

Young Republican
welcome

Dean Mueller
V.P.

- ✓ Mayor Floyd Hyde
- ✓ Dr. Frederic Ness - Pres. Fresno State College
- ✓ Mike Case - Pres. Student Body
- ✓ Congressman Sisk

NOTES Leonard Heldebrand

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Director Planning and Development

QUESTION AND ANSWER

FRESNO STATE COLLEGE

Ronald Cristando
Pres. Young Demo

FRESNO, CALIFORNIA

OCTOBER 9, 1967

page

↳ I'M HERE FOR TWO REASONS. at least!

THE FIRST IS TO LISTEN TO YOU -- TO TRY TO ANSWER YOUR QUESTIONS.

↳ MY SECOND PURPOSE IS SIMPLY TO INDICATE THAT I, FOR ONE, KNOW THAT CALIFORNIA IS NOT ONE VAST SUBURB OF LOS ANGELES AND SAN FRANCISCO, AND THAT CAL AND STANFORD ARE NOT THE ONLY GREAT SCHOOLS IN THIS STATE.

FRESNO STATE COLLEGE

FRESNO, CALIFORNIA 93726



September 22, 1967

Mr. Norman Sherman
Office of the Vice President
of the United States
500 "N" S.W.
Washington, D.C. 20024

Dear Mr. Sherman:

This will confirm our discussion yesterday about the visit of Vice President Humphrey to our campus on October 9th. Our Public Ceremonies Committee has been alerted to the needs. We will await further word from you.

Following is the "local flavor" information desired. Most of the items relate to projects in which the Vice President has a strong interest.

1. Peace Corps Training Program. This is our third group (see news release attached.)
2. International Institute of Housing Technology. The program is in its second year. It is designed to help needy people of emerging nations build sturdy, low-cost homes on a self-help basis. (see news release and brochure attached)
3. International Living Center. This is the only one among the 18 California State Colleges. This last year more than **290** students from 53 countries attended the College, many of them as residents at the International Living Center. Both American and Foreign Students live at this center. (see attached release.)
4. Operation Fair Chance -- City and Regional Planning Programs. The College has a pioneer Operation Fair Chance program that is making educational history in California. In addition, to cope with growing urban/rural problems, the College has just established a unique program in planning for moderate-sized and small-sized cities - the only one of its kind in California Higher Education and possibly in the country (see attached news releases.)
5. An Outstanding Agricultural School and Plant. Our winery is one of the best in the country among Colleges. In addition, the School is involved in various research projects, many of them Federally financed. (see brochure and news releases.)
6. Moss Landing Marine Laboratories. This is a five-college project in which FSC is involved. Dr. Harold E. Walker, our executive vice president, is Chairman of the Board of Directors of this Project.

Fresno State College

Page 2

Mr. Norman Sherman

From an expansion standpoint our College is now in the midst of a \$26,800,000 construction program to be completed by 1973. Our new Art Building, to be completed by 1968, is partly financed by a \$476,283 grant from Health, Education and Welfare. Our new 7-building Residence Hall complex, scheduled for completion in 1968 at a total cost of \$3 million, is entirely Federally financed.

If desired by the Vice President, Mike Case (this is the way he likes his name) our Student Body President, will moderate the forum and introduce the Vice President. Dr. Frederic W. Ness, President of Fresno State College, will open and close the meeting. I am also including some biographical data about President Ness along with the information concerning important programs relating to the Vice President's interests.

Incidentally, our new director of planning and development is Leonard Hildebrandt, formerly of Minneapolis, who has shared interests with the Vice President in the Peace Corps. I understand they have known each other for some years.

As contemplated, press announcements at this stage are being released through Congressman Sisk's liaison here in Fresno, Mr. Jack Grady.

Whatever needs arise concerning the Vice President's visit, I can be reached at the College (209) (487-2795) or at my home (209) (439-5946). I will provide additional details as the arrangements progress.

Sincerely,



Harold E. Green
Director of Community Relations

HEG:lha
Enclosures

FRESNO STATE IS NOT ONLY A GREAT PLACE TO VISIT. IT IS A GREAT PLACE TO GET AN EDUCATION.

and the PURPOSE OF EDUCATION ^{*that*} ~~IS NOT~~ IS NOT DILUTED

IN THE SLIGHTEST IF AT THE SAME TIME THE BULLDOGS WIN SOME GAMES AND ^{*Warmerdam's*} DUTCH WARMERDAM'S MEN RACK UP SOME NEW TRACK AND FIELD RECORDS.

Bulldog

But I WANT ESPECIALLY TO COMMEND YOU FOR ^{*your*} NON-ATHLETIC PROGRAMS.

a special note of commendation for THE FIRST ^{*of*} YOUR SERVICE IN WELCOMING AND TRAINING PEACE CORPS VOLUNTEERS FOR OVERSEAS DUTY.

Clyde

SEVEN YEARS AGO, AS A SENATOR, I INTRODUCED THE FIRST LEGISLATION IN CONGRESS TO ESTABLISH THE PEACE CORPS. "IT WON'T WORK," SAID A LOT OF THE EXPERTS. ^{*1961-*}

I HAVE VISITED DOZENS OF PEACE CORPS UNITS OVERSEAS. THEY ARE NOT ONLY WORKING, THEY ARE

Peace Corps

EXCEEDING OUR MOST OPTIMISTIC HOPES. AND I URGE
YOU TO CONSIDER SERVICE IN THE PEACE CORPS, OR IN
ITS DOMESTIC COUNTERPART, VISTA.

College
Grads

Then too,
SECOND, I COMMEND YOU FOR THE MODEL UNITED NATIONS
PROGRAM SCHEDULED HERE SOON.

THE UNITED NATIONS REMAINS -- FOR LARGE AND SMALL
NATIONS -- THE GREATEST PRACTICAL HOPE FOR PEACE AND
JUSTICE IN A WORLD TORN BY CONFLICT.

I REMAIN PROUD OF MY SERVICE AS A DELEGATE TO
THE UNITED NATIONS IN THE MID-1950'S -- AN EXPERIENCE
AS CHALLENGING, AS EXCITING AND AS SATISFYING AS ANY
IN MY LIFE. I URGE ALL OF YOU TO PARTICIPATE IN OR
OBSERVE THE MODEL U.N. PROGRAM HERE, AND TO GIVE
YOUR SUPPORT TO THE UNITED NATIONS FOR THE REST OF
YOUR LIVES.

1456-57

U.N.

I SUSPECT THAT, IF WE DO, ALL OF US MAY HAVE
A CHANCE TO LIVE A LITTLE LONGER.

BEFORE WE START, I WOULD LIKE TO LEAVE WITH
YOU A MESSAGE LEFT WITH ME MORE THAN A QUARTER-CENTURY
AGO BY THE AMERICAN AUTHOR THOMAS WOLFE, AND THAT
MESSAGE, MORE THAN EVER, HAS MEANING TO ALL OF US
TODAY AS WE LOOK TOWARD A FUTURE THAT MAY SEEM UNCERTAIN.

↳ "I THINK THE TRUE DISCOVERY OF AMERICA IS
BEFORE US. ↳ I THINK THE TRUE FULFILLMENT OF
OUR SPIRIT, OF OUR PEOPLE, OF OUR MIGHTY
AND IMMORTAL LAND, IS YET TO COME. ↳ I
THINK THE TRUE DISCOVERY OF OUR OWN
DEMOCRACY IS STILL BEFORE US. AND I
THINK THAT ALL THESE THINGS ARE CERTAIN
AS THE MORNING, AS INEVITABLE AS NOON.

I THINK I SPEAK FOR MOST MEN LIVING WHEN
I SAY THAT OUR AMERICA IS HERE, IS NOW,
AND BECKONS US, AND THAT THIS GLORIOUS
ASSURANCE IS NOT ONLY OUR LIVING HOPE,
BUT OUR DREAM TO BE ACCOMPLISHED."

NOW I AM READY FOR YOUR QUESTIONS.

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Age of Discovery
✓ science
✓ space
✓ medicine
Human Relations

Final 1/3 of
20th
century

Transcription of taped recording of speech
and panel questions by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
Vice President of the United States

at

Fresno State College
Fresno, California

October 9, 1967

Transcription by
Louise E. Stevenson

Next to David is Miss Carole Sarkisian. She has graduated from Fresno State and is currently a graduate student. She is editor of the Daily Collegian, a member of the Governor's Advisory Committee on Children and Youth; she is the California Youth Delegate to Mid-Decade White House Conference on Children and Youth; she is a member of the California Steering Committee for 1970 White House Conference, and is currently a graduate student in journalism. Miss Carole Sarkisian. (Applause.)

Our next panelist is Stewart McGee. His major is geology. He is currently president of a local fraternity, is the Senior Justice of Inter-Fraternity Council, Vice President of the State Geology Club, and past member of the 1966 Fresno State College Varsity Basketball team. Mr. Stewart McGee. (Applause.)

To my right, Mr. Manuel DeBrum, an accounting major. He was student body president of his high school; he is President of the California Association of Students Councils for all of the Fresno-Madera county areas; he is a member of several governor's advisory committees; is a member of Who's Who in American High Schools; he has been active in student government, an administrative assistant to past student presidents, and a member of the Farm Bureau. He lives on a dairy on the West Side and is very knowledgeable on agricultural questions. Mr. Manuel DeBrum. (Applause.)

To his right is Miss Bonnie Benck. She is president of her sorority, has been active in class government every year here at Fresno State; is senator-at-large for the College Union; is on three different Senate Boards: Athletics, publications, and College Union, She is a social science major. Miss Bonnie Benck. (Applause.)

On the far right, Mr. Tom Tusan. Tom is a senior here at Fresno State College, a political science major. He is a member of the Fresno State College Student Court, Chairman of the College Union Board; Secretary-Treasurer of Blue Key; President of Pi Kappa Delta Honorary Speech Fraternity, and last year was President-Pro-Tem of Interstate ^{Club} Council. Mr. Tom Tusan. (Applause.)

The program will begin as soon as Mr. Humphrey arrives. Thank you.

President Ness:

Ladies and gentlemen, it is usually my prerogative as President of the college to introduce our distinguished visitors. The best that I could wrangle today is to introduce the man who is going to introduce our distinguished visitor. To my academic colleagues, ^{and} to the friends of Fresno State College, I would like to say this, that, as an academic community, greeting not ^{just} only the Vice President of the United States, but a former professor, I claim for us here, sir, the right to hear your points of view, ^{here} vigorously expressed, as I know they will be. I welcome you to the campus. I now introduce Mike Case, who will introduce our speaker. (Applause.)

Mike Case:

I would like to introduce one special guest to you, first. On my right is our Congressman, ^{of this area} Mr. Bernie Sisk. (Applause.)

And the man who certainly needs no introduction at all, the Vice President of our country, Mr. Hubert Humphrey. (Standing applause.)

Vice President Hubert Humphrey:

Thank you, Mike. Thank you. Thank you very much, President Mike Case. Thank you, President Ness. Every place I look there is a president. I thought I was ^{escaping} leaving one when I left Washington, but---. I can't even get away from Congress. Congressman Sisk, it is wonderful to see you again and to meet you out here in this beautiful sunkissed area of America. I asked some of the students when I came in -- I asked, 'How much do you pay to live out here?' I just left Minnesota this morning and we were throwing snowballs at each other at the airport. It has been a wonderful experience to come to this great Valley as I have had the chance today to be here a little while with you.

I was very pleased, President Ness, that you were kind enough to make me feel somewhat at home here by introducing me to a vice president when I came in, Dean Tueller. He looked to me like I look to myself--overworked, and I extended to him the warm hand of fellowship. I told him that we brothers of the vice presidency would stand together against all superior authorities.

I want to thank my Republican friends for a sign I saw outside which said, 'Welcome, Vice President Humphrey--Young Republicans.' I never knew that we Democrats were in such bad shape that the Republicans were going to start being so hospitable to us so early---- (applause.)

But I do want to thank them in all sincerity, and I want to say to Ronald Cristando, the President of the Young Democrats here that if you have any signs that I'd like to see--I'm not sure that you have, but if you have--would you get them out on the way going out--I'd like to make this bipartisan!

There is much on my mind today that I want to talk to you about. I first want to thank the student body, the faculty, and you, President Ness, for being willing to permit me to come to the campus.

WALKOUT.

You know, that last time I had a walk-out it was the Dixiecrats up in Philadelphia. (Applause.)

I was a little worried that my leaders weren't going to get this show on the road. As you've noticed, I was a bit twitchy up here. We seldom get any press on these meetings unless I organize it and I paid every one of those fellows union wages and time and a half ^{hour} overtime to get up and walk out of here! (Applause.) I know just how they felt. I was at the Boston Red Sox ~~vs~~ Twins game. I wanted to walk out in the sixth inning. They didn't wait that long. Well, let's settle down to work, now that we've sort of had a chance to cleanse the air-- (applause.) You know, what worries me about this is -- they must know what I am going to say before I know what I'm going to say. I'm not sure that I would walk out on what I am about to say.

But I come here to, for about two reasons above all. I come here first to listen ~~to~~ to your questions from this distinguished panel, ^{and} hopefully to provide some reasonable response. I'm never quite sure that one is right in the position that he takes. I wish that I was as sure that I am right about the things that I do as some people are that I am wrong about the things that I do. It would give me a greater sense of security.

My first purpose is to be with you, to listen to you. My second purpose in being here is simply to indicate that I, for one, know that California is not just one vast suburb of Los Angeles or San Francisco, and that Cal and Stanford are not the only great schools in this state. (applause.) I know that Fresno State College and the City of Fresno itself is a great place to visit, but it is also a great place to get an education. And the purpose of that education I don't think is diluted in the slightest if, at the same time, the Bulldogs win some games and Dutch Warmerdam's men rack up a few new field and track

records! That won't hurt, either. I'm all for it. As long as you don't play Minnesota. (applause.)

But I am not the coach and I am not here to talk about athletics. Teams generally don't listen to me or there wouldn't be Boston in St. Louis. I was managing the teams in the bleachers--that was the trouble, I guess.

I want to talk to you about your non-athletic programs and to commend this faculty and student body on those programs. I got a little rundown on what you've been up to around here. I think a special note of commendation is due this great college for welcoming ^{me} in a very real sense--not only welcoming, but training the Peace Corps Volunteers that are on this campus for overseas duty. I mention that because seven years ago, as a senator, I was the first to introduce legislation in the Congress to establish the Peace Corps. And my goodness! What an uproar that was! There ^{will} was almost as many that walked out of Congress as walked out of here when I got up to present that. Some people said it won't work. Other people said it was just another one of those fancy, theoretical ideas. Some people had nicer things to say about it than that--nice in quotes. And then we carried that idea out to the American public in the primary campaign in 1960 where I thought I ought to get my views expressed. I should have known I wouldn't get many votes, but I did do a lot of talking about it, and the late and beloved President Kennedy, who was then a candidate in the primaries, as I was--we discussed this all around the country. When he became President in 1961 and I was the majority whip for the Senate, he called me over to the White House one day and he said, "Senator, I would like to have you handle the Administration Bill on the Peace Corps." And I was privileged, as Congressman Sisk knows, to introduce that Bill, hold the hearings on that Bill, manage that Bill on the Floor of the Senate, and finally and thankfully to guide it through to its successful passage. Just last week I addressed the new Peace Corps staff officers in Washington and gave the Oath of Office to the Deputy Director of the Peace

Corps. It's a great program and Fresno State College has contributed immensely to its success. I hope that this college will give a number of its students in the years ahead to the Peace Corps and to the domestic version, the VISTA Program. You will be interested to know that the Peace Corps is one of the larger employers of college graduates. You will be interested also to know that some of our great colleges and universities have as many as 20-25% of their graduates who apply as volunteers in the Peace Corps -- not because of the monetary remuneration-- but (yes, I thought they would come through over here on that)-- but because of the sense of duty, the desire for service, and I think a very rich and rewarding experience that comes to them during their service in the Peace Corps.

Now there are other things that you are doing here that are really breakthroughs, and I wonder if some of you appreciate it--I guess you do or you wouldn't be here. Your International Institute of Housing Technology is making one of the most far-reaching programs for the future betterment of low-income families in the world of any institute of any educational institution. Your International Living Center with your great contingent here of foreign students. It's wonderful to have them come to our country and broaden our perspective, to exchange views with us. We to learn from them and maybe they to learn something from us. (applause.) That's right!

And your fine program of Operation Fair Chance. Your City and Regional Planning Programs. These are innovations. It is what a college is for. A college ought not to be a meadow of meditation or just an island of retreat and reflection. A college ought to be a place where the action takes place and every college student and every college faculty member ought to have a piece of that action. It ought to be a part of the community and not removed from it. And these great state colleges of ours are, in the main, becoming parts of the community, digging into the tough urban problems, digging into the economic

problems, the social problems, making available our faculty and our experts and our graduates and our gifted young people to help others. Last year a quarter of a million college students volunteered their time across this country to help other people to help themselves. A quarter of a million of them. This year we need a half million or more to volunteer their time in community projects, in remedial courses to help kids that are disadvantaged, to help improve the quality of American life. I want to say that I know how deeply concerned young people are over the whole question of peace, as was indicated here today. I have no resentment of these matters. I have been a young man in my day who participated in most every demonstration that anybody ever thought up. The ones that I missed were simply because I didn't hear about them. So I don't really complain much about that--that's part of life and it is really a part of learning.

But I wish to ~~that~~^{say} this, that peace is not something that is passive, and it isn't something that comes by the wishing of it. It isn't something that you just pray about and talk about. The Scriptures say that Blessed are the Peacemakers--not the talkers, not the walkers--in or out. It is the peacemakers. You build them by building a world in which there can be peace. Pope Paul said recently that development is the new word for peace. Development, housing, jobs, employment, agriculture, health, education--that's peace--that's the way you get it. Building nations--preventing those nations from being destroyed by the law of the jungle--that's peacemaking! (applause)

2 I think you are doing a lot of it and I think more young Americans are doing it every day. I have traveled in 49 of the 50 states of this land. I have been to better than a hundred colleges and universities as your Vice President, talking and arguing and debating; having people walk out, walk in, get up, get out--boy, it's been great. I want to tell you there is just one thing about being Vice President--it isn't dull!

I don't know if they have that shield down here or not--yea, they have. I want you to take a good look at that one down there. Now some of you have seen the Seal of the President of the United States--the Presidential Seal. You take a look at that American eagle on there. My goodness, he looks as if he'd had three shots of Geritol and a glass of California wine. He's got his wings spread out like that and he looks good. His feathers are good--he's vital and vigorous and in one set of claws is the sheath of the arrows, representing the/^{pensive} strength of the nation. And in the other claws is the cluster of the olive branches, representing the nation's commitment to justice and peace. The head of the eagle, the eye of the eagle, is turned to the olive branch as it should be.

But take a look at that poor Vice Presidential Seal. There he is! That eagle looks like he were coming in for a crash landing-- (applause)

The eagle looks like he has been on one of those laboratory starvation diets, but he is an eagle, an American eagle, and in one set of claws there is one arrow--just one. In the other set of claws there is just one little old emaciated olive twig over there. But the symbolism is there, and again the eagle casts his eye toward the olive branch. Now about that arrow: I just want you to know I'm saving that for the right time and the right occasion. But I mention this to you because there is a symbolism in this country which I think is very, very important. The strength of this nation is not for self-indulgence; at least it shouldn't be. The purpose of this nation is not to bask in luxury. Our wealth and our strength, I believe, are designed for nobler purposes. The lifting of the quality of life of our people and others/ We are leaders in this world, my fellow Americans. Now some people, when they hear that, they say, 'that's right.' Everybody ought to like us now, they ought to march to our music--that's not the way it is. We are not asking people to march to our music. We want a world where people write their own music and

march to their own cadence. We are not trying stamp U.S.A. across the whole world. We believe in a world order in which there can be, as with people, individualism and so can there be individualism among cultures, ethnic groups, creeds, and nations. We believe in a pluralistic society at home and a pluralistic world--not a monolith either place--a mosaic. The purpose of leadership is not to have privilege or not even to enjoy luxury. The trouble with leadership is that it^mposes unbelievable burdens and duties, many responsibilities. Leadership is not the cloak of comfort, as some people would have it be. Leadership is the robe of responsibility. Now you can always forsake that robe of leadership and there will be somebody willing to take it--always somebody willing to step in. But I would remind this audience that this nation has stood for something for centuries, at least for generations. The idea of the American Revolution is still the most powerful political idea in the world. Life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are not just words. They represent real hope to better than two-thirds of mankind right now. And it is our job to try to add meaning to those words, meaning to life, meaning to the concept of liberty and meaning to what we call pursuit of happiness, which is not indulgence, but genuine character-building, nation-building--the good life, if you please, through education, through understanding, through tolerance, and through good neighborliness.

Now I know this college and I am not going to talk to you much longer here. It has this great United Nations, model United Nations program that you are contemplating here and I gather it is scheduled very shortly. I have served as a delegate to the United Nations. It was my most interesting public assignment. I was there during that crucial period of 1956-57 in the Mid-East Crisis, the Hungarian Revolt. It was a terrifically interesting time and I found that I learned a great deal about this complex world in which we live. The differences that people have, how they see things, and I am pleased that this college thinks

that there is still hope in the United Nations, because I think there is. I happen to believe that with all its imperfections, it offers tremendous possibilities for long-term good. It has been oversold by its most extreme enthusiasts, and it has been undersold by its critics. It is another constructive step in the process of peace. Building peace is like building a cathedral. There are no instant cathedrals and there is no instant peace. There is nothing instant except instant coffee and instant tea. That's about the only thing that I've heard instant. The rest of it takes time, sacrifice, patience, building, developing, constructing. That's why I mentioned in the beginning the Peace Corps. It doesn't bring peace to a land. In many places in which our Peace Corps has gone there has been great political instability, but the Peace Corps is another building block in peace. Not instant peace, but the slow, patient process. That's what this country means and that's what it stands for.

Now I leave you with this thought. Imagine what kind of world it would be today had we not have done what we have done. With all of our limitations, and goodness we surely know that we have not always been right--we've had to learn; we are a pragmatic people; we don't live by doctrine or dogma. We are a pragmatic nation that learns from experience, but with all of our limitations, my fellow Americans, remember this: What kind of America would it have been if the United States of America had not supported the United Nations over the years when others refused to? If the United States of America hadn't stood firm in Europe when others were too weak to do so? If the United States of America under John Kennedy hadn't stood firm with Mr. Krushchev in Cuba and took the chance of nuclear holocaust. If Mr. Truman hadn't have stood firm in Berlin; if he hadn't have stood firm in Korea, with all of the sacrifices. What kind of a world do

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you think it would have been if this country had't have poured out hundreds of billions of dollars in aid to the less fortunate? And we have. No other nation has even approximated it. With all of their culture, with all of their industry, with all of their wealth, and there are many wealthy nations in the world, none have come to even a fraction of the tremendous outpouring of resources and material that this nation has. Now that is not to boast. We have had more. We have had the privilege of service and the purpose of life is to serve. The purpose of life is to help. I think that we are beginning to understand that purpose.

I have a favorite author in the American scene and I thought maybe you would like to know a little something about him. He is that American author, Thomas Wolfe, and I believe that he left a message for you and for me that he wrote about a quarter of a century ago that has meaning to all of us today as we look towards the future that is pretty uncertain, a future that is filled with the wonders of science, technology; a future filled with power. I am not sure that is filled with morality or ethics--that's up to us, but believe me it is a future that is dynamite and dynamic--this last third of the twentieth century which you will live in. You are going to see the Year 2000. I'm working on it. I hope to see it. I can say only this, that more will happen in the next 33 years than has happened in the last 300. Fantastic changes in our economy, in our social habits, our environment, and let us hope that we will have changes for the good in our human relations.

Here's what Thomas Wolfe said, and I like it. It tells me the kind of people we are. He says, 'I think that the true discovery of America is before us.' This is a good time to talk about the discovery of America for we are soon going to come to Columbus Day. I think the true fulfillment of our spirit of our people of our mighty and immortal land is yet to come. I think the true discovery of our own democracy is still before us, and I think that all of these

things are certain as the morning and inevitable as the noon. I think I speak for most men living when I say that our America is here and now. It beckons us that this glorious assurance is not only our living hope, but our dream to be accomplished. What ~~we are~~^{he is} saying is that it is the future, that we are in the age of discovery, and we are going to discover more and more things as we go along, fantastic openings. The greatest discovery that we have made in recent days is that men of different races, creeds, and religions, of different cultural backgrounds, of different origins, of different political persuasions can live together. In fact, we have made the discovery in the atomic age that we must live together or we'll surely die together. And I have come here to ask you to live together. (applause.)

Now, thank you for your patience. Now for the questions. I don't know who starts this, but -- Stewart, do you want to take off here?

Stewart McGee, Jr.:

Fine, thank you. Mr. Vice President:

Mr. Humphrey:

I hope you're friendly, Stewart. You look awfully bright.

Stewart McGee, Jr.:

Mr. Vice President, how can formal education remove from the Negro 200 years of social and psychological scars?

Mr. Humphrey:

Well, I don't think formal education alone can. Let me say that in recent years by law/^{we have} struck down the major impediments to equal opportunity. That is, we have legal equality today in America, open public accommodations, voting, public participation. The Civil Rights Act of 1964, the Voting Rights Act, decisions of the Supreme Court. Hopefully, one of these days we will have

favorable action by the Congress on open housing so that people can move freely from one neighborhood to another. We have built an edifice now of legal rights, but what is really needed now in America over and above the legal rights is the practise, the practise and the acceptance of human equality. That's what is really needed. (applause.)

That tak& some time, but we have made tremendous progress. Formal education is helpful. Let's put it this way, that without formal education for our people, white or black, whatever they are, you're crippled. You're just like a crippled person today in this age, at this time and this place. An education is a vital part of your equipment and the disadvantaged people of America that are poor--whether you're white or black, if you're poor, you're poor, it doesn't make any difference about your color. If you have been the vittom of poor education, lack of opportunity, you are in a sense crippled. Therefore, we must redouble our efforts to help those who have been disadvantaged so long. I've said this and I think I can conclude on this note, Stewart, that when a people have been told a hundred or two hundred years to get to the back of the bus, as our Negro fellow Americans have, and then the day comes when the Courts say and the Congress says you don't have to anymore, you can ride the bus, you can be in the front of the bus, you can pick your seat on the bus, they are apt not even to believe it because there is a sort of automatic reaction that comes from tradition, and when you have been told for so long that you are inferior, that you are to get back, that you are not to have the front place, it isn't good enough to just open the door of opportunity. You also sometimes have to join hands and help somebody walk through that door of opportunity. That means giving a little extra. I've said in the government that if we were half as clever in getting people jobs who needed jobs because in the past they have been discriminated against on the basis of race--if we were half as clever providing jobs as we were in denying them, we would have whipped this whole problem of

discrimination in employment a long time ago. I call upon college students to set the pattern for America. It's going to take a little while to change some adults and some of them are not going to be changed. We've got some haters in this country. We've got some racists in this country. We've got them in whites and blacks. There is no room for hatred in America. There is no room for separatism in America. This is one nation, and I think that the true story of this nation is capsuled very singularly. Sometimes I have heard my academic friends say, well, that is sort of emotional. Well, there's not a darned thing wrong with a little emotion--unless you're a cold fish! And that emotional statement is what we say in our Pledge of Allegiance. You either mean it or you don't! One nation, it says--it doesn't say two! And then in order to give us a proper sense of humility, it says "One nation Under God. Indivisible"--not racked with disunity--"Indivisible and with Liberty and Justice for all!"

Well, you can add that up, my dear friends. If there isn't liberty and justice for all, then there isn't liberty and justice for anybody. Our job today is to make opportunity not a word, but a fact, and we're doing it. We're making progress, but we haven't made enough, and I call upon the younger generation to bestir themselves. If you need to get out and do some social action, if you have a few gripes you want to bent, may I say there's a place to do it right in Fresno, there's a place to do it in California, Minnesota, right across this land. There are hundreds of thousands of people needing your help. Raise the banner of human rights and raise the banner of opportunity, of training, of jobs, of opening doors for the needy people of this country and we'll get rid of welfarism and we'll get into a state of opportunity, which is exactly what America ought to be! (Applause.)

Bonnie Benck:

Mr. Vice President: With the large tax base of the federal government and the relatively narrow tax base of the state government, is the federal government planning to return more money to the state level for the advancement of higher education?

Mr. Humphrey:

Yes, indeed. As a matter of fact, there will be many proposals, I am sure, that are advanced -- You heard the question, I am sure, that with the broad tax base of the federal government and the rather limited tax base of state governments, are there proposals under way, I believe is what you said, are there measures to be taken to give greater funds back to the states for higher education?

Yes. The Higher Education Act itself is a beginning. Over approximately 17% of all of the state budgets at the present time comes from federal aids. There will be, I think, revision in federal aids. For example, many of our federal aid programs ^{now} are burdened down with all kinds of provisos or restrictions and limitations that really deny state government a chance to use federal aid, I think, constructively. So we are looking at what we call block grants now, where you give your state authorities much more leeway in the use of federal funds rather than tying them down to individual types of projects. Now, of course, that means that you put a real burden on your state.

I might say that the State of California, a state which in the past has invested billions in education and thereby has become, if not the leading state, surely one of the leading states in this union because of its tremendous investments in education. When you start to cut back on an investment in education, you take what I call a Grade A State and start to make it a Grade B State. (applause.)

Maybe you would be intersted to know that this year the total sum of federal aid to education in all areas, elementary, secondary, vocational, man-power training, higher education, grants for research, etc., runs over twelve billions of dollars as compared with four years ago of slightly over three billions of dollar[s]. We've done quite a little, and some people don't think enough. I gathered from the last election, some people thought too much. I am not sure what's going to happen next year, but we'll find out. It won't take long.

Tom Tusan:

Mr. Vice President: You spoke in your speech about the 1960 elections. Now we know the '68 elections are approaching and I am sure you know it.

Mr. Humphrey:

Yes, I know it. I have a feeling about that, yes, sir.

Tom Tusan:

Now, in regards to the democratic nomination (that's democratic with a small d--big D, excuse me) there is some criticism of Lyndon Baynes Johnson.

Mr. Humphrey:

What was that, sir?

Tom Tusan:

Now, without formally or informally deploying yourself for presidential candidate, I would ask you--I know you are qualified--why would you be a better candidate than Lyndon Baynes Johnson?

Mr. Humphrey:

I think that what he is trying to tell me is would you rather have arsenic on your breakfast food or sugar? No, really, my dear friend, I am not a candidate for the presidency of the United States. I am sure you know that once a man becomes a Vice President of the United States under a capable President, one

of his privileges and, I think, one of his duties is a quality of fidelity and loyalty unless he feels so strongly over some matter of public policy that he breaks. That has happened in the past, and if I felt that way I would not hesitate to do it again. I broke with my party in 1948 over the Civil Rights issue. I have broken with my party in the past under other issues. I would never hesitate to do so again if I felt strongly about it. I didn't walk out of my party--I fought inside of the party. I didn't think it would do much good to get on the outside--they don't pay much attention to you. You see, I've said many times I would rather have ten minutes in the White House than ten hours picketing outside. I think I have a chance to do more good for what I feel.

President Johnson, undoubtedly, will be the nominee of the Democratic Party in 1968. You were very kind. I thought you were a master of understatement when you said that he was having some difficulty. There isn't doubt in my mind but that he is having a great deal of difficulty. There isn't doubt in his mind that he is having a great deal of difficulty. I've talked to our President a good deal. We visit, we're friends, I served with him for 16 years in the Congress of the United States. I was his majority whip in the Senate; I was one of his deputies when he was Majority Leader. I was with him on the night that he came back from Dallas. I was President Kennedy's majority whip, too, may I say, in the Senate. I worked closely with him. I think I know this man about as well as most people do. Every man in public life has many qualities that are not always visible to the public. I think that we have to understand that when you are in public life you are really not running in a popularity contest. I have been in public life a long time. It is awfully difficult to be popular and to do what you really think is right. I went to the Senate of the United States only to hear one of the leading senators say, "How, in the name of common sense, did the people of the State of Minnesota send that nut here?"

That was because I broke with the issue of Civil Rights, the southern-dominated Senate, totally southern. I served in the Senate for years when we didn't have twenty liberal votes. I introduced Civil Rights legislation every year, as Bernie Sisk knows, from 1949 to 1964, and I lived to manage the Bill. The debate started on February 10 and ended on June 23. 57 quorum calls, roll calls; 292 amendments. I lived with it and I wasn't popular--not at all. If you want to be popular, you should get in the movies. (applause.)

I want to conclude. I just found a little statement--I do a lot of reading on the plane when I fly these long trips. Some people say to me, "Isn't plane riding very tiresome?" I say, "No, its when I get a chance to read." And I have been reading the state papers of Mr. Truman, the State Papers of John F. Kennedy, and I have been reading what they call THE WIT AND WISDOM OF ADLAI STEVENSON. I think that many of you know that Adlai was one of my heroes; he was one of my, if not my most, intimate friends. I went to London to bring his body back. And Adlai said--I just found this the other night and I wrote it on this card--Adlai Stevenson said, "Our objectives are not for the timid; they are not for those who look backward, who are satisfied with things as they are, who think this great nation can ever sleep or ever stand still."

And just about the same time that Adlai wrote that, his friend in the White House, John Kennedy, said this (and I think this is very important for people to remember who ever want to serve in public life): "A man does what he must in spite of personal consequence; in spite of obstacles, dangers and pressures." And this is the basis of human morality. In whatever arena of life one may meet the challenge of courage, whatever may be the sacrifices he faces, if he follows his conscience, the loss of his friends, his fortune, his contentment--even the esteem of his fellow men. Each man must decide for himself the courage that he will follow. Political popularity is like a drawing account; it's like money

in the bank--to be used. And when you take a stand, my friend, to help the poor, not with just welfare checks, which anybody can do--check book diplomacy, check book compassions, the easiest thing in the world in a rich nation--but when you take a stand at a time when people want their taxes reduced, when they want their budgets cut, and you take a stand to help the least of these--the needy, the poor, the minorities--you're not going to be popular with some people. I take a look at President Johnson's popularity ^{rating} down South and ^{its} not very popular in some quarters. When you take a stand, if you please, for a tax bill, knowing that it has never been popular to be for taxes, but you do it because you are worried about the onrush of inflationary forces and the cost of the inflation being much higher than the cost of the tax--it doesn't make you popular. When you stand up against great vested interests in this country on such things as pollution control, truth in lending, truth in packaging, truth in labeling--it doesn't make you popular. When you are willing to take a stand on the international scene that history may have to judge where lives are lost and resources are committed, it doesn't make you popular.

Let me remind you, dear friends, that Harry Truman wasn't very popular in Korea days. I served in the Senate with Harry Truman when he sent our forces into Korea. His public opinion poll rating in 1951 was 26%. He couldn't get much lower and still be President, but I venture to say to this audience that if you walk out of this door and ask any of the people of Fresno to name you ten great Americans in all of the history of this country, I will predict without fear of successful contradiction that one of those ten will be Harry Truman, and I'll tell you why--because he had guts--because he had courage--because he took a stand. He didn't worry about whether he was popular. He even took on music critics when they didn't like his daughter's singing. (applause).

And I would add this--I'm sorry I didn't bring it, but you take a look at the newspaper headlines in '52. Identical words were being used about that struggle in Korea that are being used today. They said it was a war you couldn't win. They said it was a stalemate. They said we shouldn't be there. They said it was unbelievably costly in treasure and manpower. But fifteen years later, go to Korea and see what has happened. A nation that today is making the greatest economic breakthrough of any nation in Asia outside of Japan. A nation that is beginning to feel the first movement towards democracy. I think it was well worth it. It wasn't popular.

Abraham Lincoln wasn't popular, either, In 1864 at his election, his campaign manager said, 'Unless we can get an immediate victory, Mr. President, you'll lose New York, Pennsylvania, and Illinois.' And he was a minority President, by the way. He never got 50% of the vote.

They wanted to impeach James Madison in the War of 1812, and speaking of unpopular periods in history, George Washington was popular when he got elected President, but he wasn't very popular at Valley Forge. One-half of the American Colonists--one-third of them were Tories; about another quarter of them were Neutralists, and possibly one-half of them were for the struggle, and right in the midst of that very war for our independence, legislatures refused to appropriate money for troops, editors were against the struggle, many people said it wasn't worth it. There has never been a popular war, and thank God, the day that this country--that wars become popular, that's the day that America will be in real trouble. But be that as it may, men who are in high office--the President--the man where the buck stops--he doesn't have just the privilege of dissent and debate and discussion--that's what we have. Even a Vice President has that. But I'll tell you that when you get to be President you have the responsibility of decision. And when you have to make decisions, you don't always please people.

But what else is there for you after you've been President? You're not there to see how you can be popular. You're there to see if you can do what's right. And I want to say right for this record that there has never been a President who didn't try to do what was right. Sometimes they have trouble knowing what was right, and that's the main problem. You're going to have that, too, in your life--in your family life, in your personal life. But once you get to be President, the honor of your country, the honor of yourself is at stake. Your life, your fortune, and your sacred honor. And to do what's right is not difficult, but to know what's right.

Abraham Lincoln put it so well. He said, 'With malice towards none; with charity for all, but with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right.' It's pretty difficult to always know what that is. So be a little forbearing, will you? Be a little tolerant. He just may be right, you know. The President has advisers around him from all over America. The President of the United States, who has the fate of this nation resting many times in his hands--he may a little bit more about what's going on in the world than some columnist. He may know a little bit more about it even than some professors. He may know a little bit more about it than some student. I think he does. I think he has the way to know more about it. He may know a whole lot more about it than his Vice President or even a member of the Senate. The only thing I know is we only got one President at a time. We Americans are pretty rough on our Presidents. We shoot some and we abuse others. Once in a while, when the country is in trouble, might I suggest that you give him the benefit of the doubt? That doesn't mean that you have to vote for him. It just means that you can let him at least try to work out the best that he can in a difficult situation, and that's what we are trying to do. I sit in these councils of government. They're not easy. Nobody is particularly happy about some of the decisions we have to make, but we

do what we think is right. And that means that sometimes you lose votes by the thousands, but it is better to lose votes than to lose the country, and it is better to lose an election than to lose your sense of decency and fairness and honor. And, believe me, I can say that's the way we feel about it. (applause.)

Carole Sarkisian:

Mr. Humphrey, now that we have Mr. Sisk with us, perhaps we can clear up a question in some of the minds of those who follow the local poverty program. I'm specifically talking about our Siskiyou County to the north, of Madera County and the California Rural Legal Assistance Organization there, which is funded under the Office of Economic Opportunity. Now the CRLA filed suit against the Madera Unified School District in the delay of opening schools for the harvest of our crops. Now, Mr. Sisk, correct me if I'm wrong that you sent a letter to President Johnson sometime in late September voicing your disapproval of a governmental agency filing suit against another governmental agency, particularly on the Bracero importation in the federal court in San Francisco. Now what can be done so the Central California Action Associates and groups like the CRLA, which is funded by the OEO, to require Mr. Shriver's personal approval before any OEO ^{funded} agency can file suit against any other governmental unit.

Mr. Humphrey:

Well, I don't think we're going to settle that on this platform. Let me just say this, that the OEO has a particular function to perform. I'm a chairman of the Advisory Council of the OEO. We're making many efforts in the War on Poverty that are not very popular and sometimes Congressmen don't like them and sometimes Senators don't like them--as a matter of fact, I'm not even quite sure what kind of a bill we're gonna get out of Congress. I served in Congress a long time and I don't happen to think that Congress is always wrong. They have constituents

that are bearing down on them; there are pressures that come from your local areas, and a member in Congress is not just sitting there with the wisdom of King Solomon. He's also sitting there with the votes of the electorate, you know. And you'd be surprised. Sometimes that does have a way of convincing you.

I believe, myself, quite candidly, that our Legal Assistance program under OEO has been very helpful to the disadvantaged. I went to the American Bar Association Meeting in Honolulu to speak about it and commend it. I know that there has been some kind of agreement worked out here right now. There was a restraining order, for example, by the California Rural Legal Assistance group preventing the importation of some foreign nationals to help harvest--what was it, the tomato crop? or one of the vegetable crops out here. And that restraining order was withdrawn on some kind of an agreement between the agencies. The Employment Service on the one hand and the OEO on the other. They got together and withdrew it and had an understanding. I wish we could do that internationally. That's what we'd like to do. We'd like to get somebody to sit around the table and talk out these difficulties. I'd only say that in the battle on poverty, we're going to make a lot of enemies along this fight. It is not always politically popular again--it's very difficult. We're many times going up against the established order in this struggle. They call it "The Establishment." Many times that establishment has not taken into consideration the needs of our poor and our deprived. And the purpose of the OEO is to give the poor some pout, to give them some strength to get up so they can stand up and fight for their rights. Now sometimes they don't win, but I'll tell you what: They are winning more fights than they ever won before. And once in awhile my friend, The Congressman, and I may disagree on this. I had a disagreement last week with Mrs. Humphrey. Fortunately, she won, according to her, but agreement is not always necessary. What's important is, it seems to me, that we try to proceed to break down these

barriers that have kept these people poor, disadvantaged, with a sense of hopelessness and despair. Mr. Shriver is under great pressure today. The Congress of the United States has cut back his activities, and when Mr. Shriver is under pressure that means Lyndon Johnson! The rest of us just work around there. All of this stuff stops at the White House, and every time somebody is mad at OEO, they don't - Shriver is not running for anything--I don't think--and he hasn't told me that he is. I think he is trying to do a good job as the OEO Director. It is President Johnson who has to take the political beating. Now President Johnson supports the OEO, supports its programs. Sometimes we run into trouble in Congress because of this, but in the long run we work it out. Sometimes we're not right. I think we've supported some projects that have been very foolish and we've supported some that have been very good, but we're trying. It's like trying to find the cure for cancer. We've put a billion dollars in the last three years from the government looking for a cure for cancer and we haven't even come close. But you don't go around and x tar and feather the doctors and you don't say burn down the laboratories, close up shop! No, what you say is--somebody gets up in Congress and says give 'em another billion. I wish that we would be half as concerned about trying to get at this social cancer called "poverty" as we are against this physical cancer called "cancer of the malignancy" because both malignancies are deadly. Both of them. Give us the chance to experiment, pioneer. Give us the chance to get at the real causes of poverty and I think we'll be able to show you a better America in the days ahead.

I can't settle--what is it, the Madera County x dispute, but I'd be mighty glad to take it under advisement! with Congressman Sisk! (applause)

David Brodie:

Mr. Humphrey: There is one area of foreign affairs that is particularly of concern to all of us in this auditorium and that is, of course, Viet Nam. Is there any way for you to explain, or for the administration, for that matter, to explain ~~how~~ the seeming disproportion between the great loss of life that we are suffering there, not only our troops, but our allies, and the seeming lack of results that we are getting there.

Mr. Humphrey:

Yes. Your question really poses the question of Viet Nam, not in terms of current events but in perspective. A very thoughtful question. I do not have all the answers to Viet Nam, but I'd like to share just a few observations with you. That little country, and it is a country, it is an area of the world. It has some vital people, tremendously vital people as we've found out--North and South. It's had a thousand years of foreign rule under what they call 'The Mandarin Rule,' a hundred years of French-Colonialism, and twenty-seven years of war. That's its background. And yet, today in South Viet Nam there is the beginning of nation building.

My fellow Americans, let me take you back in a little history about your own country. We had the benefit of English rule, brilliant scholars, of a great degree of self-government even before 1776. Yet it took us seven years of bitter battling, bitter fighting to gain what we call our independence. Seven years of it. And corruption was rampant, my dear friends. I am somewhat of a student of history--I'm a little rusty, but I'm sort of a refuge from the classroom. I used to teach a little American Government and American History. I think the Vietnamese have done quite well in light of the problems that they face--beseiged within and from outside. Civil war, in a sense, with the Viet Cong and the National Liberation front, which is openly financed and organized and developed from Hanoi. But, be that as it may, it's a struggle within/Viet Nam and then South

agression from the North--open, infantry, battalions and divisions--and they were there before we ever got there. I want to make the record perfectly clear. They were in Laos before they were in Viet Nam and they were in Thailand before they were in Viet Nam. Those forces are on the move in Southeast Asia.

This little country is struggling to build a nation. It never had, really, a nation spirit in this sense of central government. What's happened in this period of time? I went to Viet Nam last year, in 1966, in January--February of 1966 after the Honolulu Conference. It seems like a long time ago, but it's only a few months ago. At that Honolulu Conference there was a pledge made of an elected Constituent Assembly to write a constitution and after that constitution the promulgation of it and then the election of a president and the election of a parliamentary body and district elections and village and hamlet elections--in a war. Now let's see what happens.

How did we get our constitution? Well, the boys got together at Anapolis first. Had a little secret meeting over there. George Washington, James Madison, Alexander Hamilton. And they said, "Listen. These Articles of Federation are for the birds. They don't work. It leaves us nothing but trouble. We've got to do something." And somebody reminded them that the colonies were very jealous of their local autonomy--just like the provinces are in Viet Nam. Very jealous of it, they said. And then the Father of our Constitution, James Madison, said, "Well, we will call a meeting--not to scuttle the Articles of Confederation, but to talk about them. Possibly to modestly revise them." So he said. So they sent out a little engraved invitation to the respective governors of the colonies, of the independent states then. There were no elections. Nobody got elected to go to the Constituent Assembly in Philadelphia. They were appointed--right out of the legislative bodies and elsewhere. They didn't have any quick popular election around the thirteen states to see who

was going to go. 100 were appointed--not elected like in Viet Nam, and there wasn't any war, either. 55 came. They got there a little late. They couldn't even get a quorum when they were supposed to. It took them a couple of weeks. They had to wait around until they got enough to open. 39 stayed. 38 signed. We barely got enough out of the 55 to get a working majority of those that finally got there. A hundred were supposed to come, my fellow Americans; 55 came; 39 stayed; 38 signed. That's the beginning of the Constitution of the United States. Now, fortunately, it was ratified by popular election insofar as popular elections were concerned.

But in Viet Nam the age of voting is 18. And in those days there were property people that there was universal suffrage in this country for males age 21 and national elections in Andy Jackson's time. That's quite a little while after the beginning of the Republic. The capitol of the United States was moved eleven times from 1776 to 1790. It was pretty hard to find it--that was one of the real problems the British had. Where was the government--who knows where the government is?

We obtained our independence, my dear fighting fellow Americans, with French Fleet bottling up the British--not a single American vessel--and most of the troops at Yorktown being French, over half of them, and most of the casualties being French. And if you don't believe it go to Yorktown and see the monuments. And we got a loan from Louis XVI, that great Democrat, that great lover of freedom. He came to our aid in the war of independence for the very same reason that we are in Viet Nam. He considered it in his national interests at that time and place.

We are not in Viet Nam because we are social workers alone. We're there because we think that it is necessary there from the experiences we've learned from World War II and prior to World War II to stop aggression before it becomes rampant. And, by the way, some mighty great Americans felt that way. I think

you'd be interested to know that I was reviewing the Huntley-Brinckley Show not long ago. The interview that the late President Kennedy had with Mr. Brinckley in 1963, just before his death. Mr. Brinckley (here's the transcript): "Have you any reason to doubt this so-called Domino Theory that if South Viet Nam falls the rest of Southeast Asia will go behind it?" President Kennedy: "No. I believe it. I believe it. I believe that the struggle is close enough. China is so large, looms so high just beyond the frontiers that if South Viet Nam went it would not only give them an improved geographic position for gorilla assault on Malaya, but would also give the impression that the wave of the future of Southeast Asia was China and the Communists. So I believe it. I don't agree with those who say that we should withdraw. This would be a great mistake," said John Kennedy.

"We took all this, made this effort to defend Europe. Now Europe is quite secure. We also have to participate and we may not like it in the defense of Asia. "We can't make the world over," said John Kennedy, "but we can influence the world." The fact of the matter is that with the assistance of the United States, Southeast Asia and all of Asia has been maintained against a powerful force, the Chinese Communists. What I am concerned about is that Americans will get impatient and say because they don't like events in Southeast Asia or they don't like the government in Saigon that we should withdraw. That only makes it easy for the Communists. I think we should stay," said Mr. Kennedy.

Now that is one of the Presidents who thought we ought to be there. Dwight Eisenhower was another one. Lyndon Johnson is the third. It's a painful process. No one has said that it would be soon or quick. It wasn't so in Korea; it wasn't so in Malaya. The British fought there for seven years. Savana Puma, the Prime Minister of Laos, a Neutralist, severely condemned by John Foster Dulles as being too neutral is today the Prime Minister of Laos under the 1962

Laotian Agreement to which we put our name, to which China put her name, to which Russia put her name, to which North Viet Nam put her name. And today the pat of Lao, the Communist forces that agreed that they would stop their war, that they would stop their gorilla activity, that they would stop their infiltration and aggression. Today the Pat of Lao wages war in Laos backed up by North Vietnamese troops. Savanna Puma, the Prime Minister of Laos, came to this man's office--your Vice President's--in October of 1966 when President Johnson was in the hospital and I was, in a sense, acting in charge of our Cabinet. And he said to me, "Mr. Vice President, I read much in this country about the necessity of your government stopping the bombing. I read ~~xxx~~ about that you should withdraw. Mr. Vice President, if you stop the bombing or you withdraw there will be no Laos. There will be no Free Asia."

Only recently, the Prime Minister of Singapore--no great friend of the United States, highly critical of this country in the past--said, "The hope of a Free Asia rests in the American presence in Southeast Asia." (applause.)

I think, friends, the record is there. (applause.)

Let me just give you a little encouragement here. I got an index of some figures of this War in Viet Nam. The first six months of this year. It's hard to get them, by the way, sometimes. We have a little trouble communicating. I don't know why. Enemy fatalities are up 288%. The ratio of enemy to friendly, 1967, fatalities were up 288% from '65 in 1967 for the Viet Cong. The Chu Hoi Program, which is the program of taking the defectors from North Viet Nam and Viet Cong, bringing them back into the nation of South Viet Nam--that program is up 357%. 18,076 desertions from the North Vietnamese and Viet Cong forces in the first six months as compared to 9,000 for all of last year, as compared to 3,000 for 1965. The amount of population control--that's very important--not area, but population control. The Government of Viet Nam in 1965 had population control of approximately 8,300,000. In 1966, 9,600,000. In 1967,

12,100,000. The Viet Cong aligned, that is Viet Cong areas controlled: 1965, 6,300,000; 1966, 5,400,000, 1967, 4,700,000.

It's a slow process, but it is working. The side that is failing in Viet Nam is not your side--not the side of the Allies. The side that is failing is Ho Chi Min. I saw a sign here which says--in this stadium, this room--"Unite Viet Nam Under Ho Chi Min." Well, you can unite Germany under Communism, too. They want it that way, you know. You can unite Berlin under Communism, too. Oh, yes, you can unite Korea--why not say unite Korea under Communism? These divided countries can all be united under the Communists if that's what you want. I think there's a real test going on in this world to see which one has the more stamina. We're not uniting Berlin under Communism. We've pledged the resources of this nation for one city--I hope you know that, and that's been pledged by Franklin Roosevelt, Harry Truman, Dwight Eisenhower, Adlai Stevenson, John Kennedy, and Lyndon Johnson. No President has ever feared nor any candidate for President--none has ever said that we wouldn't give all our lives, our whole nation, for Berlin. You know why? Not because of Berlin, but because we've said that if Berlin falls then nobody can believe that we'll keep our word. That is a simple fact. When John Kennedy was President, he organized 250,000 Reserves--called them up. I was in the Senate, his leader. We passed a budget increase of \$9 billion one afternoon. We sent 50,000 more troops to France. We sent a division of troops through Germany, through East Germany, on the road to Berlin with orders to shoot, to kill, to fight, if they didn't get out of our way because we had a commitment to Berlin. Fortunately, that commitment didn't have to be called. But we were prepared, and at the head of that column was then the Vice President of the United States, sent by John Kennedy, to show the determination of this nation. It takes some guts ~~kn~~ ~~kn~~ and some courage to do these things. But it's paid off. Now if you want to just fold up your tent, you can make peace. Neville Chamberlain knew how

to do it. He said, "Sudatanland? What's that? It's a far-away place," he said, "with a strange people and a strange-sounding name. Austria? What's that? Peace in our time."

You can always appease. I think we've learned that lesson. It is not an easy lesson, but, my dear friends, I think the question that is being decided now is not the little skirmish that's going on here and there, but whether or not certain nations are going to get the idea that they can have it their way and then go too far and then the day comes of Armageddon--the Day of Nuclear Confrontation. That's the danger! 'Cause this nation will not be backed in a corner, you know, ultimately. Some place we'll have to stand. Where will it be? Communist China today has nuclear weapons. Communist China today is a very militant, nervous, strident nation. Eight hundred million people. What does it want? It wants Southeast Asia, which is the bread basket. It almost had Indonesia, the fifth largest nation in the world. Today it doesn't have it, and why doesn't it have it? Ask its own leaders. Because we were there in Southeast Asia to give them a chance to cleanse their house and to fight for their own freedom. What else does China want? It wants the industrial and technological capacity of Japan. But let's say that it doesn't get that. Let's say that it gets the 225,000,000 people of Southeast Asia plus its 800,000,000. Where do you meet them, or don't you?

Now if there is one country that ought to know about them, its India. The Indians, you know, have had a little problem with China. An old associate of mine in the United Nations, Mr. Krishnaminta, became their Defense Minister. Mr. Minta decided that the thing to do was to adjust foreign policy of India to China. And he did. And China attacked them twice in five years. And today India wonders what it can do, what will its security be.

So we're making a stand, my dear friends, as I see it. This is as I see it. I may be wrong. I see it with Kennedy. I see it with Eisenhower. I see it with

Lyndon Johnson, the men who have had the best advisers that this nation can provide. I see it that if we don't stand there now we'll have to stand some place else later. And if we stand some place else later, the aggressor's appetite will be whetted. He will then be equipped with massive weapons of destruction. And one of these days the unbelievable may happen. I know about these weapons of destruction. I'm on your National Security Council, my fellow Americans. I think I know a little bit about intercontinental ballistic missiles, anti-missile missiles, about the Polaris, about all of these things, and the job we're trying to do now is for you and for generations yet unborn, that we will not have to pit the massive power of this country against a massive enemy. And if we have the patience and the perseverance and the will and the stamina--if we don't panic, if we don't run, if we don't show weakness, and if we don't let people drive us to extremes. The All-Out War. Or if we don't withdraw, the easy way out. If we'll just stick with it and probe for peace relentlessly. Build nations relentlessly. We're going to live in peace. We're going to live in peace.

If the men in Europe in the thirties had challenged Hitler in the Rhineland when he fortified the Rhineland when he violated the Versailles Treaty, if they had challenged him at Czechoslovakia, there might never have been World War II. Who knows? At least that's what the historians say. I know one thing: That giving him half of Europe didn't in any way satisfy his appetite. I don't think there's ever been an aggressor that's been satisfied by victory. I think all of them become ever more passionate for more victory, and the only way that I know to handle an aggressor is the way you handle any bully: Stand your grounds before he terrifies the neighborhood, before you have to bring massive force. And we're standing our ground, and if you stick with it, my fellow Americans, it won't be long because this crowd that's fighting over there cannot take it. They have not the resources of this great America or our Allies. They know it.

We know it. The trouble is we keep telling them we don't know it. And they're hoping that somehow or another our will will crack, they're hoping that we'll give up, they're hoping that we'll back up, they're hoping that we'll get in such disunity, such a political confrontation at home that we'll be like the French. Remember what Ho Chi Min said. He said, "We did not win in Indo China." Ho Chi Min said, "I won," said Ho Chi Min in Paris. Let's hope and pray he doesn't win in Washington. One thing I can tell you, that as long as Lyndon Johnson's President and I'm Vice President and have a vote on the Security Council, Ho Chi Min is not going to win in Washington. He may win in California, but he's not going to win in Washington, I'll tell you that! (applause.)

Thank you very, very much. It's time to quit! Good afternoon.



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