vital to their security, and vital to the hope  
24 of freedom and independence in that part of the world.

25           Now, I just happen to believe that if all of

1 Asia, or large sections of it, were to go under a totalitarian  
2 rule, of some form or another, which is aggressive, which is  
3 militaristic -- Totalitarianism is not sweet love and kindness  
4 and brotherhood, you know, it's a militant philosophy, and  
5 Chinese totalitarian communism is the most militant  
6 philosophy in the world today, the most aggressive militant  
7 philosophy -- If that goes unchecked, we'll either meet them  
8 some place else in Asia, or we'll meet them in Hawaii, or  
9 Australia, or Seattle, or San Francisco. Some day you'll  
10 meet them.

11                   You don't think the Chinese Communists are  
12 building those ICBM's for a Fourth of July celebration, do  
13 you?

14                   (Applause.)

15                   They know that there are no ICBM's aimed at  
16 them.

17                   (Applause.)

18                   MODERATOR LESTER: Mr. Vice-President, I think  
19 we should only impose upon your time for one more question,  
20 so I will ask Dave to ask that question, and I hope he makes  
21 it a good one.

22                   VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I'm sure he will.

23                   MR. ALTMAN: We've been discussing the  
24 Great Society, and its programs, and the need for them. I  
25 would just like to ask you, in view of the world situation

1 in Viet Nam, and possibly in Germany, and possibly in Korea,  
2 and possibly in South America; and in view of the riot-torn  
3 summers we've experienced, and it looks like it might get  
4 worse; and the fact that we're going to have to spend more  
5 money in some areas, yet cut expenditures, what is the  
6 priority system that our government will use to determine  
7 what stays and what goes?

8 VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: That is a very  
9 good question. An extremely difficult one, I might add.

10 Let me just state first of all that it isn't  
11 all as bleak as that. It could blow up any time. We're  
12 living in an explosive world. The proliferation of nuclear  
13 weapons makes this world more dangerous every day, and yet  
14 it is your government which has promoted the nonproliferation  
15 treaty; it is your government which asks for the nuclear  
16 test ban treaty. I was one of the co-sponsors of it, so I  
17 know the initiative that was taken.

18 It is true that South America could explode.  
19 But it is also true that it's better off now than it has  
20 ever been. The Alliance for Progress is working. The  
21 Organization of American States is being strengthened.  
22 A year and a half ago the Dominican Republic looked like it  
23 was gone down the drain. Today it is not nearly what they  
24 would like, or what we would like, but it is a free and  
25 independent country, an elected government, with all of its

1 inadequacies.

2 South America, Central America, Latin America,  
3 regional development, growth of a common market, improved  
4 gross national product, per capita income-- it is better.

5 Europe is immeasurably better. One of the  
6 great success stories of American foreign policy is Europe.  
7 The relationships between the East and the West are better.  
8 In our relationships today a Rumanian Communist is president  
9 of the United Nations, yet he is not a stooge of the Soviet  
10 Union, or of China.

11 It is better. Asia is better. There are  
12 developments in Asia today that have never taken place in a  
13 thousand years. The Asian, the Southeast Asian association  
14 is a fact. A regional development in education, health and  
15 agriculture.

16 The Pacific-Asian Conference that was held at  
17 Seoul, Korea, two years ago, of ten free nations of Asia, is  
18 a going concern. Its second meeting was held in Bangkok.

19 The Asian-American Bank is a going concern.

20 Japan has taken a great interest, economic  
21 interest, in the development of Asia.

22 India is a free country, despite the fact that  
23 she's been attacked twice in five years by Communist China

24 Things are not worse. Things are better.

25 America is better.

1                   We have problems in our cities, but we had  
2 them before.

3                   What's better in America is that the health  
4 of the American people is better; there are more jobs;  
5 there's greater income; there are more students in school,  
6 six and a half million in our universities; tremendous  
7 social progress made in our country. For the first time  
8 we've cut into the ranks of the real poor, we've reduced the  
9 number in poverty in one year by six and a half million.  
10 We're beginning to get at the illiterates. We're having an  
11 aroused American public conscience about the quality of life  
12 in the slums of our cities. The urban coalition, representing  
13 tremendous enterprise, some of the great bankers and finan-  
14 ciers and businessmen of America, along with church leaders,  
15 and political leaders; a thousand men in the Urban Coalition  
16 meeting in the nation's capitol, making a national commitment  
17 to the development of a better life in our cities.

18                   Things are better.

19                   I think the real trouble in America is we  
20 enjoy beating ourselves about things are bad. Of course  
21 there are problems. There have always been problems.  
22 Terrible problems. When people went to the West they had  
23 problems. They couldn't get along with themselves or the  
24 Indians. When they opened up the great grasslands of the  
25 West they had problems -- drought and pestilence.

1 We've always had them. But we've got more  
2 to do with today than ever before. More young people  
3 better educated, more science, more technology. Tremendous  
4 breakthroughs are taking place.

5 So I'm an optimist, and one of the reasons I  
6 am, there are so many pessimists, I don't like to get  
7 where there are such crowds. But I have reason to be  
8 optimistic. In Washington I'm sometimes jokingly referred to  
9 as Washington's perennial, congenital optimist. That's  
10 supposed to make you bad, you know. I say I welcome the  
11 title. First of all, there isn't as much competition over  
12 in that area.

13 There are some people who feel that they  
14 prove themselves an intellectual by being a pessimist, and  
15 being a critic. You don't prove yourself intelligent by  
16 being a critic. You sometimes just prove you don't know  
17 very much. Criticism is not to be equated with intelligence.  
18 Sometimes it is just equated with a belly-ache. You're just  
19 unhappy.

20 I don't say that you should be Pollyannish  
21 or foolish about your country, or about yourself, or about  
22 your college, or your state, or your family. But I think  
23 that America represents something more than the sum total of  
24 mistakes. And when I look back as a student of history, and  
25 I am a professor of government and of history, I think when I

1 study what America has been it isn't just the sum total of  
2 her limitations and her mistakes. This country hasn't  
3 gotten where it is because every man that was president  
4 didn't know what he was doing. It didn't get where it is  
5 because every businessman was a crook. It didn't get where  
6 it is because every man in a pulpit was a hypocrite. It  
7 didn't get where it is because every generation was worthless.  
8 Yet, when you read each generation, when you think about it  
9 and hear about it, you think that everything has gone wrong.  
10 There's more good being done in the world today than ever  
11 before, more sick being healed, more naked being clothed,  
12 more poor being fed, than ever before; more good being done  
13 by your country than ever before.

14 And I think it's about time that we understood  
15 it, and not go around and sell ourselves short, because let  
16 me tell you something: If we can't make things work out here,  
17 if we Americans with our wealth, with our power, with our  
18 education, with our science, with our technology, with our  
19 security, if we can't make a better life for people here,  
20 who the dickens do you think can in this world? We do  
21 represent hope in the world. We represent the last chance  
22 for a lot of people. And I'm proud to be an American and  
23 help people have that chance. And we're helping an awful  
24 lot of people today have the only chance they ever had,  
25 either at home or abroad. And I think that's the mission of

1 this country.

(APPLAUSE.)

2

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4

MODERATOR LESTER: Our program comes to an  
end, and would you please stay in your seats until the Vice-  
President and his party have left.

5

6

Thank you.

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