

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

February 23, 1970

Dear Mr. Huenemann:

Mr. Humphrey is looking forward to being at the Downtown Kiwanis Club on Tuesday, March 17th.

Would you please forward to me the details of the luncheon, such as the time, place, headtable guests and any other activities in which Mr. Humphrey will be expected to participate.

Mr. Humphrey would appreciate your making a tape recording of his remarks, including any introductory remarks as well. After the event we would like to have a copy of the tape and two copies of the transcript mailed to our office in Washington.

I am looking forward to hearing from you.

Sincerely,


(Mrs.) Ursula Culver
Appointments Secretary to
Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. R. H. Huenemann
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Please reply to:
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President Eickorn -- It's always a special pleasure to have a personal friend introduce you because they never let truth stand in the way of a good introduction. I want to thank Hal for once again yielding to temptation and be willing to say the nice things I encouraged him to say up here and to present me to some old friends, some new friends and to one of the great service clubs of America. I know that you live on a strict time schedule. This has never been a problem of mine; I sort of just ignore time, but I am going to try to be somewhat cognous of your needs today. I want to make one or two corrections about this part-time business if any of you think it's part-time to be a professor or a teacher this year, you'd better get into the profession and find out. There's nothing part-time about it, it's full time and hard time, and it's also exciting time. I had some other plans. I really didn't a couple of years ago or a year and half ago didn't plan on being at this luncheon, but I did plan on inviting a few of you down to have lunch at taxpayers' expense but those things got out of hand a bit, and here I'm back where I started some 25-30 years ago. Some people have said well knowing that I used to teach over at Macalester College back in the late 1942, they say, "Well, Humphrey's made the whole circle now -- he started out teaching at "Mac" and over at the University and now he's back. That's the end of the line." I want to say to my Republican friends you've got to be somewhat, you've got to in uire into this a little more specifically. It might be the end of the line or it may be that I'm just starting again. You got to take a look at it. This is what Hal was eluding to, but I should tell you that there are some benefits to private life which I always knew existed but which I wasn't quite sure that I'd ever paced and wasn't really planning on it. I got my swimming pool paid for and I want you to know that it's really a pleasure. The bank is happy about it. I've been making some money -- I like that. I always knew it would be fun and I really enjoy it. I wish that there hadn't been as much inflation at the time I started to make my money, but I'm not really complaining about that. I do have an opportunity to be fully involved in education and this is my work now at Macalester, a wonderful liberal arts college. Bill, I hope you will forgive me. Augsburg is great, too and at the University of Minnesota. I also am involved as a member of the Board of Trustees of Brandice University -- a splendid liberal arts college in Massachusetts. The Chairman of the Board of Regeants of the Woodrow Wilson International Senator Scholars, which is a very prestigious post-graduate exchange program both foreign and domestic American scholars. I'm a member of the Board of Visitors of Harvard University, and the Board of Misitors for Tufts, felicitous school of diplomacy. So I find myself pretty much involved in education. On top of this from the business world, I serve as chairman of the Board of Consultants, educational consultants for Encyclopedia Britannica. I'm not up here to sell books today but if you want to buy any, I'll be glad to take an order. And I do a good deal of traveling for this company. We have a very large international operation. I was just saying to Rev. Paul Youngdahl who had visited in the Far East recently how much I enjoyed my trip there. I was in Japan last October, and Korea. I'm going back to Japan in the mid-latter part of April. We're launbhing one of the large publications. I think one of the most significant publications in the world -- Encyclopedia Japan. It involves the work of some 2,000 translators and over 200 scholars. For the first time there will be a major encyclopedia in the Far East, which I think will do aggre great deal to enrich our own English language encyclopedia as we draw information in. So I'm up to my ears, so to speak, in this work of education;

but the real truth is gentlemen that education is just not in colleges or schools and I've always thought the greatest classroom in the world is the White House. And I think the greatest seminar in the world is Congress. And I have had a chance to participate in both. At least in the Congress for 16 years and as a member of the Executive Department as Vice-President for four years. Theodore Roosevelt once said the White House of the Presidency - "that it is a bully pulpit," and that it is. But Woodrow Wilson also said of it: "It is the world's greatest classroom." And that it is. That Presidency must include both inspiration as well as the solid substance of communication and education. And it was for this reason that I sought to obtain that office. People always ask you why you ever think you could or should have it. I don't think one can really give an objective answer to that except that you sort of feel that you have something you would like to do, you feel somewhat qualified at least to a degree to do and it becomes a part very much a part of your life.

Today I am going to take just a few minutes to visit with you. I don't have any particularly prepared oration for you and you have heard me orate before. I would much more prefer to just talk to you about the times in which we live and see if we can't get a little better perspective on those days and these times. When I listen to the news Dick gave it here to us I couldn't help but think "my goodness here we are again trouble violence tension threats of war, demonstrations protests" That is part of the news and it is a part we must understand. We must not look at it in anger nor must we look at it as if it is biased. Because I don't happen to believe that the American people get biased news. Oh they do on occasion from some reporters. But what they may get is not a full picture of all that's going on. It is impossible to get. But in the very areas of the world from whence that news came, there are many great things happening too. For example, when I listened when I think of the Far East where I visit quite often I did four times as Vice-President. I was in Japan and Korea and all the countries -- India, Thailand the Philippines, Malaysia, all Laos, all through those areas and I know most of the leaders of those countries and have had the privilege to do so. That's the real reward of public life. And I know that the violence for example, that's taking place take a country like Korea attacks from the North. Actually, the guerrilla bandits coming in from the North and getting right in the grounds of the Blue House would be just exactly like getting in the grounds of the White House. Within a few hundred yards of a point where they could assassinate the President of South Korea. I've been there, I know President Park, knew him well, and when you listen to that you think "my goodness" It's terrible. Just look what's happening. But let me tell you what else is happening. A city like Seoul, Korea, that in 1830 had 400,000 people now has 4½, almost 5 million people. They have an increase in population at the rate of 400,000 a year. That's the size of Minneapolis every year almost. And they are building water systems and housing. They built a ½ million housing units last year for low-income people. ½ million on the hills outside of Seoul, Korea, with water, sewage, central heat and and they did it working 24 hours a day. And they do it on the basis of amateurization of rentals. They built 29 underpasses to facilitate street congestion. How many did we build? They're going to build 50 more this year. They have built 195 kilometers of sewers. They're at work-- that's part of the news. That part you need to know. They've doubled agricultural production. They've more than doubled per capita income in the last two years. That's part of the news. So it isn't all hopeless. Not a long shot. Even in Vietnam

terrible tragedy, unbelievable, ugly war. We pray to God that it can be brought to a quick, and final end. But even despite that, there are more young people going to college and high school in Vietnam today by a factor of ten to one than there were ten years ago. Ten to One. They've increased their agricultural production despite the war. By 100 per cent. They have more doctors. They have more health services than they have had in their lives. Not that this makes it good, but that's part of the news. So I can go around the world, and for example, we constantly hear about problems at home and abroad, I don't just want to take you to the international scene, But I want to say this to this audience, you cannot become a great people or nation by living in fear. And you cannot inspire people by a negative attitude. And a people without inspiration or vision are people that are dead and lost. And the one thing that worries me more in America than anything else is that we seem to have a masochistic attitude. We want to injure ourselves. We are constantly beating on ourselves as if nothing is good, nothing's improved. That everything is bad. To the contrary, I'm here to tell you to the contrary. And I'm not a polyanish fellow. I'm not trying to gloss over the troubles. You know me better than that. You know I frequently have pointed to what I think are our shortcomings. Because I think a measure of discontent is the fuel for change in development. Particularly, in a free society. I think you will always have to have a little feeling that it can be better. A healthy sense of discontent. And that the means of protection of that right of dissent. And it means of protection of the right to be heard and to listen. Now, let's take a look at our own country. Well, people say why all the violence, why all the trouble. Well, I can't give you an answer here in two or three minutes but I have been doing this series of lectures, by the way, known as the Pillsbury Lectures, in which I put the best that I had in me in those lectures, and I want to be honest with you. The only time any people heard of those lectures was the day I walked off the platform at the University of Massachusetts. Now I have been to 150 universities since I've been Vice-President of the United States up to this time -- 150 universities and ended up at the University of Arizona last Tuesday. I think I know young people. A lot better than some of people writing about them. And I'm here to tell you that most of them, by far the most of them, are just as you want them to be. They work hard, Oh, they love to play, too. They like to get into trouble--Didn't you? But they are good students. They're concerned, thank goodness! More so than a decade ago. They're reasonably alert. They are not quite as good as some people say they are and they know it, and they think we're hypocrites for telling about them as if they are a new breed that is a special kind of genius. They know better than that. Bye and large, they are pretty well prepared. They've come up through a better educational system despite all we have to say about it. It's better now than it was 25 years ago. And most of them are pretty good. But once in while, you run into a few that have decided for some reason or the other, they're going to take things in their own hands. That's what we call "confrontation politics." Not dialogue, not debate, not discussion, but confrontation. Wild protest, sometimes violent. I ran into that all my public life ever since during my last years of the Senate. Particularly, during the four years of the Vice-Presidency. I never left the platform-- no matter what the occasion or how much harassment, I refused to leave. I felt I was entitled to be heard and I felt that some people who came were entitled to listen. But on one occasion, I decided that it was time to blow the whistle. And I had been invited by a student body--selected as their most well-liked speaker according to their referendum to return on the Third occasion on the University of Massachusetts campus. And there were a group of people there that were

protesting the Chicago & Trial. They had a meeting on that afternoon. They came in from all over the New England coast.--The Weathermen, the Black Panthers, a few others--about 50 of the hardcore sat right down in front of me--5,000 people in the auditorium. About 150 others that were sympathizers started taking over the meeting. I decided I didn't have to go through that any more. I'm not a Senator, not a Vice-President. I'm a citizen and I was getting paid anyway to lecture and I figured if they couldn't establish a ground rule, that a man can be heard, there's only one way to shape it up. And that is to say "good night, gentlemen. When you figure out how to make this university be a scene for reasonable discussion rather than be governed by the rules of back-alley law or back-alley lack of law when you can protest the importance of the university as being an arena for the fearless examination of every idea, I will return. Until then, I shall say good night."

Frankly, I want to say I think it did an awful lot of good to the students, to the faculty, and to everybody else. But I mentioned this to you because I read about that, but I didn't read about three others which we had tremendous response from the student body. Tremendous. So let's get things in perspective. This young crowd, not a bunch of vandals. They are not here to destroy the country. They're trying to improve it. Some of their alienation doesn't mean they have rebuked our ideals; they're just discouraged that we haven't lived up to them. And young people ought to be very idealistic. And we ought to keep that in mind. They're our kids, by the way, too. They're our young people. So when we watch them and see them, it's a reflection upon us, one way or the other. Now, has anything really changed? In these recent years, of course, the whole world has changed. If nothing else had happened in the last 25 years, the advent of television has changed the world. It's the most powerful instruments since the wheel. And it still is to be determined that it will be used for good or evil. It has a tremendous impact. World-wide, the transistor radio and the television. There are no hills and valleys any longer--the world is a global village. The Chinese say that one picture is worth 10,000 words. I am here to tell you that an animated picture of real life with words is worth a million words. Powerful injection like a mighty drug hit you. And we have yet to use in this country television for educational purposes as it ought to be. We get wonderful entertainment out of it. I don't know. I wouldn't want to have the government stand in judgement of it, but I think that we in private life have to stand in judgement. I can just simply say that it's a tool that has revolutionalized the world. The world has become a global village. Martin Luther King, Jr. said that our technology and science has made the world into a neighborhood. And then he went on to say but it takes man, it takes you, me, and others to make it into a brother hood. And that's the whole cake, right there. That's the story. We've got a neighborhood but are we living as neighbors or as enemies. This world of ours has changed, not only under science and technology, but nationalism. Tremendous changes. Even the stability that was once in the Communist system is no longer a monolith. Terrible distress and all kinds of animosities between China and the Soviet Union--historic one, by the way,--were we as well-educated as we should be, know that this was going to happen. The oldest international animosity is between Russia and China. From the days of Ghengis Khan--way back--it's a racial problem as well as political.

We've also seen literally dozens of new national-states come into being. We talk about Africa as if it were just a sort of homogenous continent and has over 900 tribes, all of which have some nationalistic aspirations. We're going through a revolution. Now the news of today is not the distress, the disorder, the dissent, but that we survive, that we have survived. And

before I forget it, gentlemen, let me say the contest in this system is not between liberal and conservative -- that's a lot of bunk. The conflict in this system is between the little brute that would like to destroy it and the rest of us. That's the conflict. And in-between the rest of us, the difference of point of view as how to improve it. Because remember that the American revolution was never finished. It's a continuing revolution. The work of self-government never ceases. And democracy requires constant self-examination, constant re-evaluation, constant vigilance, and it requires also sober thought and sober thinkers. And that's why I feel an university campus, while it may have many unorthodox ideas, it must be a safe haven for the expression of unorthodox ideas, of fearless examination of realities and theories and you can't do that in violence. It can only be done in an arena in which there are full conduct. But by the same token you can't expect the youth of 1970, that children of World War II, that had their adolescence in the war of Korea and Vietnam, that have witnessed a racial revolution -- you can't expect them to be exactly as their grandfathers were. You have to expect also that they're going to want to have something to say about their lives. And they're going to demand it. And they're going to get it. And it's a question of whether we work with them or work against them. Whether we permit them to work with us or whether they decide to take things in their own hands. And I think that you can work with them.

Well, I saw a few things here the other day that gave me some hope. You know when you think about the 60's and hear some people talk, you'd think nothing good had happened. Well, I'd like to tell you a lot of good things had happened. Let me just tell, for the first time in the history of this country a man of Catholic faith was able to be elected President of the United States. That was a singular blow against religious intolerance and bigotry. Forget your partisanship now for a minute. That was a very important time in the history of this country. A black man sat on the Supreme Court. This same black man who couldn't sit at the same luncheon counter with a white man in 1960 was able to sit in the same Cabinet with the President and other Cabinet officers and on the Supreme Court, of the United States of America. That was a singular achievement. Very great and appealed to human relations. And we were able to send a man to the moon. And bring him back safely--Not once but now twice, which indicates we know how to mobilize our resources. And by the way, I was in Moscow when that happened. I talked to Mr. Kosygin, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers, the day that Neil Armstrong was on the moon. And I'm here to tell you that that was the single, greatest step toward peace that has taken place in the 20th Century because the Soviet Union saw then and there that if we made up our mind, we, the people of these United States, to do something, we could do it. Remember, they had a five-year lead on us in the space program with Sputnik 1957. We didn't put a man into orbit until 1961. They had a five-year lead and we proved we could by commitment by mobilization of resources, by government and private industry, and universities and scientists all pulling together in a system of management, we demonstrated that our system, a free-system, representative government, could out-match theirs. And it told those men in the Kremlin that understand power as few people do that this crowd called the United States is nothing to fool around with--that if they make up their minds to do something, they'll do it. Tremendous message went into the Kremlin. and I could see it when Mr. Kosygin asked me personally to convey his greetings which I did, by the way, by cable first to Houston and then to the men on the moon from the Chairman of the Council of Ministers. I've been chairman for four years of the Space Council, so I have some personal interest in it.

So there are some things happening. Let's take a look even at just simple things like per capita income. I know none of us like taxes and we are all g inflation. Those are some common denominators but I noticed here the other day I just was looking over lecture notes for my students, disposable income in constant dollars, inflation wrung out of it -- 1950 per capita was \$1,948. 1968: \$2,928.00. That's quite an increase. We are approaching a trillion dollar economy. Nobody's ever done anything like this. Despite all the inflation this this country. It's less than other industrialized nation in the world. By far 1960 in the United States 40 million people living as was termed by the same government figures to ~~xxx~~ be poverty. That was 22.2 per cent of our population. In 1968, 25 million down to 12.8 per cent. 15 million walked out of poverty into middle income plus another 11 million were added to the labor force. That's no small achievement. Even with the money we spend on war and defense. 1960 50 per cent of our budget was spent on defense. 1969 42% of our budget. So even in terms of budget it's not as large and its percentage that really count here. And when we look at the things many people are concerned about - health, education, and welfare, without looking at local government and state governments which had a terrific increase in expenditures. 23 per cent of our budget was spent for those things you would call domestic programs of government. In 1969 - 32 %.

Let's take a look at another factor: The Negro making strides in America. In 1959 non-white families made about 50% as much money as white families. In 1968 non-white families made 65% as much as money as white families. 15% increase. Not enough, but an increase. Unemployment amongst non-whites (1961) 12.4% of the non-whites, which means basically blacks, were unemployed. (1969) 6%. Not good enough, but we cut it in half. And in terms of education, I think the Facts are even more striking. In education, for completing high school in 1960 of the non-whites 37% completed high school. In 1968 58% completed high school. And I might add to you that college enrollement has more than doubled in the last ten years. If we never have any other factor in education today than college enrollment. Now, gentlemen, this doesn't mean that the world is perfect. What I've given you tells you that there's an awful lot of things yet to be done. But it tells you that this syste, if put to the test, can do things. In other words, what I am trying to say to you, is that the democratic process ~~is~~ can develop both the tools and the method for dealing with our social ills. And we must ~~yield to those~~ not yield to those who think the instant solutions through violent means or undemocratic means. And we're going to have to stand up now and point to some of our achievements. You cannot get young people or others to do what they ought to do and to have any sense of a broader horizan, ~~if~~ keeping their eyes looking ahead, if all they hear is that everything is a failure.

One of the great sociologists and political economists of all times was Alexis de Tocqueville. He wrote in the early part of the 19th Century, a French observer of the American scene. And by the way, de Tocqueville's observations about the United States and Russia in the early part of the 19th Century are so accurate that they're uoted today as if they were almost contemporary observations. He foresaw the time, in that early period, in the 1820's and 1830's, when the United States and Russies would be the two leading super-powers as he called them even then. And de Tocqueville had something to say like like: that those ine utities which seem inevidentable become tolerable, but once reform has set in and those inequities which lend themselves to reform become no longer inevidentable and therefore, become intolerable. Now, that's a long way of saying rising expectations.

What I've shown you today and I could document this even more of his that the progress we have made is the fuel for greater progress. The fact that people there know there is light at the end of tunnel makes them want to hurry to get there. And what we need to do is to show them that we have

the process because democracy is not so much an ideology as it is a stragedy. and we've got to show the stragedy that we follow of representative government which by the way, always requires reform in itself--more access to the political process. That's a lecture in itself. That stragedy if followed will yield more positive results for more people in a shorter period of time ~~which~~ more enduring capacity than other system that you can follow. I believe this like I believe religious faith. And I must say to you, in condlusion, that it does require faith. There are some intangibles. You simply have to put your faith in not only yourself and your God but you have to put your faith in what is called a system which is proven and can deliver. If I had no evidence to show that it could deliver, then it would be blind faith that ignores reality, but there is a system here. Now, let's not lag with it. Don't rest with it. There's an impatience in the world today. And my friends of my generation, don't let the kids, the young people do what and I ought to be doing. Don't let them take the lead in the fight against pollution. Don't let them take the lead in the fight against war. Don't let them take the lead in the fight against inequities and racisms in this country. Don't let them with their lack of experience, thinking primarily out of emotion, set the standard. You set the standard. You have the clear bugle call and they will follow. I remind you that with young people, they have great committment, but sometimes, a lack of knowledge. Thank God for their committment. But committment with~~h~~out knoweledge or I shall first put it this way, that knowledge without committment as some people have, some p people know alot but are committed to nothing. That can be wasteful, but committment dedicated comittment without any knowledge can be dangerous. Now, you've got to have comittment; so do I. We've had experience: we've lived through it longer and that's the great education. We've got the knowledge through our experience. The question is do we have the will? And you know what's wrong; you don't have to have someone chart it out for you. And the question of how to find the method to rectify the errors is not easy, but I would suggest our method of trial-and-error, the pragmatic approach of being willing to try, to experiment has proven to be more successful than any doctrine, any dogma, or any formula devised by a ideologuand I suggest we stick with it.

Thank you very much.



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