Dr Fleming - Arthur
Dr Moos - Mac

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA - MACALESTER COLLEGE

DECEMBER 15, 1968

Mr President
Mr Ambassador - Governor Wiggins

I have had, you might say, a rather extended sabbatical.

Thank you for your patience.

Mr Jackson
Mr Malkerson

I must confess to having been carried away in my research for my course on American government and political institutions.

I thought a year or two in the mayor's office would provide fresh insights and experiences to enliven my classes. But you know how one thing leads to another in politics . . . as long as you keep winning.

I can, however, announce this afternoon that my basic research has been completed. The American people took care of that . . . although just barely. The data are in hand . . . although I'm not sure I can translate it all to punch cards,

as contemporary political scientists are supposed to do . . . or so I am told. In any event, I find that after 25 years in the field, there are some things I have to say about American government, national security, and related topics . . . and I have much to learn . . . and for both these reasons I am honored and highly pleased to accept the joint invitation of the University of Minnesota and Macalester College to join their distinguished faculties.

As a mayor, a U. S. Senator, Vice President, and Presidential candidate I have visited many college campuses at home and in foreign lands . . . it now must number in the hundreds. And frequently I have observed (always in jest of course) that I was just a refugee from the classroom. I would add that I was keeping my credentials in order . . . just in case! Well, here we are! And I couldn't be happier with your kind invitation.

You might be interested in my reasons for returning to the campus. My motives are primarily selfish. Service in elected public office has many rewards . . . the opportunity to participate in building a better city, or state or nation . . . or even a better world. You have the opportunity to meet dynamic and committed people of all persuasions. You have the opportunity to learn and to travel.

But with these rewards -- and they are considerable -- also come certain sacrifices -- and they too are considerable. There are the obvious sacrifices -- the frequent separations from your family, the loss of personal privacy, the expenditure of time and energy in prodigious amounts, the controversies which inevitably arise in the debate over public issues,

There is, however, another sacrifice which is not so evident, but which for me has become particularly severe over the last years: the sacrifice of having to think and act in terms of what is politically feasible given the circumstances of the moment . . . the art of defining what is possible in the complex world of politics.

I offer no apologies for assuming this posture as an elected public official. I decided long ago that my service to the people would be judged ultimately by what I accomplished . . . what I achieved . . . rather than what I said I wanted to achieve. In politics, as elsewhere, talk is cheap . . . results are harder to come by. And results were what I wanted on my record.

This does not mean, of course, that a public official says only what the people want to hear. Far from it. A public official must lead . . . he must stretch the minds and opinions of the people toward new goals and objectives . . . he must help them do things they might otherwise reject or ignore.

But in all of this, a public official must operate in an environment where other people have their opinions and views on every important question . . . and conflict is inevitable. The essence of democratic government is the process whereby these conflicting opinions are accommodated, one with another. This demands that you always bear in mind the need for an honorable compromise. You must always search for the answer which will command a workable majority, even as you prepare to take the next step toward the ultimate goals you are seeking.

The imperative of getting results in the public arena means that, in the long run, you must often sacrifice your opportunities to explore the uncharted areas of many vital issues . . . the visionary and experimental proposals which have yet to win legitimacy in the public forum. Such mechanisms as task forces -- staffed largely by non-public, academic figures -- help bring these ideas to the attention of elected officials. But that is not the same as doing this kind of thinking for yourself. And, for me, this has been a considerable sacrifice.

I view my appointment at the University and Macalester primarily as an opportunity to work with, and learn from, the students and faculty who operate on the leading edge of thought and action on the critical problems of the human race.

To say that contemporary higher education is in a period of great turmoil requires only the most limited perception of reality. In country after country, the university has become a focal point in mankind's never ending search for answers to certain basic questions of human existence: How should men live together? What do we mean by justice? What manner of social, political and economic institutions should we establish? What procedures should we devise to settle the vital questions of life and death in a civilized society? How should we educate our citizens?

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has proposed that Congress provide the funds needed to send one million students to college who otherwise would be denied this chance due to lack of money. Many billions of public funds would be required to

reach this goal ... but we cannot accept much longer a situation where the simple accident of birth deprives many of our potentially most creative and productive citizens the right of participating fully in the life of this nation. The loss to the country is enormous ... the sacrifice of the individuals involved is immoral and outrageous. As a private citizen I will be doing everything I can to build public support for the Carnegie Commission's report.

We must summon the courage, and the common sense, to act affirmatively on these recommendations.

But we also know that simply pouring billions of dollars into our existing institutions is not a sufficient answer. How will the money be spent? How will the universities and colleges structure their operations? What role will the students play in such vital decisions as curriculum, faculty appointments, and rules of conduct?

No one supposes for a moment that answers to any of these questions are self-evident or easy. To the contrary, they raise the most difficult and confounding of questions because they involve the most fundamental human relationships within the university and in society at large ... questions of authority, of consent, of justice. But it is equally clear that many of the answers which were satisfactory even a decade ago are no longer acceptable. The universities have become a forum for the expression of this dissatisfaction, as well as the place where better answers are being sought. And for that reason I wanted to return to the campus ... to participate fully in this search for better answers.

I return, in short, not primarily to teach ... although I will be doing some of this. But I come back to learn and to have

my mind and senses stretched once again by the students and faculty with whom I will be associated.

This country has never produced a finer generation of young people than the one now enrolled in our institutions of higher learning. They are speaking out with a sense of honesty and morality which, on occasion, produces more heat than light. But they are rightly questioning the assumptions and institutions which they see as irrelevant to the contemporary human condition. In some cases they may be dead wrong. In other cases they may be right. But right or wrong they have brought a new ferment and life to our society which is essential ... yes, essential ... to our building a more just and humane world community.

This is the fundamental reason why I never doubted for a moment that some relationship with a university or a college would

be highly desirable if I failed in my campaign for the Presidency. It is entirely my good fortune that the offer came from two schools which always have commanded a special place in my heart.

For you to believe that I might help enrich the life of the University of Minnesota and Macalester College is both gracious on your part and flattering to me. But I know, and I wanted to emphasize at the outset, that I return primarily because of what I will learn from you.

And I can hardly wait to begin.

# # # #

Look to the tomorrows

x 35 to 30 million americans!

must low letter -

60 million poor americans

(x) modernize our cities

(x) Develop Rural america

(x) Conserve our Resources

- Land - Erosion
- Water - Pollution
- Air - Pollution

(x) - Educate our young

(x) - Care for our Elderly

(x) - Trust each other

~~(x) [illegible]~~

Dare to Dream, to Plan, to build!

Dare to seek Peace - arms!

Dare to [illegible] Poverty

Dare to Banish Hunger

(B.J) 31st annual meeting

Barney Malusky

GTA - my 19th meeting

- Tony Dechant
- Sen Montoya
- Sen Burdick
- Gov LeVander
- Cong. Andrews
- Lt. Gov Goetz
- Mayor Byrne
- President Fred Ehlers.

(x) I shall soon be ending

(x) 20 years of Public Service in Washington - 24 years -

x Postwar - War - Recession - prosperity - Atomic age Space age

Wonderful experience -

Deeply grateful -

~~Hunger~~

- The nation Knows G.T.A.
- I will be your spokesman

(x) Hunger - Immoral unforgivable Can be overcome

wonderful speeches (why not more action)

GTA Banquet, St. Paul, Minn. November 21, 1968

Headtable Guests

- The Vice President
- Senator Mondale
- Senator Burdick
- Congressman Andrews
- Governor Harold LeVander
- Lt. Gov. James B. Goetz
- Rev. A. R. Filbin, St. Pious Catholic Church
- Mayor Thomas R. Byrn
- B. J. Malusky, General Manager, GTA
- Lowell Hergens, Asst. General Manager, GTA
- Fred J. Ehlers, President GTA
- Jewell Haaland, First Vice President GTA
- Harold G. Skaar, Second Vice President GTA
- Lloyd J. Michels, Secretary-Treasurer GTA
- Norman E. Olsen, Director, GTA
- Arnold C. Peterson, Director, GTA
- August Dahme, Director, GTA
- Ole L. Olson, Director, GTA
- Ervin Schumacher, Director, GTA
- Gordon H. Matheson, Director, GTA
- Olaf Hango, Director, GTA
- Raymond A. Muhs, Director, GTA
- Tony T. Dechant, President National Farmers Union

Gov Anderson
Cong Burgland
Butz here

THE REPUBLICANS HAVE ACCUSED THE DEMOCRATS OF

Cong Nolan -

BEING WILLING TO INTERFERE WITH EXPORT MARKETS IN SERIOUS

Sen Mondale

CONTINGENCIES SUCH AS SHORT SUPPLIES HERE IN THE UNITED

Gov Carter

STATES.

THAT POSITION, MY FRIENDS, IS FULLY CONSISTENT WITH THE

EXISTING EXPORT ADMINISTRATION ACT -- WHICH WAS SIGNED BY

Lets talk a little about all

ONE GERRY FORD.

~~this~~ embargo issue.

DEMOCRATS AND REPUBLICANS SUPPORT THE EXPORT

ADMINISTRATION ACT, WHICH PROVIDES THAT OUR EXPORT SALES

ARE NOT TO BE INTERFERED WITH UNLESS THERE ARE SERIOUS

SHORTAGES HERE IN THE UNITED STATES. AND YET IN 1973, 1974

AND 1975 THE NIXON-FORD ADMINISTRATION INTERFERED WITH

EXPORT MARKETS WHEN THERE WAS NO SHORTAGE AND IN BLATANT

DISREGARD OF ESTABLISHED LAW.

THESE UNWARRANTED INTERFERENCES IN YOUR BUSINESS HAVE COST ~~YOU~~ American farmers MILLIONS AND EVEN BILLIONS OF DOLLARS.

And THE ISSUE ~~THIS~~ LIES AT THE DOOR OF THE REPUBLICAN ADMINISTRATION. ARE THEY FINALLY PREPARED TO OBEY THE LAW, WHICH IS CONSISTENT WITH MEETING OUR NATIONAL SECURITY REQUIREMENTS? OR ~~WOULD~~ shall THEY CONTINUE TO MAKE INTERVENTIONS — embargoes, WHICH ARE NOT NEEDED AND ~~ARE DOWNRIGHT WRONG~~ destroy farm income.

But THIS ADMINISTRATION HAS NOT SHOWN THE SAME INTEREST IN INTERVENING TO PROTECT OUR farm PRODUCERS AGAINST SHARP INCREASES IN THE IMPORTATION OF MEAT, SUGAR, PALM OIL OR DAIRY PRODUCTS.

IN THE CASE OF CHEDDAR CHEESE, THE ADMINISTRATION permitted ~~STEPPED~~ UP IMPORTS NEARLY TEN FOLD IN EARLY 1974, LEADING TO A DISASTROUS DROP OF NEARLY 25 PERCENT IN PRICES PAID TO OUR DAIRY FARMERS IN A SIX MONTH PERIOD.

~~OF COURSE,~~ and NO CONSUMER EVER SAW THIS REFLECTED IN PRICES AT THE SUPERMARKET. Our dairy farmers have suffered 3 Ford Vetoes on Dairy legislation in a bitter one year.

~~I HARDLY NEED REMIND OUR DAIRY FARMERS OF THE ADMINISTRATION'S INFAMOUS FLANIGAN REPORT WHICH CALLED FOR INCREASED DAIRY IMPORTS AT THE EXPENSE OF OUR ALREADY HARD-PRESSED DAIRY PRODUCERS.~~

~~FORTUNATELY, I BLEW THE WHISTLE ON THAT SCHEME AND HELPED BLOW IT OUT OF THE WATER.~~ And then our dairy farmers

IN THE CASE OF PALM OIL, 1975 IMPORTS MORE THAN DOUBLED ~~FROM THE 350 MILLION POUNDS~~ from the amount IMPORTED A YEAR AGO, ~~BUT AGAIN~~ thereby ~~HAVE DEMONSTRATED~~ ~~WERE~~ putting down soybean oil prices. but THE ADMINISTRATION ~~HAS BEEN~~ was RELUCTANT EVEN TO RECOGNIZE THE PROBLEM, LET ALONE ACT ON IT.

~~THIS ADMINISTRATION ALSO HAS BEEN MOST RELUCTANT TO FACE UP TO THE ISSUE OF SUGAR IMPORTS AND THEIR IMPACT ON OUR DOMESTIC SUGAR BEET PRODUCERS.~~ and, as american sugar beet prices tumble downward with rising imports being dumped on the American market

with sugar beet prices

~~RECENTLY, PRICES HAVE BEEN~~ WELL BELOW THE COST OF PRODUCTION,

~~AND YET~~ THE ADMINISTRATION REMAINS OBLIVIOUS TO WHAT ~~HAS BEEN~~ is

HAPPENING.

EVERYONE KNOWS THAT OUR LIVESTOCK PRODUCERS HAVE BEEN

HARD HIT BY LOW PRICES OVER THE LAST FEW YEARS. YET THE

FORD ADMINISTRATION HAS ~~BEEN UNABLE TO MAKE SURE THAT MEAT~~ closed its eyes to the

ever increasing flow of meat imports,

~~DOES NOT ENTER THE FREE TRADE ZONE IN PUERTO RICO, AS A MEANS~~

which pushes prices down even further.

OF ~~CIRCUMVENTING THE MEAT IMPORT QUOTAS.~~

~~BUT NOW THE DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE HAS BEGUN A MEAT~~

and as to the grain inspection

~~PROMOTION CAMPAIGN WITHOUT SOLVING THE IMPORT PROBLEM.~~

scandal, which disturbs customers

~~CONGRESS ALONE HAS HAD TO STRUGGLE WITH THE PROBLEM OF~~

confidence & trust, the Congress has had to

REFORMING OUR GRAIN INSPECTION SYSTEM. ~~SINCE~~ SECRETARY

BUTZ AND PRESIDENT FORD HAVE BEEN UNWILLING TO DEAL WITH IT.

Secretary Butz closed his eyes to the whole stinking mess, until a courageous

District Attorney and the Senate committee on Agriculture began to investigate + clean up the mess.

THE GENERAL ACCOUNTING OFFICE'S GRAIN INSPECTION REPORT OUTLINED WHOLESALE ABUSES AND INDICATED THAT SOME NATIONS HAD REDUCED OR ELIMINATED THEIR COMMODITY PURCHASES FROM THE U.S.

AND WHILE OUR EXPORTS HAVE BEEN GROWING IN RECENT YEARS FROM AROUND 50 MILLION TONS TO NEARLY 100 MILLION TONS, THE U.S.D.A. HAS BEEN CUTTING BACK ON ITS GRAIN INSPECTION STAFF.

I BEGAN HEARINGS, INTRODUCED INTERIM AND PERMANENT GRAIN INSPECTION LEGISLATION, AND BOTH BILLS WERE PASSED BY THE SENATE. WE ALSO INCREASED THE FUNDING TO BEEF UP THE INSPECTION STAFF.

I BELIEVE THAT WORKABLE REFORMS CAN BE AGREED UPON -- AND, HOPEFULLY, THE PRESIDENT WILL APPROVE THEM.

Embargoes
1973, 1974, 1975

- Cheese - Cheddar potatoes
- Palmar -
- Beef Imports
- Grain Inspection

But the issue facing the american farmer is price + income.

~~ANOTHER MAJOR SHORTCOMING IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S FARM~~ The Butz has called for all out production

~~POLICIES IS THE LACK OF ADEQUATE PRICE PROTECTION FOR~~ but that same government is unwilling

~~PRODUCERS.~~ to share in the risk and provide fair and reasonable price protection

APPARENTLY MR. BUTZ HAS LEARNED LITTLE FROM THE LESSONS OF THE 1920'S AND THE DAYS OF EZRA TAFT BENSON IN THE 1950'S.

I APPLAUD THE INCREASE IN OUR EXPORT MARKETS, AND WE CAN, WITH MODEST INVESTMENTS, ENCOURAGE FURTHER INCREASES IN THE YEARS AHEAD.

GROWING WORLD DEMAND FOR OUR FOOD IS THE REASON OUR FARMERS HAVE BEEN SAVED FROM OVERPRODUCTION AND LOW PRICES.

BUT THE POLICIES OF Nixon-Ford and BUTZ HAVE LEFT FARMERS TO CARRY ALL OF THE RISK. To the farmers they say - Heads I win tails you lose.

THE ONLY THING THAT HAS SAVED OUR FARMERS FROM CALAMITY HAS BEEN bad WEATHER IN THE SOVIET UNION.

and

I DON'T BELIEVE THE SECURITY OF AMERICAN AGRICULTURE SHOULD BE PLACED IN THE HANDS OF THE LEADERS OF THE SOVIET UNION, or be left to the uncertainties of Russian purchases.

WE NEED TO REMEMBER THAT THE EXPORT MARKET CAN BE EXTREMELY VOLATILE, WITH SHARP INCREASES ONE YEAR AND DECLINES THE NEXT AS WEATHER AND CROP PRODUCTION CHANGES OCCUR THROUGHOUT THE WORLD.

But, our farmers are without adequate price protection under ~~OUR FARMERS DO NOT NEED TO BE TOLD THAT THEY ARE ALMOST TOTALLY WITHOUT PRICE PROTECTION UNDER THE~~ EXISTING TARGET PRICES AND LOAN LEVELS.

FOR WHEAT, THE TARGET PRICE IS $2.29 PER BUSHEL, WHILE THE LOAN LEVEL IS $1.50 PER BUSHEL. THE TARGET PRICE FOR CORN IS $1.57 PER BUSHEL, WITH THE LOAN LEVEL AT $1.25 PER BUSHEL.

THIS TRANSLATES INTO A TARGET PRICE FOR WHEAT AND CORN OF ABOUT 47 PERCENT OF PARITY. THE LOAN LEVEL FOR WHEAT IS THE EQUIVALENT OF 31 PERCENT OF PARITY, AND FOR CORN IT IS 38 PERCENT OF PARITY.

THE STORY IS THE SAME IN OTHER COMMODITIES, WITH A LOAN PROGRAM OF $2.50 PER BUSHEL FOR SOYBEANS.

THESE loan LEVELS ARE AN INSULT. ~~totally unrelated~~ far below the cost of production.

~~THUS, EVEN THE MOST INNOCENT OF BYSTANDERS COULD UNDERSTAND THE ANGER OF OUR FARM PRODUCERS WHEN PRESIDENT FORD VETOED THE ONE YEAR EMERGENCY FARM BILL IN THE SPRING OF 1975 WITH ITS VERY MODEST INCREASES IN PRICE PROTECTION.~~

But, when the Congress passed the one year Emergency farm bill in the Spring of 1975, providing reasonable and Butz recommended a Veto, & President Ford vetoed it. But this should come as no surprise: As a member of Congress, Gerald Ford voted against vitally needed farm legislation, 1955, 1958, 1973 - Zero

~~OF COURSE, THIS SHOULD COME AS NO SURPRISE.~~

FARMERS DO NOT EXPECT FAVORED TREATMENT ~~OR THE DOLE~~.

BUT THEY ASK FOR ~~THE CHANCE~~ Government policies that assure A FAIR RETURN ON THEIR LABOR AND INVESTMENT. This is right - this is as it should be.

THEY ARE LOOKING FOR A ~~LEADER~~ President WHO WILL PERFORM, NOT ONE WHO NEEDS ELECTION YEAR RHETORIC TO COVER-UP FOR A DISMAL RECORD. ~~They are looking for a President who a friend in the White House~~ They need someone who comes from the land - has lived and struggled in rural America.

~~WITH SECRETARY BUTZ HAVING VISITED YOU ON MONDAY AND SENATOR DOLE SCHEDULED TO ARRIVE THIS WEEKEND, I FEEL SOMEWHAT LIKE THE WHOLESOME PIECE OF MEAT BETWEEN TWO STALE SLICES OF BREAD.~~

~~ONE AREA IN WHICH WE HAVE SEEN ALL TOO WELL THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN PROMISE AND PERFORMANCE IS IN THE ADMINISTRATION'S FREQUENT GRAIN EMBARGOES.~~

and after 8 years of Embargoes, Vetoes, impoundments, delay and misguided policies, farmers want a friend in the White House - and that man is here today - Jimmy Carter of Plains Georgia

WITH THIS ADMINISTRATION'S RECORD FOR TRYING TO THWART NEEDED INVESTMENTS IN CONSERVATION, HOUSING, RURAL DEVELOPMENT AND NUTRITION PROGRAMS FOR THE YOUNG AND ELDERLY, WHAT CAN WE BELIEVE IN THE WAY OF FORD ELECTION YEAR PROMISES?

I AM REMINDED OF ADLAI STEVENSON'S COMMENT THAT IF THE REPUBLICANS WOULD STOP TELLING LIES ABOUT US, WE WILL STOP TELLING THE TRUTH ABOUT THEM.

NEXT YEAR WE WILL BEGIN THE PROCESS OF DEVELOPING A NEW FARM BILL. IF THE REPUBLICANS ARE RETURNED TO OFFICE YOU WILL BE TREATED TO MORE OF THE SAME REPUBLICAN POLICIES UNDER WHICH YOU HAVE SUFFERED IN RECENT YEARS.

Next year the Congress and the President must design new farm legislation. The Agricultural Act of 1973 expires.

WE MUST DEVELOP A MORE SENSIBLE APPROACH WHICH RECOGNIZES THE HIGH COSTS OF PRODUCTION IN TODAY'S AGRICULTURE.

- We must provide better Price protection,
- We must assure higher loan levels,
- We must [redacted] assure our farm producers of expanded export markets.

THE TASK WILL NOT BE EASY, AND IT IS ONE WHICH REQUIRES

The task will not be easy

THE UNDERSTANDING AND LEADERSHIP WHICH GOVERNOR CARTER WILL

We need a President, yes and a Secretary of Agriculture who will work with the Congress, who will listen to [redacted] the spokesman of

PROVIDE.

HE WILL NOT BE AFRAID TO WORK WITH AGRICULTURAL

our farm Cooperatives, and farm organizations.

COOPERATIVES AND THE TOTAL SPECTRUM OF FARM ORGANIZATIONS.

We need a president who understands that

HE ALSO RECOGNIZES THAT THE PROSPERITY OF AGRICULTURE

the Prosperity of agriculture is the best way

IS NOT SEPARATE FROM THAT OF OTHER SEGMENTS OF OUR ECONOMY.

to provide jobs for willing workers and Prosperity

WE NEED POLICIES TO PROVIDE JOBS AND PROMOTE PROSPERITY throughout

the entire economy.

ALL LEVELS OF OUR ECONOMY.

THE NATION NEEDS TO REDISCOVER ITS WORK ETHIC AND GET

AWAY FROM THE WASTE AND LOST PRODUCTION WHICH WELFARE AND

FOOD STAMPS REPRESENT.

~~IN 1972 THE REPUBLICAN CRY WAS "FOUR MORE YEARS."~~

~~WE HAVE HAD FOUR PAINFUL YEARS, AND THE NATION CAN'T TAKE~~
~~ANY MORE.~~

There is such a leader who is ready and to do

~~THIS BICENTENNIAL YEAR IS THE TIME FOR THE DEMOCRATS~~
~~TO RETURN TO OFFICE AND PROVIDE THE COURAGEOUS, FORCEFUL~~
~~AND FORWARD LOOKING LEADERSHIP FOR WHICH THIS NATION YEARNS.~~

There is such a man — ~~a former~~ — a
He is here with us today —
the leader who will
bring a new start for all americans in 1977.

~~I AM HAPPY TO INTRODUCE TO YOU THE LEADER WHO WILL~~
~~BRING A BRAND NEW START FOR ALL AMERICANS IN 1977.~~

I am proud and honored to ~~be~~ introduce
~~to the people of Massachusetts~~ the Next
President of the United States,
Governor Jimmy Carter

# #

For: Susan Davis

December 15, 1968

Hold

Thank you President Moos. Thank you President Fleming. Most of these days I have been opening my remarks with Mr. President. I gather that I will continue to do that. I'd hoped that I could have been addressing myself. But anyway, since I am a well-trained man in Protocal - Mr. President.

You would be surprised how good it is to be here today. This is a homecoming for me in the very real sense and my good friend Chancellor Ted Minzhof introducted here a few minutes ago. I couldn't help but think back the years that we were together here on this campus. And I'm very proud to know that he is one of our distinguished educators. Mr. Ambassador, I can recall when I was on this campus St. Paul Pioneer and Dispatch - great Editor. And during our years in Washington we have known you as a great Editor of the Washington Post - one of the leading newspapers in this country. Now I see you as UN Ambassador - US Ambassador or Representative to the United Nations. The interesting thing is Russell that both Hubert and Russell will soon change jobs. (Laughter) And I can say to you that it isn't going to be half as painful an experience as many people thought.

I want particularly to address Mr. Jackson & Melkerson. I've learned where the power rests since I've been in government.

There are some people who whomp the establishment, but I'm sort of like that fellow, and the local minister came in and asked him if he wished to renounce the devil, and he said in my condition I'm in no condition to be alienating anybody. (Laughter)

Well, Mr. Jackson and Mr. Melkerson it is so good that you are here. And I speak for Dr. Moos and Dr. Fleming as well.

I have some remarks which I want to express, incidentally. I think that it is only fair to say that possibly the only time that I have put down on paper anything since the election. I've spoken a couple of times to groups as sort of a farewell, but that's not what I have in mind today. I was on this campus almost 25 years ago. My what a tolerant college this has been.

I've have what you might say, a rather extended sabatical. And I want to thank you for your patience. And in particular, those of you at Macalaster. I must confess to having been carried away, however, in my research, for my course in American government and political institutions. I thought that possibly a year or two in the Mayor's office in Minneapolis, would provide some fresh insight and experiences to enliven my classes. But you know how one thing leads to another in politics. That is as long as you keep winning.

I can however today make a very important announcement. I announced this afternoon that my basic research - and I want to underscore Basic research - the American people took care of that - although I might add just barely.- the data are in hand, although I'm not sure I can translate it into punch cards, as contemporary political scientists are suppose to do - that is so I'm told, I may be a little old-fashioned. I'm not much on punch cards. I prefer to remember names. I may need you later on. (Don't misinterpret that). (laughter)

In any event I find that after 25 years in the field with some open field running, there are some things that I may have to say about American government that I haven't said, believe it or not. Some things I want to say about National Security, foreign problems. And now let me make a very frank confession. I have much to learn. So for both of these reasons, that I want to say some things that may not have been said: that I have much to learn and that I am very honored and I am highly pleased to accept the joint invitation of the Un. of Minn. and Macalaster College to join their distinguished faculties. (Applause)

Word must have spread that I am a soft grader. (laughter) Too bad I can't give an examine during this period, after that prime outburst there wouldn't be a problem. I assure you.

I want to talk to you a little bit about what I think we are going to do. As the mayor of a great city, and I say that showing you how courageous a man can get in public life - coming to St. Paul and speaking of the mayor of Minneapolis. As a US. Senator for 16 years, as Vice President, as a Presidential candidate, I have visited many, many college campuses and universities campuses at home and indeed abroad. I think it now must number in 2 or 3 hundred or more. As I recall I have visited about 130 college campuses in the US in the last four years. And during my years as Senator an equally large number and many times abroad. Frequently I have observed on these college campus visits in order to just get the setting right you know as you start to speak to the students. Always, of course, I've observed this in jest.- that I was a refugee from a classroom, and then talking to myself I would add that I was just keeping my credentials in order, by coming back to the campus, just in case. Well, just in case happened. Here I am. Credentials or no credentials. And here we are. As far as I'm concerned I just couldn't be happier, and I know that I speak for Muriel - Mrs. Humphrey.

And I want to make this visit to these campuses something that you will remember, not only because of what I might be able bring, but of the other people that I might be able to bring to these campuses. We are going to have a real good time.

For about 25 years I have been cultivating the friendship of world leaders, as least some of them have come into power, that's more than I did. And I intend to call on them. I've told Dr. Fleming and Dr. Moos about them. They visit our land and get as far as New York and Washington. They send somebody down, ocassionally, to see the space operation at Cape Kennedy. Once in awhile, if they have to make a long flight, they will send them to Los Angeles.

I intend to have a grounder with the Twin Cities. (applause)

Now maybe you would be a little bit interested in my reason, other than the one you know for returning to the campus. My motives? Not very noble they are primarily selfish. Service in elected public office has many rewards and we are going to talk about that facility together. There is the opportunity to participate in building a better city, and we are going to do something about that while we are around here. Building a better state, and a better nation, and hopefully a better world.

When you are in public life you have the opportunity of meeting some facinating, exciting, some dull too, but most of the time, dynamic and committed people of all persuasions.

You get a great degree of tolerance which is very much needed for education. Opinionated people are interesting but not very enlightening.

The purpose of an education, _____ from ones vision is not to have a telescope but a broad lense. We are going to try to do that. As a public official you have an opportunity to learn, to travel and I'm going to talk to you about those travels. People we've met, and what they have had to say. Reports that have been filed away that nobody has ever read, I'm sure. You are going to have to listen to some of them.

But with these rewards, and there are many and considerable, there comes some sacrafices and they too are considerable. Now there are the obvious sacrafices: frequent separation from family and friends, often personal privacy, the expenditure of time and energy in prodigious amounts, controversy, my goodness - controversy we have plenty of them - which are inevitable and they inevitably arise debate over public issues. Maybe we will learn to differentiate between an argument over an issue and an argument over a personality. It would be a very healthy thing if we could do that in months ahead.

And there is another sacrifice which I refer to which is not so evident. But which for me has been particularly severe. Over these last few years in particular. The sacrifice of having to think and act in terms of what is politically feasible, given the circumstances of the moment. Now this is hard for young people to come to grips with. To act and to think in terms of what is politically feasible. The art of defining what is possible

in the complex world of _____. It takes a great deal of discipline and it requires sacrifice. I offer no apologes for having to assume that that is possible. As an elected public official I decided a long time ago that my service to the people would be judged ultimately by what I acomplished - what I achieved - rather than what I said I wanted to achieve. Politics is elsewhere. Talk. Results are harder to come by, and it was results that I wanted on my record. Results that were based on forward looking processes and programs.

Now this does not mean that a public official says only what the public wants to hear - far from it. And I say that or I wouldn't be here today. And I think that is true. I made up my mind a long time ago that I was not going to compromise certain principles in order to be popular, because the greatest pox in public life is that insatiable desire for popularity, which is a far different thing then principles. So we are going to discuss popularity and principles too. And we all get infected by a little of it too. Sort of like I feel today. I've been telling Mrs. Humphrey for three days that I think I've got the flu - well I don't really have it I just have a slight amount of it. And that can happen to you in politics. You get a slight touch of the craze for popularity, rather then the _____ commitment to principles. So the public officials must stretch the minds and opinions of the people toward new goals and objectively. And he must help them do things that they might otherwise reject or ignore.

One of the reasons I wanted to be President was because I thought that was the best_____.

.....

Now I've had to settle for second best. But this is pretty good I must say. But it's all teaching...to lead and to teach. But ~~itxisxaitx~~ in all that I have said this public official, who ever he is must operate in an environment where other people have their opinions and their views on every question, and conflict therefore is inevitable. The essence of Democratic government is the process where by these conflicting opinions are a comedy. Not where they are beaten down, rejected, but a comedy. One with another. Now that demands that you always bear in mind in need for honorable comprise. You must always search for the answer ~~wit~~ which will command a workable majority, even as you prepare to take the next step towards the ultimate goal that you are seeking. Now the imperative of getting results in the public arena means then that in the long run you must often sacrifice your opportunities to explore the uncharted areas the far-out ideas of many vital issues- the visionary and the experimental proposals which have yet to win ~~legitan~~ legitimately in the public forum.

Such mechanisms for example as task forces, we have hundreds of them these days, staffed largely by non-public or academic figures to help bring these ideas to the attention of elected officials. I had 33 (?) task

forces representing 800 of the brightest minds in this country. And I have those task force reports. Of course, I'll claim any of the good ideas in there as my own. That's one of the perogatives of being a professor. But this is one way we get ideas, but it is not the same as doing this kind of thinking for yourself.

And as for me, just being so busy and being crowded in by the practicalities of the workable majority that sometimes denied me the kind of open, free-wheeling thinking that I would have liked to have done.

So I must say to some of my friends that expect me to be a little more of a conformist then I may turn out to be (garbled). I may have a lot of things bottled up inside of me that may explode - Dr. Fleming and Dr. Moos. And we students are apt to have one big time around here. Now in my view then, my appointment to this fine college, and it is dear to me, and to this great university, I view that appointment as an opportunity to work with and learn from the students and the faculty who operate on the leaning edge of thought and action, on the critical problems of the human race.

Now to say that contempory higher education is in a period of great turmoil requires only the most limited perception of reality.

In country after country the university has become

a vocal point in mankinds never-ending search for answers to certain basic questions in human discipline. For example, what manner of social, political, and economic institutions should we establish? How should people live together? What do we really mean by justice? Or even by violence or aggression? What procedures should we devise to settle the vital questions of life and death in a civilized society? How should we educate ourselves? Just a few of the questions that we can explore together. I often doubt if there are any textbooks on these questions. We'll write our own. And our own dialogues, and our own discussions.

Now the Carnegie Commission on Higher Education, you may have read it's recent report, has just proposed, for example, that Congress provide the funds needed to send one million students to college who otherwise would be denied this chance due to lack of money. Now maybe it should be Congress and maybe it shouldn't. We can talk about that. Many billions of public funds would be required to reach this goal, but I think we can say that we cannot accept much longer a situation where the simple accident of birth or even race deprives many of our potentially most creative and productive citizens the right of participating fully in the life of this nation.

The loss to this country is enormous. The sacrifice of individuals involved is immoral and outrageous. If there is one thing that I've learned is that there is a great

tremendous reservoir of strength in this country that is untapped, and it is in its people. And I have been very close to these people - the untouched, sometimes the unwanted, often times though we were told, the unequal. Now as a private citizen I will be doing everything that I can to build public support for the basic philosophy and the basic recommendation of the Carnegie Comm. Report.

I think we must summon the courage and the common sense to act affirmatively on these recommendations. But first where should we have to talk about them. Here. Those of us that are priviledged to be here. Remember there are more that are out then are in. And our job is to find out why, and what to do about it.

Now, we must also know that simply pouring billions of dollars into our existing institutions is not a sufficient answer. How can the money be spent? I've seen an awful lot of money wasted in my life. As a matter of fact, the ability of the locale communities to expend the funds that they have in a sensible way is one of the challenges of modern government.

How will the universities and the colleges structure their operations? There is nothing sacroscant about these structures, they are man-made.

What roles will students play in such vital decisions as curriculum? Faculty appointments? - that is after you have gotten me aboard, and rules of conduct and administration? I think we need to talk about the student and his relationship to the university.

Now no one supposes for a moment that answers to any of these questions are easy, self-sufficient, self-evident. To the contrary, they raise the most difficult and propounding of questions because they involve the most fundamental human relations within the university and the society at large.

They involve questions of authority. Some people are very concerned about them. Of consent and advice and of justice and participation. It is equally clear that many of the answers which were satisfactory even a decade ago are no longer acceptable. That is why I wanted to get back a little closer to the university and campus life.

Muriel said to me the other night - we need to understand what they are saying. Those of us that have been closeted in public life for long are inevitably somewhat removed from the forces that are at work. We gather those forces to us after they have gained great momentum. We need to know them in their infancy, so to speak - their beginning. The universities have become a form for the expression of this kind of dissatisfaction...as well, may I say, is the place for the better _____ of these thoughts. For that reason, I want to return to the campus and it is a very considered choice I might add.

I've had many a man say to me, what do you want to lose your freedom for. I don't think I'm losing it at all. I think I am gaining a new measurement. Because as Thomas Jefferson once said: "You cannot be both free

and ignorant, you have to make your choice." And I think there are many of us today that are abit ignorant about what really some people - particularly young people - are thinking about. What is in their hearts and minds. And we strike strike back, rather than walking out and walking and talking with them.

Return, or should I say as I return, I do not do so primarily to teach. I'll give you enough, so you will know that you have had a work out. Although I'll do what I best can in teaching. But I have come to learn and to have my mind - and this time to have my mind and my - stretched once again by the students and faculty with whom I will be associated.

This country has never produced a finer generation of young people then those now enrolled in our institutions of higher learning. It might be well that we focused our attention a little bit upon all of their needs, rather than just some of their needs.

But they are all worthy of attention. These students are speaking out with a sense of honesty and I think morality which on occasion produces more heat than light, but they are rightly questioning the assumptions and the institutions which they see as being rather irrelevant to the comtempory human conditions. In some cases they may be dead wrong. I've said a number of times that every man has the right to be heard. He doesn't necessarily have to be taken seriously, but he has the right to be heard.

In other cases they may be very right. But right or wrong they have brought a new ferment and a new light to our society which is essential. I repeat essential, to ~~xxxxxxxxxxxx~~ our building of a more just and humane rural community. Now this is the fundamental reason why I have never doubted for a moment that some relationship with a university or a college would highly desireable if I should not succeed in my quest for the Presidency of the US. And it is entirely my good fortune then that the offer came from two schools - two great institutions of higher education - which have always commanded a very special place in my heart for you to believe that I might help in ~~the~~ a little way to enrich the life of the Un. of Minne. and Macalaster College, was gracious on your part. But I know and I want to ~~xxxxxx~~ emphasize in my remarks today, that I return primarily because I will learn from youth. And may I say, I can hardly wait to begin. Thank you very much.

Remarks
Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey
University of Minnesota - Macalester College
December 15, 1968

Thank you for your patience.

I have had ~~It has been~~, you might say, a rather extended sabbatical. I must confess to having been carried away in my research for my course on American government and political institutions. I thought a year or two in the mayor's office would provide fresh insights and experiences to enliven my classes. But you know how one things leads to another in politics. . . as long as you keep winning.

I can, however, announce this afternoon that my basic research has been completed. The American people took care of that ... although just barely. The data are in hand. . . . although I'm not sure I can translate it all to punch cards, as contemporary political scientists are supposed to do. . . or so I am told. In any event, I will that after 25 years in the field, there are some things I have to say about American government National Security and related topics . . . and I have much to learn. . . and for both these reasons I am honored and highly pleased to accept the joint invitation of the University of Minnesota and Macalester College to join their distinguished faculties.

As a U.S. Senator, Vice President, and Presidential candidate I have visited many college campuses at home and in foreign lands. . . it now must number in the hundreds. And frequently I have observed, always in jest, of course, that I was just a refugee from the classroom but that I was keeping my credential in order. . . just in case!

Well, here we are. And I couldn't be happier with your kind invitation.

You might be interested in my reasons for returning to the campus. My motives are primarily selfish. Service in elected public office has many rewards. . . the opportunity to participate in building a better city, or state or nation. . . or even a better world. You have the opportunity to meet dynamic and committed people of all persuasions. You have the opportunity to learn and to travel. But with these rewards--and they are considerable--there also come certain sacrifices--and they too are considerable. There are the obvious sacrifices--the frequent separations from your family, the loss of personal privacy, the expenditure of time and energy in prodigious amounts, the controversies which inevitably

arise in the debate over public issues. ¶ There is, however, another sacrifice which is not so evident, but which for me has become particularly severe over the last years: the sacrifice of having to think and act in terms of what is politically feasible given the circumstances of the moment. . . the art of defining what is possible in the complex world of politics.

I offer no apologies for assuming this posture as an elected public official. I decided long ago that my service to the people would be judged ultimately by what I accomplished. . .what I achieved. . . rather than what I said I wanted to achieve. In politics, as elsewhere, talk is cheap. . . results are harder to come by. And results were what I wanted on my record.

This does not mean, of course, that a public official says only what the people want to hear. Far from it. A public official must lead. . . he must stretch the minds and opinions of the people toward new goals and objectives. . . he must help them do things they might otherwise reject or ignore. ¶ But in all of this, a public official must operate in an environment where other people have their opinions and views on every important question. . . and conflict is inevitable. The essence of democratic government

is the process whereby these conflicting opinions are accommodated, one with another. This demands that you always bear in mind the need for an honorable compromise. You must always search for the answer which will command a workable majority, even as you prepare to take the next step toward the ultimate goals you are seeking.

The imperative of getting results in the public arena means that, in the long run, you must often sacrifice your opportunities to explore the uncharted areas of many vital issues. . . the visionary and experimental proposals which have yet to win legitimacy in the public forum. Such mechanisms as task forces --staffed largely by non-public, academic figures--help bring these ideas to the attention of elected officials. But that is not the same as doing this kind of thinking for yourself. And, for me, this has been a considerable sacrifice.

I view my appointment at the University and Macalester primarily as an opportunity to work with, and learn from, the students and faculty who operate on the leading edge of thought

and action on the critial problems of the human race.

To say that contemporary higher education is in a period of great turmoil requires only the most limited perception of reality.

In country after country, the university has become a focal point in mankind's never ending search for answers to certain basic questions of human existence: How should men live together? What do we mean by justice? What manner of social, political and economic institutions should we establish? What procedures should we devise to settle the vital questions of life and death in a civilized society? How should we educate our citizens?

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has proposed that Congress provide the funds needed to send one million students to college who otherwise would be denied this chance due to lack of money. Many billions of public funds would be required to reach this goal. . . but we cannot accept/ much longer a situation where the simple accident of birth deprives many of our potentially most creative and productive citizens the right of participating fully in the life of this nation. The loss to the country is enormous. . . the sacrifice of the individuals involved is immoral and outrageous.

As a private citizen I would be doing everything I can to build public support for the Carnegie Commission's report. We must summon the courage, and the common sense, to act affirmatively on these recommendations.

But we also know that simply pouring billions of dollars into our existing institutions is not a sufficient answer. How will the money be spent? How will the universities and colleges structure their operations? What role will the students play in such vital decisions as curriculum, faculty appointments, and rules of conduct?

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No one supposes for a moment that answers to any of these questions are self-evident or easy. To the contrary, they raise the most difficult and confounding of questions because they involve the most fundamental human relationships within the university and in society at large. . . questions authority, of consent, of justice. But it is equally clear that many of the answers which were satisfactory even a decade ago are no longer acceptable. And the universities have become a forum for the expression of this dissatisfaction, as well as the place where better answers are being sought. And for that reason I wanted to return to the campus . . . to participate fully in this search for better answers.

I return, in short, not primarily to teach. . . although I will be doing some of this. But I come back to learn and to have my mind and senses stretched once again by the students and faculty with whom I will be associated. This country has never produced a finer generation of young people than the one now enrolled in our institutions of higher learning. They are speaking out with a sense of honesty and morality which, on occasion, produces more heat than light. But they are rightly questioning the assumptions and institutions which they see as irrelevant to the contemporary human condition. In some cases they may be dead wrong. In other cases they may be right. But right or wrong they have brought a new ferment and life to our society which is essential. . .yes, essential . . . to our building a more just and humane world community.

This is the fundamental reason why I never doubted for a moment that some realtionship with a university or a college would be

highly desirable if I failed in my campaign for the Presidency. It is entirely my good fortune that the offer came from two schools which always have commanded a special place in my heart.

For you to believe that I might enrich the life of the University of Minnesota and Macalester College is both gracious on your part and flattering to me. But I know, and I wanted to emphasize at the outset, that I return primarily because of what I will learn from you.

And I can hardly wait to begin.

#

Carnegie

Role of the student in organizing - planning of curriculum - administration - rules of conduct -

Each student generation must find its proper role - its ~~responsibilities~~ rights & responsibilities - Unity must be kind of institution which permits this to happen -

OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

WASHINGTON, D.C.

John -

I extracted this out (+ did some editing) + gave it to the AP. They had asked for VP's comment on Carnegie Corp report

Jack

given to AP

Vice President Humphrey - Minneapolis - December 15, 1968

The Carnegie Commission on Higher Education has proposed that Congress provide the funds needed to send one million students to college who otherwise would be denied this chance. ~~due to lack of money.~~ Billions of dollars will be required, but I think we cannot much longer accept a situation where the simple accident of birth [redacted] deprives many of our potentially most creative and productive citizens the right of participating fully in the life of this nation. The loss to this country is enormous. The sacrifice of individuals involved is immoral and outrageous.

If there is one thing I have learned, it is that there is a great reservoir of untapped strength in this country, and it is in our people. I have been very close to these people--the untouched and the unwanted. Now as a private citizen, I will be doing everything I can to build public support for the basic philosophy and recommendations of the Carnegie Commission report. I think we must summon the courage and the common sense to act affirmatively on these recommendations.