

REMARKS OF
HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
VICE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

April, 1968

WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY
STEVENS POINT, WISCONSIN

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917 G St., N. W., Washington 1, D. C.

1 MR. And now here is the President of
2 the university, Dr. Dreyfus, who will introduce the Vice
3 President.

4 (Applause.)

5 DR. DREYFUS: Mr. Humphrey, would you like to be
6 President here and let me run?

7 (Laughter, applause.)

8 I want first to have you meet Mrs. Humphrey, our
9 Vice President's wife, who is right down here.

10 (Applause.)

11 I would also like to have, since we have guests with
12 us who are not of our campus, to meet our Regeant Miss Mary
13 Williams, who is with Mrs. Humphrey.

14 (Applause.)

15 And one special introduction, the wife of our
16 former President, Mrs. Jane Albertson. Jane, will you please
17 stand?

18 (Applause.)

19 Since we do have guests, I suspect I ought to at le
20 least let you know the ground rules. Our university does not
21 operate as all universities do. In this university our stu-
22 dents insist that all points of view will be heard. We
23 expect, then, simply those rules of normal fair play that
24 come under our first amendment. This is the first amendment
25 of the university, freedom of assembly and freedom of speech.

1 I will say no more on that.

2 (Applause.)

3 I did have a note from LBJ, Mr. Vice President, in
4 which he said, "Tell Triple-H not to leave his tuxedo in
5 Stevens Point."

6 (Laughter.)

7 As part of our continuing push to put Wisconsin
8 State University-Stevens Point in the mainstream of academic,
9 social and political life, I think, we have brought here for
10 you to question as well as to listen to, the Vice President
11 of the United States, Mr. Hubert Humphrey.

12 (Applause.)

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you, Doctor. Thank
14 you, Dr. Dreyfus, and thank you very much, Steve Matson, and
15 members of the panel. And I am very happy to see Mrs.
16 Albertson here today. I think all of us know that it was
17 just one year ago today that this dear lady lost her very fine
18 husband, as he was serving his country in the cause of peace
19 in what I like to term "the other war," for a decent society.

20 Mrs. Albertson, our hearts go out to you. Once
21 again we commend you for your wonderful, faithful service to
22 all that this Republic stands for.

23 Now, Dr. Dreyfus, I have heard a great deal about
24 you.

25 (Laughter.)

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And now I am beginning to believe it is all true.

(Laughter.)

I have heard a great deal about LSD but I didn't know it came in a red vest.

(Laughter, applause.)

You just don't know what will happen in this psychedelic society of ours any more.

(Laughter.)

But I can see that you do things here in a big way at this great growing university, Wisconsin State University. I see, for example, that you economize. You have a low-budget Meet the Press here without Larry Spivak. I don't know who is the mean one amongst this crowd, but it won't take long to find out.

(Laughter.)

And I am very happy that you're kind enough to introduce Mrs. Humphrey. I think I should tell the students that long before LBJ ever thought about student loans I married one, and it helped a great deal.

(Laughter.)

We went through the University together. I was doing what you're doing, telling my wife and my parents that I was studying while I had my wife working. And I will tell you, it's a great system, fellows.

(Laughter.)

1 I am happy to be presented on any campus these days.
2 Politics is a very precarious business and, from what I am
3 hearing, it is getting more precarious every day. I am a
4 refugee from a classroom and I used to be a political science
5 professor. You never can tell when I may have to take up
6 teaching again.

7 (Laughter, applause.)

8 Dr. Dreyfus, I may be a little rusty, but I want the
9 students to know I am a soft grader.

10 (Laughter.)

11 And I believe in student power at our colleges and
12 universities, particularly if they are taking up my cause.

13 (Laughter.)

14 Now, I am not going to do what Bob Hope did when he
15 talked to a group of students like this down at Georgetown
16 University at commencement because I want to give you a little
17 more assurance. But he was addressing the commencement
18 class there about two years ago and here is what he said:

19 He said, "My advice to you students who are about
20 ready to go out into the world -- don't do it. I think that
21 you ought to go, even though, as Aldous Huxley said, that he
22 had looked into the future and, he said, it won't work. But
23 if you stock with it I think it might work."

24 I want to talk to you just a little bit about
25 what is happening on our college campus and what is happening

1 in our country.

2 I understand that everybody knocked off classes here
3 when the temperature reached 50 the other day.

4 (Laughter, applause.)

5 And I understand you had a totally unrehearsed,
6 spontaneous rally in Iverson Park.

7 (Laughter.)

8 Well, I want you to know that it has been spreading,
9 it is contagious. Something similar happened down in
10 Washington as soon as the weather warmed up. Everybody
11 knocked off and started running for President.

12 (Laughter, applause.)

13 But, I am happy to tell you that no one -- and I
14 mean no one -- is running for Vice President. I intend to
15 occupy the office.

16 (Laughter.)

17 I want to talk politics to you today, not particu-
18 larly partisan politics, but I wouldn't doubt but that we
19 might touch on the fringes of that.

20 (Laughter.)

21 But I want to talk to you about the politics of see-
22 ing that America does what it ought to do for its own citizens
23 and in the world.

24 When I started out in politics some years past, a
25 friend of mine gave me some good advice. He says, "Do what

1 you think is right. It will delight your friends and it will
2 astonish everyone else. Do what you think is right."

3 Now, here are some of the questions that I think are
4 uppermost in the minds of everyone in our country:

5 First, are we in this land going to be able to con-
6 tinue the work of the unfinished American revolution, because
7 it is an unfinished task. The unfinished task of the promise
8 of this land, every man his chance, every citizen a full
9 measure of equality, every citizen a full measure of oppor-
10 tunity, every citizen the right to life and a meaningful
11 life, and to liberty, that has real meaning, and to the
12 pursuit of happiness, which means a wholesome environment and
13 a chance to make something out of his life.

14 And, then, the second question: Are we going to
15 use the strength or, as some people put it, the power that we
16 have judicially, and are we going to use it with restraint,
17 and are we willing to use our wealth with compassion as
18 effective instruments for peace in this world.

19 Now, I think I know what the answer of a student
20 body would be to these questions because they are very ideal-
21 istic questions, and yet they are the questions of our time.
22 I think you would certainly answer yes. And I don't know of
23 any generation that has tried to do more to make those
24 questions be answered in the positive. Students across
25 America are more actively engaged in public service activities
today.

1 today than ever before in our country. Bulletin boards that
2 were once covered with party notices and social notices -- I
3 gather there are still a few of them on the bulletin boards --
4 are now full of community action, political action announce-
5 ments. Student power, it is called across this land.

6 I think it is finding a constructive outlet in po-
7 litical activity and in community service. If ever a gener-
8 ation could be called the volunteer generation, I believe it
9 is this one, volunteers for a host of activities, volunteers
10 for the Peace Corps, volunteers for VISTA, volunteers for
11 work-study programs, volunteers for Community Action programs;
12 300,000 college and university volunteers from our college
13 campuses this past year working the ghettos and in the
14 inner cities to help other people to better help themselves.

15 This part of the student power movement has gone
16 literally unnoticed but it needs to be made a matter of
17 record.

18 I know, for example, that some of you right from
19 this great university are tutoring in the Indian high school.
20 You are helping students, according to the report that I had,
21 at least two nights a week, helping them to better help
22 themselves. Now, that is the kind of personal contribution
23 that can literally make the difference between success and
24 failure, the critical difference between a life of hope and a
25 life of despair and frustration. It is the sort of involve-

1 ment that can spell success in this country for the American
2 dream, because this American dream of hope and of involvement
3 and of full citizenship and full opportunity is not going to
4 come from government alone, not in our kind of society. It
5 must come from citizen participation. It must come from people
6 in every walk of life.

7 Another public service of your generation is provid-
8 ing a sound critique, yes, even a biting critique, of the
9 system, of the establishment. Now Dr. Dreyfus and the Vice
10 President are members of the establishment. Now, Dr. Dreyfus
11 is more a member than I am because he's President, all I am
12 is Vice President. So when you make the critique of the
13 system or of the establishment, you're taking a look at what
14 is going on in our country.

15 Well, let me welcome you to the team. In candor, I
16 was raising cain with the system before -- well, I hate to
17 admit it -- before some of you were born, and I was just be-
18 ginning and, I think I should tell you, I am just beginning to
19 get started, just getting warmed up, and I suppose that I will
20 be raising cain with this system when you're running things,
21 too. And, quite frankly, one of the reasons I wanted to come
22 here was to take a look at you because you're going to be
23 running things and I want to be sure that you're capable of
24 taking care of my Medicare and some of the other things.

25 (Laughter.)

1 It is going to be your country to handle and it is
2 going to be your responsibility. I have a feeling that the
3 history books will tell you, at least in the next century,
4 that your parents -- and I hope myself -- may be listed as
5 some of the greatest radicals in modern history. Now you
6 don't think so now but let me document the case.

7 We were, for example, the first generation in history
8 anywhere that believed so strongly in freedom that we sur-
9 rendered the privilege of telling our offspring that this is
10 how things are, here is how they have always been, this is the
11 way the world is and that is the way it is going to be. That
12 kind of doctrinaire, authoritarian attitude has been surrendered
13 and we have now what we call a much more permissive atmosphere.
14 That was rather revolutionary and radical.

15 Your parents were born in a different environment,
16 in the environment, you might say, of the rural countryside,
17 the hills and the valleys. Today they pass on to you
18 horizons which are in the galaxy, the space age, the age of
19 science and technology, the age of reawakening, of renaissance,
20 every much an age of renaissance as the renaissance that you
21 study in your history books. The difference is that you're
22 making this history rather than studying it.

23 Your parents found new and better ways to care for
24 people. They found out how to keep an economy running at
25 full steam, perhaps because they knew and experienced

1 depression and recession. They have created, by their ingen-
2 uity, wealth, opulence, affluence but also as a society they
3 have also continued to worry about those who don't have
4 enough.

5 Now, it is my view that, despite the critics of our
6 system, this is without a doubt the most reawakened age of
7 America's history. It is an age of ferment, of tremendous
8 change. It is an age of turmoil. And this does not mean that
9 it is an age or a nation, I should say, that is lost. It
10 means, rather, that it is a nation that is groping for a
11 better day, looking about, searching for new ways to improve
12 the quality of life.

13 We march under new banners these days, not the old
14 slogans, they mean little or nothing. But the new banners are
15 the Peace Corps, the Job Corps, VISTA, Headstart, Work-Study,
16 Upward Bound, Operation Outreach, the Teacher Corps, Model
17 Cities, Aid to Education for the Disadvantaged -- yes, and
18 even Freedom Now. Every one of these new banners represents
19 a new forward thrust of American democracy, the real promise
20 of this country to include every citizen within its benefits
21 and to include every citizen within the decision-making pro-
22 cess.

23 So engagement, concern, determination to do something
24 about this system is no new invention. It is the vital
25 catalyst that has made our country what it is today. And,

1 quite frankly, every one of us welcomes any new participants
2 in it.

3 I read a little statement on the plane coming here
4 that I thought I would share with you because sometimes when
5 we talk to one another of different generations they talk
6 about the generation gap. I found, as a teacher -- and I am
7 sure Dr. Dreyfus has, too -- that you can find an 18 or 19
8 year old student that is qualified for social security at
9 least two or three years before. It is an attitude of mind.

10 You know, Oliver Wendell Holmes was walking down the
11 street one day with Justice Brandeis. And Oliver Wendell
12 Holmes, in his eighties, whispered to Justice Brandeis, as he
13 saw a beautiful lovely young thing walking in front of him,
14 he say, "Boy, what I would give to be seventy again." Now,
15 that's a young man.

16 (Laughter.)

17 So this quotation that I give to you, I think, is
18 relevant. Youth is not a time of life, it is a state of mind.
19 We grow old only by deserting our ideals. You are as young
20 as your faith, you are as old as your doubt; as young as
21 your self-confidence and as old as your fear; as young as your
22 hope, as old as your despair. You has nothing to do with the
23 calendar, it has something to do with the heart and the soul
24 and the spirit of man.

25 And this is why I believe that as we think today

1 together of our respective challenges and problems that we
2 can include in this this youth movement, this movement of
3 young people, as we say, those who are willing to pioneer and
4 those who are willing to think ahead.

5 Dr. Dreyfus, I want to thank you very much for say-
6 ing, as you did, that this great university is a first amend-
7 ment university. How good it is that a university understands
8 that the purpose of an education is to broaden man's under-
9 standing, to enrich his spirit, not to clutter up his mind
10 with statistics or detail but, rather, to widen the breadth
11 of his knowledge which can lend itself to the maturity that is
12 called wisdom.

13 Every university ought to be the citadel of intellec-
14 tual ferment. It ought to provide an opportunity for every
15 idea to be expressed, unhampered, without censorship. And I
16 want to compliment this student body in this moment that I
17 have for this respectful, yes, indeed, for this joyous occasion,
18 for the opportunity that you give people regardless of your
19 point of view or regardless of the speaker's point of view,
20 the opportunity that you give to be heard.

21 And if this happens across America, as it should --
22 and you have set one of the finest examples of any university
23 in America -- if it happens across America, America will be
24 the better, America will be the richer.

25 (Applause.)

1 Now, a final word about this system of ours. We
2 have evolved, I think, what is a rather good one but it is
3 always subject to change. For all of its imperfections, it
4 appears to be one of the best decision-making, truth-seeking,
5 consensus-forming mechanisms yet devised by the mind of man.
6 It is also quite a lot of fun and I hope that many of you will
7 be wanting to participate in this decision-making process. If
8 you think that politics isn't all that it should be -- and I
9 know many of you don't -- as some young friends of mine say,
10 it is too dirty, I don't like it -- well, don't sit in the
11 bleachers and on the sideline and be a Monday morning quarter-
12 back, get down on the field of battle, get yourself a bar of
13 political Ivory soap and get in and clean it up. That is the
14 way to do it, and it can be done.

15 I recall not long ago when it was my privilege in
16 my City of Minneapolis to lead what they called Humphrey's
17 Diaper Brigade. We weren't very old but we were filled with
18 the zest of life and with the sense of idealism to do things.
19 The purpose of knowledge is action and a college and a univer-
20 sity should not be a meadow of meditation, it should be an
21 arena of action. Students and university faculty alike must
22 involve themselves in the life of the community. The greatest
23 laboratory of social research is not within the walls of the
24 university but within the community in which a university is
25 located, and proceed forthwith into that community, not to

1 destroy but to learn and to build and to help, not to be a
2 negative cynical critic but with a thoughtful mind of inquiry,
3 of observation, in the hope that you can find answers and
4 solutions.

5 I think Churchill knew best what we were speaking of
6 when we speak of our democratic system. He said that
7 democracy is the worst form of government except all those
8 other forms that have ever been tried. And how right, how
9 right. We tried the pragmatic approach. I think that 1968
10 and the years ahead -- but particularly this election year --
11 is going to give you an opportunity to test our system, to
12 explore its mysteries and to discover its strengths and to
13 make it respond to your will.

14 And, might I add, I couldn't help but respond to what
15 I saw as I came around the corner with the -- out of the
16 corner of my eye and which a friend of mine told me was there
17 for me to observe. And I regret deeply that I didn't come
18 through the front door. But here is what I saw and here is
19 what was reported to me.

20 A right, may I say, is a precious right, the right
21 of discussion, the right of debate and the right of dissent,
22 and let no man do away with it. You cannot have freedom
23 without the ferment of ideas and a compact majority is not
24 necessarily the truth, it might very well be wrong. But also,
25 may I say, history is strewn with the wreckage of militant,

1 dogmatic doctrinaire minorities, too. So we need to be open
2 in our thoughts and we need to be responsive to the needs of
3 the time.

4 I saw a placard that said "Peace! Peace!" Well,
5 I want to agree with that placard and with that message with
6 all the sincerity and conviction of my heart. Peace is the
7 business of sane and civilized men, not only peace in our
8 time but a lasting, enduring peace.

9 I not only agree with it, so does the President. I
10 saw another sign that said "End the war." Any man in his
11 right mind would want to end this war, indeed end the war. I
12 agree with it, so does the President of the United States who
13 must send men under his constitutional responsibilities to
14 the military forces of this country. "Vietnam for the Vietnamese"
15 -- indeed I would agree with that, and so do the American
16 people and so does the President.

17 "Stop the Murder" -- not only in Vietnam, even
18 though that is what the sign says, but stop the murder any-
19 where, in the Far East, the Middle East, in Latin America,
20 and in America itself where violence has become almost a
21 pattern of the day; murder in our cities is as evil as murder
22 in the rice paddies. Violence in our cities can no more be
23 condoned than violence in the world, but violence will not be
24 settled by repressive force alone, it must be settled also
25 through justice, through social works, through constructive

1 deeds.

2 So when they say "stop the murder in Vietnam," I not
3 only agree with it, I plead for it, and so does the President.
4 And that is precisely why President Eisenhower, why President
5 Kennedy, and now President Johnson had committed the strength
6 of this Nation to the proposition of stopping aggression
7 which is nothing more or less than organized murder.

8 May I say to this audience that there is a way to
9 stop the killing and that way is for the combatants and the
10 participants in this struggle to answer the call of peace and
11 to gather around a conference table like these four students
12 have gathered around this table. And I can speak to you as
13 your Vice President, the second highest office in this land,
14 and say to you that on the moment that the enemy will present
15 a responsible official to negotiate a political settlement of
16 the struggle in Vietnam, that within the day, as fast as
17 modern transportation can make it possible, a responsible
18 authoritative official of this government will be there to
19 conclude that peace.

20 We call for a cessation of hostilities. We ask for
21 a cease-fire. We appeal to every nation and every form of
22 political institution to seek that honorable peace, but not
23 the peace of degradation and appeasement, not the peace of a
24 Winston Churchill who came back and said "peace in our time"
25 only to know that the holocaust of war was soon to descend

1 upon Europe, but rather the honorable peace, the peace in
2 which law and order are accepted and respected, in which
3 nations are permitted to develop in their own right to choose
4 their own form of government and in which people are permitted
5 to choose their own way of life -- self-determination, as the
6 Charter of the United Nations says. Every signatory to this
7 Charter is committed to the two propositions of preventing
8 and resisting aggression and promoting and safeguarding self-
9 determination.

10 We signed that treaty, we intend to keep it. It is
11 our hope that others can see the necessity of it, too. You
12 have listened respectfully. I am extremely grateful. And
13 now I turn myself over to the interrogators, the inquirers
14 and the questioners and I am yours, be gentle.

15 Thank you very much.

16 (Applause.)

17 MR. The panel wishes to ask the Vice
18 President five questions. Before the program we were told
19 that we could expect to ask two questions apiece but because
20 of the time element we have decided to limit them to allow
21 for questions from the floor because of the great interest
22 that has arisen with the Vice President's appearance.

23 I will begin the questioning: Mr. Vice President,
24 last week 140 Congressmen announced as co-sponsors of the
25 resolution that calls for a review of United States policy in

1 South Vietnam. It has been the practice of the Johnson admin-
2 istration in times of national crisis, such as the assassina-
3 tion of President Kennedy and the civil disorders in the
4 cities, to establish a Presidential commission to review the
5 facts and make recommendations to the Congress and the Nation.

6 Today the Vietnamese conflict divides the Nation
7 like none since the Civil War, yet the President has refused
8 to establish a Presidential commission that is bipartisan in
9 nature to review total American involvement in South Vietnam.
10 The political ambitions of Senator Robert Kennedy linked to
11 the commission aside, why is this the case?

12 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, first I would con-
13 sider the establish of such a commission rather superfluous
14 in light of what is going on; and, secondly, it would be very
15 doubtful as to whether or not it might not erode what are
16 considered to be the constitutional authorities, powers and
17 responsibilities of the President.

18 But let me -- it is open to debate and discussion.
19 There are honest differences of view about this matter. First
20 of all, your President does have outside advisers. He has
21 them on a regular basis. There will be and there have been
22 this past week several conferences with outside advisers that
23 have come in to discuss -- for example, our policy with China,
24 our policy with the Middle East, and South Vietnam.

25 Not long ago I sat for five hours with General

1 Ridgway and the President. The President asked General
2 Ridgway to come in and discuss with him because General
3 Ridgway was one of those that went to the Bermuda conference
4 that had a slightly different point of view on Vietnam. He
5 was brought in not once but he is considered to be one of the
6 more regular counselors and advisers. There are panels of
7 persons that are not publicly announced that advise and
8 counsel with your President on the outside.

9 Now let me show you some of the problems. Let's
10 assume that we put a commission on this matter of Vietnam of
11 some ten, twelve, fourteen or fifteen members and it is
12 publicly announced who they are. First of all, somebody says
13 why am I not on.

14 Number two, each individual is investigated, he is
15 looked into as to what, if any, prejudices he has. He be-
16 comes another subject of controversy.

17 Number three, where do you start to put members of
18 Congress on it? Do you have Senator Fulbright or do you have
19 Senator Kennedy? Do you have Senator Church or do you have
20 Senator McCarthy? Do you have Senator Clark or do you have
21 Senator Morse? As a matter of fact, the most important panel
22 on American foreign policy happens to be the Congress of the
23 United States, the Committee on Foreign Relations, the House
24 Committee on Foreign Affairs -- of which Congressman Zablocki
25 is a member -- the Senate Committee on Armed Services, the

1 House Committee on Armed Services, and the leadership of the
2 Congress.

3 I think it should be known to this student body that
4 every week your President meets with the leadership of the
5 Congress. I think you should know that every important de-
6 cision that is taken by this government, before it is taken
7 there are consultations with the leadership of the Congress,
8 the elected leadership, the Republican leadership, the
9 Democratic leadership. There is no lack of consultation and
10 there is no lack of free speech and there is no lack of
11 ideas. I can assure you that they throw in from a thousand
12 newspapers and a thousand editorials and they come in in
13 dozens and dozens and hundreds of letters, and panels do look,
14 carefully scrutinize.

15 For example, your government has a working panel and
16 the whole matter of intelligence operations. That panel was
17 chaired for several years by the present Secretary of Defense,
18 Clark Clifford. Your government has had a panel on the whole
19 matter of military tactics. But for us to constantly put the
20 names of each and every one of those before the American
21 public, to put them under duress and pressure as to what if
22 any conflict of interest somebody may think they have or what
23 their attitudes are, I think really places on the President
24 not new advice but a new challenge to answer a question every
25 day, not about what they advise you but who they are.

1 Finally, your President does have a panel that has
2 been set up by Congress called the National Security Council.
3 Now, that National Security Council may not be the best of
4 men but it consists of some rather, at least, important
5 office holders, and we were elected under the Constitution to
6 do two things above all, to provide for the common defense
7 and to promote the general welfare. Those are responsibili-
8 ties of representative government and the National Security
9 Council is established under authority of statute. It con-
10 sists of the President and the Vice President, the Secretary
11 of State and the Secretary of Defense, the Secretary of the
12 Treasury and the Director of the U.S. Information Services,
13 and the U.S. intelligence agencies. And in that council on
14 many occasions are brought into that council many individuals
15 from the Congress or from outside.

16 There isn't any problem of consultation. The prob-
17 lem about Vietnam is not quite so much in Washington as it is
18 in Vietnam itself and in Hanoi. Now, I would think that one
19 of the better suggestions would be if those who in the world
20 are desirous of peace would bring to bear not only upon the
21 United States, as they have, but upon Hanoi itself, to bring
22 to bear the conscience of the world, demanding an end to this
23 war and demanding a negotiated political settlement of this
24 war. But as long as Hanoi feels that all the pressure is upon
25 the United States and none upon itself, as long as it feels

1 that it is immune from both public criticism in America and
2 public criticism in the world it will continue to pursue its
3 policies of death and destruction as every dictatorship has.
4 If ever there was a time for the conscience of the world to
5 be manifest and to be declared in terms of ending this con-
6 flict upon both parties, if you please, in all justification,
7 it is now.

8 And, may I say that we could well balance the scales
9 of justice if Hanoi itself could hear from every college
10 campus, not in America alone but throughout the world, that
11 the desire of humanity is the end of war. And we ask Ho Chi
12 Minh, who is no Asian Santa Clause or social worker, whiskers
13 or not, that we ask him to cease and desist from violence and
14 aggression, from infiltration and kidnaping, from murder and
15 slaughter, and that they come to the bar of justice, to come
16 either to the World Court, the Geneva Conference or to the
17 United Nations and seek a negotiated political settlement of
18 this struggle which your President, which your Vice President,
19 which your Congress is willing and ready to accept as a stand-
20 ard of peace-making. I think this would do the trick.

21 (Applause.)

22 Next?

23 MR. Mr. Vice President, last week the
24 Dean of the University of Wisconsin Law School announced that,
25 due to the elimination of most graduate deferments, the law

1 school will either have to close its doors or lower its stand-
2 ards. Statements such as these makes one wonder if the
3 Vietnamese war is of such high priority that we must sacrifice
4 our national educational standards which could in the long
5 run, long after the Vietnamese war is forgotten retard our
6 expertise in fields ranging from space exploration to urban
7 social needs.

8 Mr. Vice President, is this the path of the Great
9 Society?

10 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, first of all, the
11 Dean is in gross error. It will not close down his law school
12 and it will not -- the deferment of graduate students will not
13 close up graduate schools. And, by the way, there are more
14 people knocking at the doors of the professional schools than
15 can get in and the standards are not the only thing that
16 keeps them out. It is sitting space and seating space. Fre-
17 quently standards are raised in order to keep people out.
18 There is no justification whatsoever for that statement and I
19 take sharp exception to it.

20 Secondly, I think the draft law ought to be revised.
21 I think the lottery system ought to be the way. I think
22 students ought to know what they have to face. I think the
23 whole system of deferments that we presently have is wrong and
24 I would hope that the Congress of the United States might
25 follow some of the suggestions that were made by the

1 Burke-Marshall Commission and we would have a much better
2 national service law.

3 I would like to see a national service law that went
4 far beyond what we call just military service. I would like
5 to have it include in it other forms of national service.
6 But the student deferment program of graduate schools with
7 all of its limitations -- and I must confess to you that it
8 has some very serious limitations -- this is not the answer
9 to draft inequities and it surely is not going to close up
10 graduate schools.

11 What the Dean of the law school ought to say and
12 what I say is that the draft law itself ought to be revised
13 and that a system of lottery or chance is much better than a
14 system of built-in deferments which leaves everybody wonder-
15 ing what's going to happen and, what's more, places an extra
16 load on the non-college student. I think students in a uni-
17 versity and a college would rather know under the lottery
18 whether they are going to go or whether they don't go. And
19 once they know it they don't go around with some kind of a
20 special badge of deferment, they go along because they have
21 been in the system, that provided them with either a chance
22 of service or non-service. And most of the good members --
23 maybe I say most of the members that have looked at the
24 Selective Service System, thinks this is desirable and the
25 Congress of the United States could do something about it. We

1 have asked that it be done, the administration has asked that
2 the Marshall Commission report be placed before the Congress
3 of the United States as at least a program of suggestion.

4 MISS Mr. Vice President, in an address
5 at Minneapolis, on March 18, President Johnson called for a
6 national program of austerity. In light of recent recommenda-
7 tions by the Presidential Commission on Civil Disorders, has
8 the Vietnamese conflict placed our Nation in a position where
9 we must set aside the aims of the Great Society and declare a
10 truce on the war on poverty?

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: One of the aims of the
12 Great Society --

13 (Applause.)

14 One of the aims of the Great Society is a world of
15 peace, a world in which violence is not the pattern of the day,
16 a world in which aggression does not become the pattern of in-
17 ternational conduct. There are those that live through that
18 period. There were those who in the 1930's said we can't
19 afford these things, we can't afford defense, we can't afford
20 to fortify Guam, we can't afford it. Of course, the same
21 people didn't vote very much for the local scene either.

22 I might add that I was in the Congress after Korea
23 and we spent a larger percentage of our gross national product
24 in the war in Korea than we're spending now in the war in
25 Vietnam. And when the war in Korea was over, my dear lady,

1 there was no aid to education, there was no war on poverty,
2 there was no VISTA, there was no Peace Corps, there was no
3 public housing, there was nothing done for the poor. Today
4 there is a greater effort being made by this country in the
5 war on poverty for the disadvantaged than ever before in our
6 history.

7 Let me just tick it off for you. In 1960 the total
8 expenditures of this federal government in all forms of
9 assistance to poor people, everything from food stamps to food
10 donations to Social Security, was \$9.3 billion. This past
11 year it was \$25 billion. We have increased the outlay of
12 federal funds for education more in the last four years than
13 the total outlay in the preceding one-hundred years. We have
14 put into higher education in the last four years more assis-
15 tance than in all the history of this Republic. We have built
16 through federal assistance and federal grants and loans more
17 housing for senior citizens in the last four years than in the
18 preceding one-hundred and fifty. We have tripled the invest-
19 ments in health. We have done more for child nutrition, for
20 the mentally retarded, for the mentally ill, for environmental
21 control in the last four years than any time in our history.

22 It isn't that we haven't done much, it is that some
23 people think we haven't done enough, and a larger number of
24 people think we've done too much. Our problem is not with
25 the President and the administration -- and I say this in the

1 presence of a liberal member of the Congress -- our problem
2 is to get what the President now asks for in his budget, which
3 is a limited budget and yet is the best budget and the largest
4 budget that this Nation has ever had. Our problem is to get
5 that through the Congress.

6 I hear people speak and say we need billions more
7 for our cities. We had a tough time getting half of what we
8 asked for for our model cities last year. Talk is cheap. It
9 is very easy to propose, but it is much more difficult to get
10 the Congress to act. The President said only yesterday, when
11 he was asked about the investments of this government in
12 housing -- somebody said, "Mr. President, what if the Congress
13 appropriates more for housing than you asked for?" He said,
14 "If they do it, we will welcome it."

15 What your President did was to present a budget
16 that he thought was realistic within our finances, within our
17 means, within our goals and within the possibilities of the
18 Congress. His message in Minneapolis was directed towards
19 keeping within that budget, trying to correct the balance of
20 payments, protecting the value of the dollar -- which is of
21 more interest to you, as a young lady, than it is to some of
22 those that are older, lest inflation erode the value of that
23 dollar -- to keep the interest rates down so that people of
24 modest means can build a home, can own a home -- these are
25 the responsible words of the Chief Executive. How easy it

1 is to discuss and debate and dissent, and I have indulged in
2 all of it. It is one of the luxuries of a free society, but
3 how difficult it is to decide and make decisions.

4 We do not have a budget of austerity. We have a
5 budget of responsibility. That budget includes today greater
6 benefits under Social Security, greater benefits under educa-
7 tion and health and housing and urban renewal -- \$10.9 billion
8 for our cities, as compared to less, just slightly over \$3
9 billion seven years ago. That is a budget that, for all
10 practical purposes, is about as much as the American taxpayer
11 thinks he can take. And ultimately you have to go to the tax-
12 payer, in fact we can't even get a tax bill through Congress
13 now. And, while I mention it, since I know you want better
14 things, and so do I, we all do, we are restless, might I say
15 that what you want you've got to be able to pay for. You
16 have to be willing to pay for it, at least in part, at least
17 meet the time payments.

18 We have had three tax reductions since 1965. Our
19 gross national product has gone up at the rate of \$50 billion
20 a year. Wages, profits, salaries are the best that they have
21 ever been and we have not been able to get a tax bill through
22 the Congress of the United States, asking for one cent out of
23 each tax dollar, one penny to pay for what you want and what
24 I want, for a better society, to carry out the commission's
25 report. And until we can get that one extra penny out of

1 each tax dollar, we can neither pay for the costs of the war
2 or the costs of the war on poverty or the costs of rebuilding
3 our society and our cities. I think that the tax bill is a
4 minimum necessity for doing what you have asked for, carrying
5 out the programs of the Great Society.

6 (Applause.)

7 MISS Then what would be your reply to
8 Senator McCarthy's statement yesterday that austerity will
9 cause more long hot summers?

10 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I would say that the
11 Senator knows better, number one. I would say, number two,
12 that the facts of the budget speak for themselves. I would
13 say, number three, that never has a government done so much
14 in four years as this administration. I would say that the
15 impact of this government's program, of this government's
16 program on the society is one that anyone that is responsible
17 can be proud of. Over ten million people have been brought
18 out from what we call the cover of poverty. Things are
19 happening today that nobody ever dreamed possible, things
20 that Senator McCarthy and Hubert Humphrey fought for for
21 twenty years in the Congress, fifteen years, have become law.
22 The Senator was making a very good political statement and I
23 gather that he got a couple of folks to believe it.

24 So what I would suggest that you do is to examine
25 the record.

1 (Applause.)

2 MR. Mr. Vice President, there is alarm
3 in liberal circles that what seems to be a repetition in
4 President Johnson's New Hampshire campaign of tactics used in
5 the early 1950's by Senator Joseph McCarthy of Wisconsin,
6 that of guilt by association. As a founder of the Americans
7 for Democratic Action and long a supporter of civil liberties,
8 do you, Mr. Vice President, repudiate the statements of
9 Governor King and Senator McIntyre of New Hampshire that
10 Senator Eugene McCarthy is an appeaser and that support to him
11 gives aid to our enemies in Hanoi?

12 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, first of all, those
13 are never the statements --

14 (Applause.)

15 First of all, those were never the statements of the
16 President of the United States. Those were never the state-
17 ments of the Vice President of the United States, and anyone
18 who tries to impune another man's motives should not have
19 very much regard or respect.

20 But since you want to talk about tactics, how do you
21 like to walk through signs that say "How many babies have you
22 killed today, LBJ?" "Murderer!" "Assassin!" How do you like
23 to have happen to you what happened to Orville Freeman, a hero
24 of World War II, a man who literally almost gave his life for
25 this country, decorated by his government, a man that was not

1 even permitted the polite reception of an audience, and that
2 was by supporters of certain candidates. I am happy to see
3 that some candidates have repudiated it but it happens re-
4 peatedly. It has happened to this man. I've gone to at
5 least fifty university campuses and this is why I complimented
6 this great university. When you get inside it is generally
7 wonderful, but it is quite a tussle making it in the door
8 sometimes. And I notice that some of these people are there,
9 and I think it is about time that these indigenous sign
10 painters put down their brush and started to try to act as
11 you are acting, within the framework of the rules of political
12 discussion, expressing one's self through debate and through
13 argument, through questions and through political action. I
14 deplore any form of hooliganism. I deplore any form of
15 censorship. I deplore any form of personal attack and I
16 think the greatest disservice that has been done to the can-
17 didacy of some of the men who are in this campaign is the
18 disservice of some of their more ardent fanatic doctrinaire
19 followers who violate the First Amendment by censoring the
20 opposition, who indulge in the kind of activity which is
21 reminiscent of fascist youth in the 1930's. I don't think it
22 helps anybody and I deplore people and condemn those who
23 would ever accuse Senator McCarthy of any unpatriotic act. I
24 think he is an honorable man. But I suggest that those who
25 back his candidacy act honorably in support of an honorable

1 man or they are going to discredit the honor of an honorable
2 man.

3 (Applause.)

4 Next?

5 MR. Mr. Vice President, during --

6 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: By the way, these are
7 rough and tough questions. I want to compliment you. I was
8 about to ask myself whether this trip was really necessary,
9 but it is fun. Go to it.

10 (Laughter.)

11 That's the way it ought to be.

12 MR. Mr. Vice President, during your re-
13 cent campaign tour through Wisconsin you stated the Democrats
14 should unite behind the party's ticket following the conven-
15 tion in Chicago. In light of Senator McCarthy's showing in
16 New Hampshire and the entrance of Senator Robert F. Kennedy
17 into the presidential race, if the need arose, would you,
18 following the example of Henry Wallace in 1944, stand aside
19 for the sake of party unity and solidarity and allow President
20 Johnson to select another running mate?

21 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I would surely consider
22 it my responsibility, as a man in public life, to abide by the
23 wishes of the convention, to abide by at least the majority
24 vote of the convention. I would put up a good scrap.

25 (Laughter.)

1 I wouldn't take it lightly. But if it was necessary
2 for my party and if the President thought it was necessary and
3 if my convention thought it was necessary, I wouldn't have
4 much else to say about it but to accept it. But I would also
5 suggest that I indulged myself in a little political primary
6 in 1960, and we fought it out, much of it, right here in
7 this great State of Wisconsin. In fact, I was here in
8 Stevens Point in 1960. I believe it was in March of that
9 year, before the presidential primary.

10 It was a hard-fought primary and, like many primaries,
11 many things were said which you wish that you hadn't have
12 said after you said it. This happens in the free exchange of
13 words and ideas. But after this primary was over and after I
14 had been soundly defeated in the West Virginia primary,
15 despite the fact that I still was able to hold as committed
16 delegates approximately two-hundred, I announced that I was
17 not a candidate, I withdrew from the contest, I released my
18 delegates and I went on in that election even though I was up
19 for reelection to the Senate and had put my whole political
20 life on the line. I went from one end of this country to
21 another, even while I was campaigning in my own State for
22 reelection, in support of John F. Kennedy. I supported his
23 candidacy.

24 (Applause.)

25 And when he was elected and asked me if I would be

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1 willing to serve as majority whip, after having consulted with
2 the leadership, I said, "Mr. President, if you want it, I will,"
3 and I was one of his most loyal and, I am happy to say, one of
4 his closest congressional friends and advisers. And, boy,
5 what a joy it was to work with him.

6 I hope that that example which, if I may say, I
7 think is a relatively good one, if it doesn't sound immodest,
8 I hope that that will be followed. After all, the choice in
9 this election is going to be ultimately between the
10 Democratic nominee and the Republican nominee. There may be
11 other parties. There was in 1948, there was the Dixiecrats.
12 They walked out when I got up to plead for human rights. And
13 many people said, "Well, that is the end of the Democrats."
14 Not at all, we just cleaned out the atmosphere a little bit.

15 (Laughter.)

16 And we were able to get a kind of better look at
17 things. And then there was at that time the ~~49~~ in 1948, as
18 you may remember -- the group that Henry Wallace led, the so-
19 called new left at that time, over the very same issue as
20 this time, over foreign policy. Then it was over the Truman
21 Doctrine, whether or not we should have forces in Greece,
22 whether or not we should stand our ground in the Mediterranean
23 and in Southern Europe, whether or not we should face up to
24 the Stalinist forces in Europe. And that is what they broke
25 on, and they broke away from us. And we were called fascists

1 and murderers and we were called every name in the book. And
2 there were four parties: the Dixiecrats, the so-called then
3 Progressives, not the Wisconsin Progressives but another kind.

4 (Laughter.)

5 And then there were the Republicans, and then there
6 were the Democrats. And there was Mr. Dewey and there was Mr.
7 Truman. Mr. Truman wasn't very popular. Lyndon Johnson
8 looks like a coverboy compared to what Mr. Truman looked like
9 in those days.

10 (Laughter.)

11 Mr. Truman was very unpopular. He couldn't hardly
12 find a Democrat that would say he was for him. He went across
13 this country in a lonely journey. And how well I remember
14 when he spoke in Omaha, the delight that the cameraman had in
15 looking down and finding all of those empty seats and saying,
16 "It just proves he hasn't got a chance." And then, you know,
17 it seemed as if Mr. Dewey was in. He had already been over
18 measuring the furniture in the White House and had been look-
19 ing at the draperies and looking at the rugs.

20 (Laughter.)

21 In fact, he had already purchased an -- had author-
22 ized the purchase of an airplane that could be the new air-
23 plane for the new President. And then the silent vote came
24 in. The American people who articulate their wants and
25 their needs not by signs, not by speech but by that quiet,

1 hushing sound of the ballot dropping one by one in that ballot
2 box. What a delightful noise it is for free people.

3 (Applause.)

4 I think this is what is going to happen in 1968 and
5 I think the Republican candidate will be one that we have met
6 many, many times before.

7 (Laughter.)

8 I don't think there is any doubt about it.

9 (Applause.)

10 And I think that the job that John Kennedy did on
11 that candidate in 1960 will be finished by John Kennedy's
12 running mate in 1968, Lyndon Johnson, and I expect to see
13 Lyndon Johnson the next President of the United States, and I
14 expect to be with him.

15 (Applause.)

16 By the way, I would like to have your help. It will
17 make it just that much easier. I will see you in September on
18 that matter.

19 Next?

20 MR. Thank you, Mr. Vice President. I think
21 the floor is now open for questions.

22 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: All right. Who do we have
23 out here?

24 QUESTION: I would like to know how people can be
25 drafted into the armed services --

(Inaudible.)

1
2 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, first of all, my
3 dear lady, the draft law is a public statute, a public law.
4 It is thoroughly constitutional. In fact, if there is any-
5 thing that is really constitutional, it is the matter of
6 military service and the right of the Congress of the United
7 States to raise and support armies and the right of the
8 President of the United States to use those military forces
9 in the defense of this country. The constitutional pre-
10 cedents are many and manifold. There is no doubt about this.
11 From the time that Thomas Jefferson sent the American fleet
12 to attack the Barbary pirates up to this present day, includ-
13 ing the Korean war, there isn't any doubt about its consti-
14 tutionality. As to the desirability of a declaration of war,
15 that is another matter.

16 It is my view that it would not be desirable to
17 have a formal declaration of war because it would only exacer-
18 bate the situation and might escalate the struggle because a
19 declaration of war imposes all forms of controls on the
20 society, including censorship. This kind of a discussion
21 could never take place, the kind of debate that we've had in
22 our society could never take place; controls over the move-
23 ments of people and the movements of goods -- and it seems
24 to me that it is a real test of our democracy as to whether
25 or not we can fulfill our international responsibilities and

1 commitments and at the same time preserve freedom of ideas,
2 freedom of inquiry, freedom of conscience, freedom of speech,
3 and freedom of an economy. And, quite frankly, I think it is
4 right good that we have been able to do it. It is something
5 of which we can point to with a degree of pride and, may I
6 say, reassurance.

7 Next?

8 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, within the last week
9 there has been an outbreak between Israel and the Jordan
10 troops.

11 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Would you be a little
12 clearer? I didn't hear that.

13 QUESTION: There has been an outbreak on the Israeli
14 border --

15 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes.

16 QUESTION: -- between Israel and Jordan. If this
17 turns into a full-fledged war, in which Egypt joins in and
18 the U.S.S.R. backs Egypt, would the United States back Israel?

19 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I think that the
20 worst thing that the Vice President of the United States
21 could do on a public occasion like this is to indicate that
22 we are going to be in more conflicts or that we are going to
23 pledge our forces to more conflicts. Let me say what your
24 government is doing, and these are things that I would hope
25 that the young friends, young men and women who have these

1 great responsibilities coming to them would ponder.

2 Your government, in May and June of this past year,
3 when the situation in the Middle East was rising in tension
4 and ultimately broke out in what is known as the six-day war,
5 your government used its good offices repeatedly to try to
6 prevent that and finally used its good offices with the
7 Soviet Union to see that this great conflict, this conflict
8 did not spread beyond the narrow confines of Israel and the
9 immediate Arab States. This was an act of statesmanship on
10 the part of the President.

11 Your government, likewise, in the instance of
12 Cyprus, when the Turkish troops and the Greek troops were
13 ready to do battle, when it was only a matter of hours, your
14 President directing Mr. Vance to go as his personal repre-
15 sentative and using the most modern communications, your
16 President and your government prevented that conflict, which
17 seemed to be inevitable between Cyprus, Greece and Turkey.

18 Your government right now in the United Nations is
19 taking the lead of trying to still the troubled waters of
20 the Middle East, to calm down the emotions and the passions
21 between the Arab States and Israel because we happen to be-
22 lieve that that is the most dangerous area in the world. And
23 how ridiculous and unfortunate it would be for the Vice
24 President of the United States to stand before any audience
25 and say if somebody does this, if somebody does that, and if

1 somebody does this, then we are going to do that, particularly
2 when you are playing with the lives not of a half -- not of a
3 few people but the lives of a nation. Because the day that
4 the United States of America and the Soviet Union, if that
5 day should ever come, enter into conflict, that day the world
6 changes if there is any world left. And the task of political
7 leadership now, my friends, is to prevent a nuclear confronta-
8 tion, to prevent the confrontation or the conflict of the
9 major powers. And it is my view that in these past twenty
10 years we have done quite well at it. We have prevented a
11 nuclear conflict. We have tried to slow down the nuclear arms
12 race.

13 Your President, in recent months, has presented in
14 cooperation with other countries a nonproliferation treaty on
15 nuclear weapons before the United Nations. Five years ago
16 this would have been headlines in every paper in America.
17 Today it appeared on page 27 in Section B in one of the
18 largest newspapers of America. Yet, this is important work
19 in the field of arms control, just as the new treaty that we
20 signed, preventing the orbiting of weapons of mass destruc-
21 tion in outerspace is an important part of the new peace ef-
22 forts being made by your country and, fortunately, in this
23 instance, with the cooperation of the Soviet Union.

24 The peace of the world depends upon the capacity and
25 the ability of the United States of America and its leadership

1 to preserve at least some modicum of understanding and respect
2 between ourselves and the other super power, the Soviet Union.
3 And I am happy to tell you that the President of the United
4 States commands the respect of the leaders of the Soviet Union
5 and we also respect their power. And with that kind of
6 respect there is some hope for you, some hope for this country.
7 Without that respect, there is no hope for any of the people
8 of this earth. Peace will be shattered totally. And, thank
9 goodness that we have lived at a time when the hope of peace
10 still is a reasonably good prospect for assurance of the
11 future.

12 (Applause.)

13 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, you made a call in
14 your talk for a conscientious objection to the government in
15 North Vietnam and the National Liberation forces fighting in
16 Vietnam --

17 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Would you repeat that,
18 please?

19 QUESTION: You made a call during your talk for
20 world-wide conscientious objection to the government of North
21 Vietnam and the National Liberation Front --

22 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

23 QUESTION: -- a call which is obviously going un-
24 answered. Why do you believe that only the United States is
25 the object of the criticism of a majority of the people in the

1 world and the object not at all of respect of which you just
2 spoke.

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I don't believe that the
4 United States has the criticism of the majority of the people
5 of the world, not by a long shot. I think the United States
6 has the criticism of a very articulate minority of the people
7 of the world. I know that the United States does not have
8 criticism of the people of Indonesia. I know it does not
9 have the criticism of the majority of the people of Japan. I
10 know it does not have the criticism of the majority of the
11 people of the Philippines or the Australians or the New
12 Zealanders. In fact, may I say, there isn't a single leader
13 of a free Asian country that is opposed to the United States
14 presence in Vietnam. Some may disagree on the tactic but
15 every one of them look upon it as essential to their inde-
16 pendence and their hope for freedom.

17 I know who is opposed to the United States position
18 in Vietnam, of course I do. There are leaders of even
19 friendly countries that have spoken out against some of what
20 they call our tactics, and the greatest opposition, of course,
21 comes from the Communists themselves. There is no doubt
22 about that. And some of it comes from people in our own
23 country that have unmistakable concern over this struggle.
24 As a matter of fact, every one of us has concern.

25 Now, I would think that if Ho Chi Minh and the

1 Communist power of Vietnam and the Communist movement of Asia
2 could find that the world looked askance and with grave con-
3 cern upon their continued tactics of subversion, infiltration,
4 slaughter and kidnaping, that it might have an effect of
5 bringing peace a little bit closer. As long as they think
6 they are immune from this kind of judgment of humanity and
7 judgment of the loud voices of humanity, it may very well be
8 that the war will be prolonged.

9 QUESTION: I ask you, sir, do you believe that they
10 are immune for the reasons that you suggest and that we are
11 not? Why are they immune? Why? Is everyone in the world a
12 Communist?

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I wish that you would tell
14 me, sir.

15 QUESTION: Because the United States is wrong and a
16 majority of the people in the world, including Asia, believe
17 so.

18 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: You couldn't be more wrong
19 in your life. You couldn't be more wrong.

20 (Applause.)

21 I would like to respond to my young friend. He is
22 obviously believes very strongly in what he said. We had
23 many people that thought we didn't belong in Korea, either.
24 In fact, in January 1951, sir, the Gallup public opinion poll
25 showed that 66 per cent of the American people said we ought

1 to withdraw. We were under terrific attack all throughout
2 the world, in our own country and abroad. You were not
3 possibly an activist at that time. That is seventeen years
4 ago. But it happened.

5 I think it would be well, may I say, that if people
6 would ponder what kind of a world this would have been had
7 Mr. Truman not had the courage to face up to Stalin in Iran,
8 the Berlin airlift when it was said it was impossible; what
9 kind of a world would it have been if John F. Kennedy hadn't
10 have told Mr. Khrushchev, "With the risk of nuclear war,
11 within hours of nuclear war, get your missiles out of there."
12 When we moved our fleet from the Pacific to the Atlantic,
13 when we deployed our Air Force on every one of our continental
14 Air Force bases, when we were ready for the massive attack and
15 the massive assault; what kind of a world would it have been
16 had we not stood firm in Lebanon, had we not helped in the
17 Congo, had we not have stood firm in Korea. And every one of
18 them was a risk and every one of them we took condemnation
19 for and we will continue to take condemnation because we stand
20 for something that is important in this world, and the con-
21 flict today is still raging between those who would like to
22 use force as a means of settling their political disputes or
23 as a means at arriving at their political objectives and
24 those of us who prefer not to use force but would prefer to
25 let people live at peace and have their right of self-

1 determination.

2 We are not engaged in a popularity contest. Abraham
3 Lincoln wasn't very popular, either, very unpopular, even as
4 he fought to save this Union. Woodrow Wilson wasn't popular
5 either. They drove him from office and literally to a pre-
6 mature death. And Franklin Roosevelt wasn't popular either
7 when he asked this Nation in 1938 to quarantine the aggressor.
8 And Harry Truman was grossly unpopular, terribly unpopular.
9 But they were all right. Every one of them were right for
10 this country and America is what it is today because you had
11 leadership that would take a stand and would do what was right
12 rather than drinking the toxin and the intoxicating fluid of
13 political popularity. I salute those kind of men.

14 (Applause.)

15 QUESTION: As one of those indigenous sign painters
16 whom you have just been complaining about, I should like to
17 ask you a question on your statement as to our support of
18 self-determination.

19 For a long time this country supported French
20 colonial domination in Indochina and in 1956 when, according
21 to the Geneva Agreement there was to be an election, we
22 supported Mr. Diem's military dictatorship in refusing this
23 election because the wrong side would have won. Even in the
24 recent Vietnamese election, the evidence is that only those
25 areas which were known to agree with the government were

1 allowed to vote.

2 Furthermore, somewhat less than a year ago a military
3 dictatorship took over from the democratic government in
4 Greece. The United States today supports this military dic-
5 tatorship and supports many others in such areas as South
6 America.

7 Now, I would like to ask how can you reconcile our
8 support of these undemocratic governments with a statement
9 that we believe in self-determination for people for people
10 or does this self-determination only apply in the face of
11 communism?

12 (Applause.)

13 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: We support self-determina-
14 tion. We are not always able to get it. We support law
15 enforcement. We are not always able to get it. ~~su~~We support a
16 decent society. We are not always able to get it. But our
17 support is unflinching.

18 Now, let me just go back to the matter that you re-
19 ferred to earlier. You had quite what I would call a
20 smorgasbord question there. It will take quite a little while
21 to cover all the countries that you mentioned. But I would
22 like to quote to you from a news conference in the Saigon
23 Airport, February 18, 1962, since you were a little bit
24 dubious as to who is responsible for some of the matters in
25 Vietnam and who violated the Geneva conference.

1 I will read these words and I will identify the
2 author.

3 "We are going to win in Vietnam. We will remain
4 here until we do win. I think the American people understand
5 and fully support this struggle. Americans have great affec-
6 tion for the people of Vietnam. I think the United States
7 will do what is necessary to help a country that is trying to
8 repel aggression with its own blood, tears and sweat. Hanoi
9 may deny its responsibility but the guilt is clear. In a
10 flagrant violation of its signed pledge at Geneva in 1954, the
11 North Vietnamese regime has launched on a cause to destroy
12 the Republic of Vietnam. The American people will see Vietnam
13 through these times of trouble to a period when the Vietnamese
14 people will find a long sought opportunity to develop their
15 country in peace, dignity and freedom."

16 That statement was printed in the New York Times.
17 It is a news conference at the Saigon Airport by the then
18 Attorney General Robert F. Kennedy. Now, ladies and gentlemen,
19 Mr. Kennedy knew then that North Vietnam had violated its
20 pledged word, that it had a police state, that no election
21 could ever be an honest election for the unification of
22 Vietnam. He took his stand then while his President was --
23 while his brother was President of the United States and
24 while he as the Attorney General was privy to all of the in-
25 formation that this government receives.

1 Now I might add just a little bit further that Mr.
2 Robert Kennedy was not alone in these views. Mr. John
3 Kennedy said, the President, we are not going to withdraw from
4 this effort. "In my opinion, for us to withdraw from that
5 effort would mean the collapse not only of South Vietnam but
6 Southeast Asia." And he went on to say, as did Adlai
7 Stevenson, "The right we seek to defend is the right of the
8 people, be it in Korea or South Vietnam, not to have their
9 future decided by violence. I do not believe that this right
10 can be secured by our retreat. Retreat leads to retreat just
11 as aggression leads to aggression."

12 And all the way down the line three Presidents --
13 Eisenhower, Kennedy, Johnson -- and the United States
14 Ambassador to the United Nations, one of the noble men of our
15 time, Adlai Stevenson, without question or doubt, have
16 supported America's position, presence, and action in Vietnam.
17 And it always amazes me how these three Presidents and men of
18 such distinction, with their sources of information and their
19 knowledge of this world could be so wrong and some people who
20 seem to have so much to say could be so right. I think that
21 I can place my faith in three Presidents of the United States
22 and their advisers, none of whom wishes to be a conqueror,
23 none of whom are imperialists, and in a man whose life was
24 dedicated and given to the cause of peace, Adlai Stevenson.
25 And I knew this man as I knew my brother. And let me say

1 that it does a disservice to the memory of Stevenson and to
2 the administrations of Eisenhower and John Kennedy to try to
3 interpret any of their words or actions as anything but a
4 solemn pledge of our assistance in form of economic aid and
5 military aid and manpower for the defense of South Vietnam,
6 not because of South Vietnam alone but because they recognize
7 that it was ultimately in our own national security. I don't
8 think Eisenhower, Kennedy and Johnson are wrong. I think they
9 may be a little more right than some people who today proclaim
10 that they are right.

11 (Applause.)

12 Next?

13 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, ideally this is a
14 community of scholars.

15 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Would you be just a little
16 louder, sir?

17 QUESTION: Ideally this is a community of scholars.

18 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes.

19 QUESTION: You call for action among a community of
20 scholars. The problem is I am not so sure how to act. It
21 seems to me that action is part of this Protestant ethic the
22 American society so likes to hold onto. You call for action,
23 I would like to call for discussion and thinking.

24 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir.

25 QUESTION: Now, I --

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Go ahead, sir.

2 QUESTION: It is good to have you here.

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: It is good to talk to you,
4 too.

5 QUESTION: Thank you.

6 (Laughter.)

7 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you.

8 (Laughter, applause.)

9 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Excuse me, Tony, for in-
10 terrupting. Go right ahead.

11 QUESTION: Thank you.

12 I can't help but feel that you sort of seem to be
13 lecturing us when I think that perhaps what's going on in the
14 world today demands more of a talking out, discussing, talking
15 with not talking to. I think this is how our relation to the
16 Communist world has to be. We have to understand not in terms
17 of how many we kill, numbers, or whether they are VC or not,
18 but are they people that are caught in this same war that we
19 are caught in. We have got to understand. We have got to
20 rise above the war and question war. Is war a workable con-
21 cept in the modern world? As a community of scholars, this
22 is what we have to be concerned about. Is there a place for
23 war, with nuclear bombs hanging over our heads? Is there a
24 place for war in the society? This is what I am concerned
25 about.

1 Now, I am a veteran and a senior at this university
2 and what I am going to say has got to take a little time. But
3 I think that the society needs to take more time instead of
4 just plunging ahead. I am also a student of the social
5 sciences. I spent four years in the United States Navy, which
6 included duty in the Orient. My area of study here, as I
7 said, is the social sciences.

8 I have a feeling -- well, I have a beard, for one
9 thing but, nevertheless, American policy -- my policy considers
10 my government, it confuses and frightens me. It confuses and
11 frightens me very much. This policy we have is one of limited
12 war, to stop aggression and save Vietnam. This concept of
13 limited war is a difficult one, at best. It can so easily lead
14 to total war, something no man in his right mind would want.

15 Our government must think now. I don't think we
16 have time to wait for a change of governments. My question is
17 is the leadership of this country doing all it can to keep the
18 war limited? Is a limited war possible, first of all? How
19 can you keep the war limited if both sides keep escalating?

20 It seems to me the only way to keep a war limited, if
21 this is possible to do, is to set an absolute number here now
22 as to the level of manpower to be employed in Vietnam. What
23 about the complications now of war hysteria setting in, with
24 race riots, warfare in the cities; the possibility of depression
25 with the deflation of the dollar, the gold standard; the

1 frustration of limited war. All of these things could be
2 taken out of our hands, if you haven't done so already. We
3 might have a police state on our hands.

4 I know the President cries for unity on his policy
5 in Vietnam. Why doesn't he cry for unity on dialogue and
6 discussion? This is what this country needs. This is what
7 the world needs. We have to discuss, we need to discuss war
8 and war psychology openly. We need to face our problems, Mr.
9 Vice President. What about the dangers of a police state?
10 Are we creating more VC than we're killing? What place has
11 revolution in this society? What place has revolution in the
12 world?

13 Mr. Vice President, would you make some comments on
14 this?

15 (Applause.)

16 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Tony, are you through?
17 Are you through, sir?

18 (Laughter, applause.)

19 QUESTION: I said this was going to take some time
20 and I hope nobody in the audience is going to psychoanalyze me
21 now for what I have done. I think we need to take more time
22 in this world to think these things through.

23 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Tony, first of all I want
24 to say that I think your questions are some of the most
25 provocative and far-reaching questions that any of us would

1 ever hear. I think they are the fundamental questions, basic
2 questions. I was happy to have you take the time. I happen
3 to be one that does believe in dialogue and discussion, very
4 deeply believe in it. And one of the things that has dis-
5 turbed me over the recent months and the past two or three
6 years is that we haven't been able to have this kind of
7 dialogue that we're having right now, that there is somebody
8 that is outside chanting slogans and there are sometimes some
9 of us that get inside that maybe get just a little bit too
10 lecturing, as you have indicated. I think that is a proper
11 criticism and I don't take offense at it at all. There is a
12 tendency on the part of all of us to want to defend our posi-
13 tion, to debate rather than to discuss. And there is a great
14 deal of difference between debate and discussion, where you
15 are trying to make points in one and where you're trying to
16 search for truth in the other.

17 I welcome this opportunity. One of the joys of my
18 life has been to go to a college campus and sit around, as
19 we call them, in the bull sessions and talk with the people
20 and the fellows and see what they have on their mind. But it
21 has gotten to be very difficult because there has become a
22 sense of dogmatism on the part of persons who believe that
23 we're so right, one way or the other. And I think this is
24 basically true on both sides, but if you don't mind my saying
25 so, I think it has been a little bit more so on the side of

1 -- on the side of the critics. I don't think there has been any
2 lack of talk. There has been plenty of that.

3 A limited war, it is a limited war. It is our hope
4 and our prayer that it can be maintained at most at a limited
5 war. And it is my hope and prayer, sir, that it can be an
6 ended war. I happen to believe that war is the sum total of
7 man's evil. I do happen to believe with you, sir, that we
8 have to find a substitute for war or war is going to substitute
9 for life itself. We are living in a dangerous age and it
10 grows more dangerous every day with the space age and the
11 nuclear age, with what we call the fractional orbital weapons
12 system which the Soviet Union has been perfecting, which is a
13 weapon that can orbit the earth but before it completes its
14 first orbit can be deonated and therefore does not violate the
15 treaty. These are dangerous times. They are also the times
16 of the greatest possibilities.

17 And I feel as the student body feels here. What a
18 tragedy that we have to waste our resources, and not the
19 material resources. Those are replenishable. We can get more
20 metal, more goods but when you waste a human resource, when a
21 life is taken, that is not replaceable. That is the resource
22 that is a tragic loss. And therefore it is encument, as I
23 said from this platform, for every possible way to be found,
24 to try to discover every possible way to get what Mr. Goldberg
25 said, as the representative of our government -- and I think

1 he is a remarkable man, I think he is one of the great men of
2 our time -- he said here just about a year ago at the U.N.,
3 we want a political solution not a military solution to this
4 conflict. We reject the idea that North Vietnam has the
5 right to impose a military solution. We seek to assure the
6 people for the people of South Vietnam that same right of
7 self-determination that the United Nations Charter affirms
8 for all. And we believe that reunification of Vietnam should
9 not be decided upon through -- we believe that unification of
10 Vietnam should be decided through a free choice by the
11 peoples of both the North and the South.

12 Now those are the objectives of this government.
13 Sometimes they become lost, however, in the continuing verbal
14 conflict, the rhetorical conflict that we have here at home.
15 I would like nothing better, Tony, for you, for me to have
16 the privilege of sitting down and philosophizing with you be-
17 cause the philosophy that you have enunciated here is a very
18 challenging one.

19 What is the role of dissent in this society? Can
20 you get change without -- change with order or does change
21 come only with disorder? Can we have a society that is both
22 equal and united and not separate and unequal? These are
23 the great questions of our time. What is the role of govern-
24 ment? What is the role of the university and the solution
25 or in finding the answers to all of these very perplexing and

1 profound questions? And I for one think you have made a great
2 contribution to this discussion, even though some people may
3 have said that I talked too long and you talked too long. I
4 think the two of us could talk quite a little while and have
5 a good time.

6 Thank you.

7 (Applause.)

8 QUESTION: We have two more questions.

9 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: All right.

10 I have been informed that we have two more questions
11 and I am sure now that they are bringing up the sharp troops.
12 Where is the next question?

13 QUESTION: Right here.

14 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes, sir?

15 QUESTION: I will keep this brief. I am an instruc-
16 tor here in the Department of English and, as such, I am
17 horrified by the parallels I see to the novel 1984 occurring
18 in our society. I cite specifically "double-think" in which
19 during the Tet offensive American troops shelled the South
20 Vietnamese town of Ben Tre although civilians were in it.
21 And the American commander later said it was necessary to
22 destroy the town in order to save it.

23 What I would like to know, Mr. Vice President, would
24 we then shell and bomb Khesanh and destroy it in order to save
25 the American troops there? Is what is good for the Vietnamese

1 people good for American soldiers also?

2 (Applause.)

3 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, I respect your pro-
4 fessional qualifications, sir, but I hope that you are also a
5 student of history as well as a student of the English liter-
6 ature.

7 War is a nasty business. It always has been. Sherman
8 is the only man that ever gave an honest definition of it. He
9 said it is hell. And Sherman and Grant, in order to help save
10 this Republic, went all the way through the South. They did
11 things which must weigh heavily upon all of us. But Abraham
12 Lincoln was no murderer and Abraham Lincoln was no man of
13 destruction. If ever there was a God-sent man it was Abraham
14 Lincoln. And yet Abraham Lincoln ordered Sherman, in his
15 march to the sea, to burn and to destroy until the enemy could
16 be brought to heel. And he ordered Grant, with his seige on
17 Vicksburg, to destroy until the victory could be won. And
18 yet at Appomattox that same Grant said to Lee, "Take your
19 horses and go back to your plow and go back to your people."
20 There was no vengeance.

21 These American forces in Vietnam that you speak of,
22 they do not seek to destroy a city. Might I suggest to you,
23 sir, that you just ponder for a moment who launched the Tet
24 offensive. Tet in Vietnamese culture is like Christmas, New
25 Years and Easter and Hanukkah and Yom Kippur. It is a high

1 holy day and season. It is everything to the people of
2 Vietnam. It is a time when families are reunited, when they
3 pay their respects to the dead. And even when families that
4 have been divided even in war join together in prayer and in
5 celebration. That Tet truce was concluded between the Viet
6 Cong and North Vietnam and Vietnam, South Vietnam. That Tet
7 truce was broken and violated at 3:00 a.m. in the morning in
8 the most ferocious attack of this war in which literally
9 thousands of people were slaughtered by the Viet Cong and the
10 North Vietnamese, in which villages were occupied and which
11 leaders of villages were kidnapped and assassinated. And
12 your government's troops had a responsibility to try to save
13 these capital cities.

14 One officer makes one statement. That is not the
15 policy of your government, any more than the policy of your
16 government in World War II was to bomb Dresden, Germany, an
17 open city that was laid in ruins by the American Air Force;
18 any more than it was the policy of your government to bomb
19 American forces by mistake as they landed on the beaches of
20 Italy. Wars are a sum total of mistakes. That is the
21 problem about war.

22 And here you see the Vietnamese, the North Vietnamese
23 that occupy the high holy place of the citadel and the main
24 and chief pagoda of Hue and use that as a fortress. And in
25 order for our troops not to destroy that pagoda, lives were

1 lost by the hundreds and the South Vietnamese had to go in,
2 man by man, to try to rout out the enemy. They knew what
3 they were doing. They went into the pagoda because they
4 thought it was untouchable.

5 And might I say to you, sir, that your young Americans
6 that are serving over there have healed the sick. They have
7 walked the extra mile. They have built the schools, those
8 same Marines have brought medical care as they have never had
9 before. They have printed the books and they have taught in
10 the schools and they have worked with the children. They don't
11 want to kill any more than you want to kill. And it is just
12 about time that young Americans at least had some respect for
13 the men who are carrying on the duties of their country and
14 the orders of their commanders. I have been there. I am
15 mighty proud of those young Americans and they do very little
16 complaining about their assignment. And their assignment is
17 the toughest one that any forces of the United States has ever
18 had.

19 Don't you condemn those American troops.

20 (Applause.)

21 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, I did not condemn
22 the American troops. You put those words in my mouth. What
23 I said --

24 (Applause.)

25 I lost a good friend in Vietnam. He was just killed.

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Yes.

2 QUESTION: How do you think his death weighs on me,
3 because I think his death was unnecessary. Every American
4 soldier that was killed or wounded or harmed in any way or any
5 Vietnamese citizen that suffered I feel very serious about
6 this because it is done in the name of my country. I fully
7 support American troops. I don't want one American to die.
8 I don't want one American to lose a leg in South Vietnam. But
9 because I am for peace in Vietnam does not mean I want to see
10 American soldiers die. I do not want to see Americans nor
11 Vietnamese die. Do not put these words in my mouth.

12 What I am saying is that thousands are dying each
13 day, Americans and Vietnamese. My question, whether all these
14 deaths are necessary, whether these thousands of people who
15 have died and the more thousands who have been mutilated for
16 life, the lepersorium in North Vietnam that was bombed, the
17 Catholic Church in North Vietnam that was bombed, the
18 thousands of citizens of North Vietnam that are hurt in our
19 bombing attacks -- all of these people have a right to life.

20 Now whether they are killed by a North Vietnamese
21 or an American bomb, they are dead; but are our goals, are
22 our objectives in Vietnam so grave and so serious as to in-
23 vite nuclear war and to cause the deaths and the mutilations
24 of thousands of people, both American and Vietnamese? This
25 is what I am asking.

1 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: I will answer your question.

2 (Applause.)

3 There is not a single life that should be lost, not
4 one. And it can stop. And it can stop. And the way it can
5 stop is exactly the way that it started. If North Vietnam
6 will cease its aggression, which it has indulged in, in
7 violation of law and in violation of all of the instincts and
8 the rules of mankind, there can be a cessation of the killing.

9 My dear friend, the United States of America did
10 not go into World War II because it loved to kill, not a bit,
11 and yet we had to fight. The British did not stand up against
12 Hitler because they loved to kill, nor did the French. But I
13 think you know why.

14 I don't think that you can interpret this war in
15 Vietnam any other way than it is. The easiest way to get
16 this war over is what I said in the beginning, come to the
17 conference table. Your government is prepared to come to the
18 conference table. We are ready as of this hour, my friend,
19 for a cease-fire, a stand-down, a stop of the shooting as of
20 now, immediately. We get no takers. That is the problem.
21 And I did note with some concern that you mentioned that our
22 Air Force had bombed North Vietnam, it bombed a church and
23 bombed a lepersorium, et cetera. I imagine that has happened.
24 I regret that it has happened.

25 But may I suggest to you that 55,000 officials,

1 school teachers, nurses and doctors have been assassinated by
2 the Viet Cong in South Vietnam. May I suggest to you that
3 this slaughter was started by the enemy. South Vietnam did
4 not attack North Vietnam. South Vietnam stood with the
5 dagger in its back from the North and none other than the man
6 I quoted to you who today is one of the most severe critics
7 of the President of the United States testified publicly in
8 his conference in 1962 when he said Hanoi may deny its
9 responsibility but the guilt is clear, in a flagrant violation
10 of its signed pledge at Geneva, 1954, the North Vietnamese
11 regime has launched on a course to destroy the Republic of
12 Vietnam. That is the problem. And the way to stop it is very
13 simple. The way to stop it is to confer, a political settlement,
14 a negotiated settlement, a cease-fire, and every American
15 wants it.

16 The problem is not in Washington nor is it in
17 Stevens Point, nor is it between you, sir, and myself. The
18 problem is that Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh and the Communist forces
19 to understand that they have committed a violation of the
20 rules of international law, that they are guilty of aggression.
21 And when they understand that and come to the table, they will
22 not be punished. Your government has even pledged assistance
23 to North Vietnam, in the Baltimore speech of the President.
24 Your government has said we will withdraw from Vietnam six
25 months after the end of violence. Your government has

1 proposed economic assistance to friend and foe alike. This
2 country has sought to conquer no one, sir. This country in
3 the last twenty years, since World War II, has given thousands
4 of its sons for the defense of others and has poured out
5 hundreds of billions of dollars in economic and technical
6 assistance. No government or no country on the face of the
7 earth has been as generous with its men and its material in
8 the cause of self-determination and peace as the United States
9 of America. And I don't think it does any good to try to
10 make it appear that this country, that has been dedicated to
11 peace throughout its history, is today a changed country. On
12 the contrary, it is a country that is for peace. The peace
13 country in the world today is the United States of America.

14 Let' go to the next question.

15 (Applause.)

16 QUESTION: Mr. Vice President, sir, I want you to
17 put the war in Vietnam and in the Middle East in your other
18 hand for one moment and think about the wars that will be on
19 our hands this summer between black and white. I would like
20 to ask this question:

21 What do you and the President plan to do about our
22 cities racial problems that are expected to arise this summer
23 and what do you plan to do before it happens so that it might
24 not happen?

25 VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Well, my friend, the first

1 thing that is wrong, is in error here is the question: What
2 do you, Mr. Vice President, and the President plan to do about
3 our racial problems. May I suggest: What do you plan to do
4 about them? What do we all plan to do about them?

5 The answer to the problems of America is not to be
6 found every day, twenty-four hours a day in Washington. If
7 so, then we have a very different country. The problem of
8 race relations is not merely a political problem, it is a
9 spiritual problem, it is a human problem, it is a problem of
10 attitude and practice.

11 We have plenty of law on the book today about civil
12 rights. I helped write that law, sir. I was the floor leader
13 for the Civil Rights Act of 1964. This President has
14 initiated plenty of proposals. Our problem today in the
15 cities is to find ways and means to involve the people who
16 have been disadvantaged and left out in the decision-making
17 process of the communities and to get them into the main-
18 stream of American economic and social life, your government,
19 as I indicated earlier, is trying to do its fair share, maybe
20 not as much as it could or should, but much more than has
21 been done. This is at every level.

22 Your Senate just recently passed an open housing
23 ordinance, an open housing law. I helped get that through.
24 But open housing, civil rights, jobs, education will only be
25 true and be meaningful if it is done where you live and where

1 I live and where each and every one of us live. A better
2 America of full opportunity is the sum total of the communi-
3 ties of this country. The laws on the books, the policy of
4 the Nation is clear and unequivocal: Full opportunity and
5 integrated society, the end of segregation, the process of
6 desegregation, jobs for the hard-core unemployed, Headstart
7 for the needy children, education for the disadvantaged, and
8 it is going on in leaps and bounds. But all of this will be
9 meaningless unless there is a total commitment of the
10 American people, a commitment to overcome the kind of inequi-
11 ties that have been with us for a hundred, almost two-hundred
12 years, and to try to overcome it as quickly as possible.

13 Quite frankly, I don't think there is any instant
14 solution, but we can make progress. Now, what about the
15 summer? I don't know. I am not going to predict riots be-
16 cause once you start predicting it you get people to expect
17 it. I would suggest that we start to look forward to a
18 summer of constructive development. I happen to be Chairman
19 of the President's Council on Youth Opportunity. We are de-
20 termined to find jobs for 200,000 hard-core unemployed, dis-
21 advantaged youth, meaningful jobs. We intend to see that
22 school systems are operating on a twelve-month basis. We hope
23 to have at least this summer 100,000 youngsters from the
24 inner cities out in camps that never were before in camps.
25 We hope to see 10 to 15 million youngsters today this summer

1 getting wholesome recreation and physical fitness amongst the
2 youngsters, the 10 year olds, the 12 year olds and the 14 year
3 olds that never before had this chance.

4 We are going to do our part, but how is it done? By
5 the mayor of every city, the governor of every state and the
6 church and the veterans organization and the chamber of
7 commerce. And, by the way, I might add that the American
8 business community has shown a greater social consciousness in
9 recent months than any business community in any country in
10 the world.

11 Mr. Henry Ford, prominent industrialist, heads up
12 the program of the National Alliance of Businessmen for jobs
13 for hard-core unemployed. And it is not easy to find those
14 jobs. It is not even easy to find the hard-core unemployed
15 because they hide out. It is the toughest job of this country.
16 This is what we intend to do this summer.

17 We intend to try to bring a greater measure of
18 justice to the cities of America. We intend to appeal to
19 reason. We intend to appeal to the young people to be help-
20 ful. We intend to appeal to the conscience of this Nation,
21 to be understanding, to be forgiving and to be helpful. And
22 I think if we do we can have a good summer. I happen to
23 think that the United States of America can provide for the
24 disadvantaged and the needy the opportunity that they want,
25 and it is our job to see that it is done. That is the great

1 battle here at home.

2 And if we can win this battle in America to help our
3 poor, we can maybe help the rest of the world. If we can win
4 this struggle in America for peace in our cities, maybe we can
5 win the struggle for peace in the world. But if we lose the
6 battle in America for our disadvantaged, what makes you think
7 that we can help anybody else in the world? If we can't keep
8 peace in our cities, what makes you think we can get peace in
9 the world?

10 I suggest that every one of us here solemnly pledge
11 today that we will devote our life to the works of peace and
12 that we will remember that, as John Kennedy put it, peace
13 does not come cheap and that most of us are destined to live
14 out the rest of our lives in a period of challenge and peril
15 and danger, and that the work of peace is a lonely pursuit
16 but it is the highest calling of mankind. And I appeal to
17 young Americans to dedicate their lives to it and some of us
18 who are a little bit older will try to be worthy of your faith
19 and your trust.

20 Thank you very much.

21 (Applause.)

22 - - -

✓ Dr James Albertson
Wisc. State University

5 other's

1 year ago today

after an introduction like that, I can hardly wait to hear what I have to say"

Aldous Huxley
"I have peered into the future,
and it won't work."

Dr. Drayfus
Steve
Madsen

my advice to you graduates
about ready to
sprint in the
word - Don't do it!

NOTES
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
WISCONSIN STATE UNIVERSITY

Low Budget
& meet the
Press

STEVENS POINT, WISCONSIN

won't
my scholarship
Refugee from class
room

MARCH 23, 1968

(Vest)
Drayfus
Jr.

I understand everybody knocked off classes here when
the temperature reached fifty the other day and had a
spontaneous rally in Iverson Park.

Something similar happened in Washington as soon as
the weather warmed up. Everybody knocked off and started
running for President.

When I was just starting in Politics I got some
good advice - "Do what you think is right
It will delight your friends,
and astonish the others!"

Paraphrase Adlai Stevenson after several months
of crisis + debate at the U.N.

"What with the middle east, Cyprus, the
Congo, Laos, Korea & Vietnam
↓ Sometimes yearn for the
Simple brutalities of Bi-Partisan
Politics"

But, I'm very happy to report that no one -
is running for Vice President. Not even
Stassen.

-2-

I'm ready to talk politics today -- not partisan politics,
but the politics of seeing that America does what it has
to do for our own citizens and in the world.

Here are some
questions

Are we finally going to ~~create~~ ^{continue} the kind of free
society here at home that we have been promising ourselves
~~liberty and the Pursuit of Happiness for every~~
~~for so long a~~ ^{American?} ~~with~~ ~~without~~

Are we going to use our ~~power~~ ^{strength} judiciously and our
wealth with compassion as effective instruments for peace
in the world?

~~Knowing what I know about your generation~~ I think
the answer will certainly be "yes" in both cases.

Students across America are more actively engaged
in public service activities today than ever before. Bulletin
boards that were once cluttered with social notices are now
full of community action announcements.

Student
Power is finding a constructive
outlet in Political activity and
Community Service.

Volunteers for a host of activities

-3-

↳ I know some of you are tutoring Indian high school students two nights a week ^{and} That kind of personal contribution can make the critical difference between a life of hope and a life of idle frustration, ~~for people you are going to be living with for a lifetime.~~ It is well worth your effort.

Another public service your generation is providing is a critique of "the system." — "the establishment"

↳ Welcome to the team. I was raising Cain with the system before you were born. And as I am just beginning to get started, I ~~don't doubt that~~ ^{suppose} I will be raising Cain when you are running things too. Take my medicine!

In fact I predict that in the next century's history books your parents and I may be listed as some of the greatest radicals in modern history.

↳ We were, just for example, the first generation in history -- anywhere -- that believed so strongly in freedom that we surrendered the privilege of telling our offspring:

This is how things are; this is how they always have been;

this is the way the world is. *and the way its going to be.*

↳ Your fathers and mothers were born children of hills and valleys. Today they pass on to you horizons which are in the galaxy itself.

↳ They have found new and better ways to care for people.

↳ They have found out how to keep an economy running at full steam -- perhaps because they know what depression means.!

↳ They have created wealth and opulence, but as a society they have also continued to worry about those who don't have enough.

We march under new banners - Peace Corps, Job Corps, VISTA, Head Start, upward bound, operation outreach, Teacher Corps, Moddities, Educ, Freedom now!

4
youth is not a time of life;
it is a state of mind.

We grow old only by deserting
our ideals

You are as young as your faith;
as old as your doubt,
as young as your self confidence,
as old as your fear;
as young as your hope,
as old as your despair" -

Samuel Ullman

Youth
quote

↳ So engagement... concern... determination to "do something about the system" is no new invention...

↳ It is the vital catalyst that has made our country what it is today and I welcome your contribution to it.

Emancipation

↳ Don't let yourselves get off the track, however, I made a speech in favor of full and unhampered free speech at The American University recently -- free speech unhampered by threats of violence ^{or harassment} to visiting speakers -- and I have had some mail in defense of violent protests.

Tolerance
good manners

The Past week

I saw an institution of higher learning temporarily closed in Washington ~~four days ago~~ -- by its own students. That worries me.

↳ "The system" we have evolved in the United States, for all its imperfections, appears to be one of the best decision-making, truth-seeking, consensus-forming mechanisms yet devised by man. It is also quite a lot of fun, once you get into it.

As Churchill used to say, "Democracy is the worst form of government except all those other forms that have been tried."

1968 is going to give you a good opportunity to test our system ~~out~~...to explore its mysteries and discover its strengths...and to make it respond to your will.

I urge you to ~~use~~ it respectfully and well.

Now let me hear from you.

#

stop putal's

outside

Limited War

Flex-Talk!

Placards reading

Disunion
no lock

Peace - I agree with that -
so does President Johnson

End the War - I agree with that -
so does President Johnson.

Am. War

Vietnam for the
Vietnamese - I agree with that -
so does President Johnson

Stop the murder
in Vietnam - I agree with
that - so does
President Johnson -

That is precisely why
President Eisenhower committed
our country to the
defense of Vietnam -
why President Kennedy
committed 35,000 American
fighting men in Vietnam -
and why President Johnson
has watched the murderous
building of Communist men and weapons
in South Vietnam

(2)

Because we are trying to
stop systematic murder, terror
and wholesale slaughter —

Aggression is an over-used
word — a kind of lame word —
~~about~~ perhaps we should speak
more plainly —

Killing — deliberate killing of
women and children

Assassination of teachers,
and any member of the
Government

Forced enlistment in the
Military of 13 and 14 year
olds

No Chi Minh is no wispy,
Asiatic Santa Claus, but a
bloody, murderous old man
who has killed tens of thousands
of his own countrymen and

Who has thrown away the lives of hundreds of thousands of the young men of North Vietnam on his scheme of conquest through a so-called "war of liberation!"

"So when I see that sign -
"Stop the murder in Vietnam" -
I say "amen" -
And let's put up another
Sign - ~~"Peace"~~

A lasting peace!
Not a fake, temporary
peace - not an escape from
today's war into tomorrow's
holocaust.

Dr. James
Whitson



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