

ADDRESS BY THE VICE PRESIDENT

of

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to

MANAGEMENT INTERNS

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United States Civil Service Commission
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COMMISSIONER ANDOLSEK:

I had a big introduction worked up that I won't take time to use. But, I am reminded about an incident that occurred eight or ten years ago when we were on a campaign mission together -- and running behind schedule. I was driving about 95 miles an hour when our distinguished guest today said: "Now look. I'd rather be the Hubert Humphrey that came late, than the late Hubert Humphrey!"

Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

Thank you, Commissioner Andolsek, my old friend Lud, who tells true stories about me. Officers of the Civil Service Commission, and Interns:

The first thing I would like to say this morning is that if, per chance, you end up as being the administrative assistant to a Vice President or a Cabinet Officer, that you keep in mind that these figures that you've put on the schedule, such as I have before me, mean absolutely nothing. I have a wonderful staff. For example, they have here 12:00, noon, Senate. And then they have "12:15, 12:30, and 12:45," as if some how or another, you could just have pictures taken inside the Senate, converse with labor leaders, management leaders, etc., etc. This morning they had noted on my schedule that after an early 8:30 breakfast, I was supposed to have a nine o'clock meeting; then they had 9:40. That is: "Meet with Mr. Chester Cooper of the White House"--he was having 40 religious leaders together to discuss the Vietnamese situation. They gave me four minutes for that; and, may I say, no time for travel between the Executive Office Building and the Civil Service Commission Building! It says "10:00--10:15." That's how long I'm supposed to have been here. The show is over. You're not supposed to know it! Ah--this is great!

And we go through this, day in and day out. It's sort of like books on bringing up children, never having had a child. It's very difficult to manage your time; and I regret, much, that I've kept you waiting; I hope not to keep you waiting much longer; and I want you to feel free, after a few moments of my conversation with you, to ask me questions.

You've had an extensive program. I've looked through the topics for the series of lectures that you have been privileged to hear; and you have met most of the top people in Government. You surely have had a good taste of the Federal Government, the Federal establishments; and you've had an opportunity to see those who are entrusted with the

responsibility of administering many of our programs; the privilege that you've had of our internship is one that's given to few and surely, I'm confident, it is given to the right people. I should, first, emphasize the word "privilege." I do this because I'm mindful these days that a few of us have opportunities that others do not. There is a tendency on the part of all of us to think of our rights, our privileges, and to place too little emphasis on our duties and our responsibilities.

I had the privilege of a college education; and I like to go around boasting that I earned my way through college. I have said that so many times that Mrs. Humphrey, when she hears me say it, walks out of the meeting. But you know that there is a generation of us that came through the depression years; and we sort of like to remind our sons and daughters that things were not always as good as they are now; that Dad and Mother had to work their way through college. Then I started to examine what I had been saying; and I find out, of course, that I've been deceiving both myself and those that listen to me. No person ever earned his way through college; the biggest subsidized group in the United States is college graduates. We've been subsidized, first, by thousands of years of recorded history, books, masterpieces of art, music, the accumulation of scientific data to be found in our libraries, in our institutes and our museums--that's the biggest subsidy; many people don't even know it's there. You do. You were given the key. You were told how to open the lock. You have had an opportunity to see it, to sense it and, we trust, to understand it. Then, those of us that attended college, or a university or an institute--I know we were subsidized by somebody. It was either philanthropic, in the private schools where there were investments that were made, and produced revenue; or there were donors that were generous enough to give very big gifts; or, if you were a graduate of a state university--I was privileged to graduate from the University of Minnesota--you were subsidized by the taxpayers of that state. I now know that the people of our state put up millions of dollars, hundreds of millions of dollars, hundreds and hundreds of millions of dollars, to build that great university; and all I ever paid was about \$40 a quarter for my tuition. I used to, occasionally, sneak into a football game; I didn't even pay for that. And I took advantage of all the privileges that were there; as I recall, I even got some subsidized food over at the University of Minnesota Union Building. I was a child of privilege; and so are you. We are sort of the ones that were given an extra break on life. You've had it, even more so. The fact that you've been here demonstrated that you've had it. Therefore, I say that we have an extra obligation. And in this little brochure, I noticed that someone was kind enough to print some words that I had once said: "You have been privileged, may I say, to sup at the table of civilization's culture. You have an

obligation second to none. You have an obligation to your Country, to your Constitution, to the history and the heritage of this Country and, I might add, to the community and to yourselves. And I know you are going to do something with that obligation."

But it's very good to walk in ashes and sack cloth just a little while, so that you don't really feel that, somehow or another, you did it all by yourself, because you didn't. And the man that runs for public office knows full well that he doesn't do it all by himself. You lose elections by yourself; you've never won one that way. You win because other people help you. And the great decisions that are made in Government, decisions that are made day after day and week after week, and great ones on occasion, are made as the result of the combined wisdom and the collective judgment of many. And we ought to remember that. Some of us get the privilege of having our names in the headlines. But there are many unsung heroes; and there are many unsung heroes behind each and every one of us. Sometimes it's a mother or a father or a wife or a brother; sometimes it's the whole community; and sometimes it's just a system. And we are fortunate enough to live in a time in which an economic and political system gives us benefits such as no other people have ever known.

Now I would like to just translate that personal analysis, or analogy, to an international or a national scene. I have been detained this morning because of meetings. In fact, I was in somewhat of a quandary to know just what to do, because my schedule did get off base. I was supposed to be at the White House at 11:30, but I had made up my mind I had better come on over here. We have problems in the Dominican Republic, in Latin America, and in Vietnam; and there are many of us working on these; and I surely don't want my remarks to be interpreted as saying I have had any great role to play; but I am one of the members of the Government; and there are times that you feel that you ought to give your thoughts, state your convictions and your feelings; that does take a little time. The United States is a World leader; and oh! we love to say that. Oh, the editorials are great on what our role of leadership is, how rich we are and how powerful we are, and, of course, how unappreciated we are. We get a little of that, too; and it's all true. We are rich. We are powerful and we are a world leader; and we are, many times, unappreciated; but that's because you're a leader. Now if you really want to "have a ball," if you really just want to "live it up," you don't amount to much. That's right! Just sort of get yourself bogged down with success. Because as you become just a little more successful in your profession or in your career, public or private, you get a good name and you get yourself a good leadership role; and then, all at once, you're on every committee, and you have people ask you to either help in this or help in that, and you don't dare turn them down because if you start turning them down, then you're not a leader, and you really face a terrible dilemma.

Now there are some people that get by for a while, and there are some countries that get by for a while, saying they're leaders, claiming leadership but not acting that way. But they sooner or later fail, or lose their role or position.

The United States of America is a World-leading Power. It is a leader in the free world, of the Non-Communist World. It is respected by the Communist countries, and sometimes feared; but this talk of leadership gives us the responsibility that comes with it; and 200 years from now, 300 years from now, people will be reading about it. If we don't blow this world to pieces, they'll be reading about it and saying "Wasn't that a great day?" I hope they'll be saying "Well, that was the beginning of an even greater day." But at least I'm quite confident that we'll have a number of chapters in every history book that will be printed in the foreseeable future.

But we also need to remember that with that glory and that honor and that position comes this responsibility of sacrifice, of sharing, of occasionally not having people like you. You can't always be popular when you try to do what's right; because doing what's right, on occasion, runs against the current of the times. I have often said that the one thing that worries me more in public life, than anything else, is when the wrong people start to like me. You've got to examine yourself. Now this Nation of ours is going to be faced with the responsibilities of World leadership and all that that implies, the heavy expenditures for its security, the heavy burdens and costs of foreign aid, having our libraries burned, our Embassy windows knocked out. Time after time this is going to happen for a long time to come; and if we're not prepared to take on that kind of a life, then we have lost the struggle before we start. Persevering patience is what is needed, firmness without being belligerent, strength without being arrogant, and the willingness to be generous without looking like we're "big brothers" or just a world philanthropist. These are some of the tasks that we face and some of the challenges. I think we'll be able to do it; but I don't think we'll be able to do this--I don't think we'll be able to take on the long burden--the burden of leadership, not the privilege, but the long burden, unless you help. And that means that you have to stand up in your communities at times, and in your office, wherever you are, to point the way, and not to let the people get by with just demagoguery and jingoism.

Once in a while, it's good to stand up in a bus when somebody says look at that so-and-so come in, meaning an adversary of his ethnic group or religion; and I've had this happen when somebody said, "Look!" Out in my part of the Country when anti-Semitism was pretty rife, he'd say "Well look at that Jew!" And I'd say "Well, I like him. He's my friend." They almost collapsed. They didn't

know that anyone would even stand up and talk like that. But you need to. And when people start speaking in words of derogation of a minority group, or of a racial group, speak up. You don't need to be mean about it; just let them know that you don't really think that's the way the conversation ought to go. And when people start to speak up about our Country, as if somehow or another we ought to just withdraw from the World and come back home, speak up! and say "Who do you want to leave the World to? What kind of a world do you want? Because if we Americans are unwilling, with our great power and our wealth and our resources, if we are unwilling to take on the burdens of World leadership and responsibility, who do you think will take it on?" If we are unwilling to fight for Freedom when we see it the victim of aggression, who do you think will stand up, if we are unwilling to set the example in the field of human relations and respect for human dignity? After all of our preachments and pronouncements on these subjects, who do you expect is going to speak up and stand up for human dignity and decent human relations? So we have to give people some alternatives, and to call them to task, without being criptic, or without being abrasive, but with being respectful of our role in the World.

Now in this rather "hit-and-miss," informal visit with you, let me just add this word: Woodrow Wilson once said--and I believe it was in his book "The New Freedom"--I used to have that book by my desk--somebody ran off with it--never loan a book. But, I used to have a book before one of my better friends called upon me, entitled "The New Freedom," by Woodrow Wilson. Woodrow Wilson wrote that book in about 1913 or '14; and in this book, he talks about the wealth of America. And I paraphrase, only, what that master of the English language could say and write. He said "America is not as rich as its factories or its farms, or as its banks or its natural resources. America is as rich as its people--its people educated, its people healthy, its people developed." And I believe that this year, 1965, that we have put into action--we have put into action this pronouncement of Woodrow Wilson's in a larger measure than ever before. We are really attempting to conserve and develop human resources. We are trying to expand the areas of opportunity.

There is a key word in this present Administration and present period; and that is "opportunity." We qualify it by saying "equality of opportunity." I happen to be one of those persons old-fashioned enough to believe that no one owes me a living; and surely, no government owes anybody a real good living; but every government that's worthy of respect and confidence and trust, particularly if it's a representative government, owes everyone an opportunity to make a decent life for himself. Now some people may squander it or misuse it. And what we're doing now is to see

to it that more and more people do have opportunity; and we're doing it because we know that the one way that you gain observance of the law, and respect for the law, is when the law is just, when the people feel that the law meets their needs. And surely we all understand that there are great deficits and great losses where opportunity is denied. This President's Conference of Economic Advisors, the other day, reported to the President's Cabinet of the Government of the United States that the loss, last year, on discrimination in the United States, was estimated at over 20 billions of dollars. Now had that been taxed at normal rates, had that extra \$20 billion been available, we would have been able to obtain, let's say, from seven to eight billion extra; that wouldn't have been bad; we would have used that; that would have more than rubbed out the deficit; we'd have had a surplus in the Treasury; we'd have been able to help cities and states much more; we would have been able to do many more things than we're doing.

The lack of opportunity, equality of opportunity, is a terrible economic drag on the Nation. But the lack of opportunity is more than an economic drag. It is a social drag. It promotes frustration and bitterness and disillusion and hopelessness. It breeds poverty. It breeds discontent. The poor beget the poor. Poverty is contagious. We now find--and we know it is a fact--that a family that's on relief has the better chance of having its progeny on relief than one that wasn't on relief. There is a sort of a relationship. We now find out that you can find families for three generations, in our large cities, that have been regular recipients of relief checks. So instead of just trying to cut them off from relief by stopping the check, we're trying to find out what caused it and get in on it, get to the root causes. We are now finding out that illiteracy is not only a blight that denies the person an opportunity to know what's really going on, at least in the printed word and the written work, but that illiteracy affects a man's output, his productivity. Illiteracy today makes it impossible for a boy to even work in a filling station. He can't write out the checks. He can't accept the credit card. He can't add up the accounts. He can't do anything. So illiteracy is something that is no longer just a matter to be of concern to some educator; but it is a serious defect in our economy. So we're waging war on poverty; and we're not waging war on poverty because some social worker said, "You know you ought to do something about the poor." We're doing that, too. We're waging war on economic poverty. That's the easiest thing to correct. We are waging war on the poverty of the mind, of the spirit, the poverty of hopelessness, of not being wanted, not being needed, the poverty of discrimination. Those are the "hard nuts" to crack; and we're going to win this war. Now I don't think that this man is going to live long enough to win it. I expect to

live another 35 years at least; but I'm here to tell you that my sons are going to be indoctrinated to continue to want to win it; and we have to indoctrinate one another with this desire of victory, because we can win it. We don't have any excuse any longer, you know. Now I know it's written that "The poor shall always be with you." But that was before we found out how many tools we have to do something about the poor. Poverty is not new; it's as old as man; but what is new is that we can now do something about it; and we can. We can do something about a lot of things we were never able to do before. And you are not going to be forgiven, or you're not going to be liked or respected, if you don't do something about it. In fact, I'll make it my business to be after you from here on out. Here you are, the best trained people in America. You represent that group. You are the elite, the educated, intellectual aristocrats. Be careful that you don't become a snob. Remember that you have a social responsibility. There is nothing worse than an intellectual snob; because it proves that he hasn't learned a thing except how to memorize the almanac; he hasn't learned social values, moral values. What we need today are people who can clearly understand that the wealth of this Nation is in its people educated, its people inspired, its people who are healthy, its people who are trained, and above all, its people who have an understanding of, and a faith in, democratic processes. That's what we're trying to do.

We are not only trying to develop a richer society; we are not only trying to achieve a greater gross National product; we are trying to develop a society in which there is forbearance and tolerance and understanding, in which there is respect for human dignity; because the only real battle in the world today is over this subject of human dignity. It isn't over pay checks; it isn't over forms of production; the real fight is between some people who have one view of man and his relationship with the universe, and another group, namely what I consider to be the group of the Free World that have an idea about Man, and not only Man's physical make-up but his spiritual make-up. It's those who believe that Man has dignity, and the ones that do not, and the ones who believe that that dignity comes from a spiritual quality and not just from a physical quality. There are those that believe, to put it so simply, and it's too simple, that the individual is important, not the mass, and that the state is here to serve Man and not Man the state; that God did create Man in His own image.

I really believe that, you know. That's why I like to be a teacher. I used to tell my students in American Government: "Get rid of those books. Somebody had to buy them but you don't have to use them right away. Just put them under the desk for a little while."

We'd have about three weeks of just discussion of Democracy. And I used to hear some of the most unbelievable ideas. Some people said "Democracy is the right to vote." "Vote!" I said, "Well, they vote in Germany." That was years ago. And I said, "In Nazi Germany, they have them voting; they voted them as often as they wanted to. In some of the most corrupt political districts in the United States, they vote two or three times. That's not Democracy (the right to vote); it's an indication--let's put it that way--that might lead to Democracy."

Some people would say "The right to vote and, in Democracy, the right of private property." There are other countries that had private property, and they didn't have much of what we call "Democracy." We'd get all kinds of discussion; and you could hear these ex-high school seniors, now freshmen, talking about the prejudices of their home life, their attitudes; and finally, they would say "Democracy is Constitutional Government." I said, "Well, they've got a great one in Russia; they have one there that really reads well. An excellent constitution! They had one in Germany, too, in Nazi Germany." So it surely wasn't the constitution; it wasn't votes; it wasn't private property! What makes Democracy is Man's attitude toward Man and his relationship to his God. That's what I believe; and I believe the only reason, the only moral justification for government by the consent of the governed is that no man has a right to govern another without his consent, because he's a precious entity unto himself. The only time you ought to use the word "mass" is when you're a pharmacist, and you have a pill mass; and with this pill mass, you can make little pills. But the individual is what is important. That is how we should judge our Program, as to what it does for individuals. That's why we're concerned about civil liberties in this Country; and we ought to be continually concerned about the snoopers around. That's something to be concerned about, too--privacy--concerned about civil liberties, those of us who are democrats, with a small "d"--it's because the individual is entitled to privacy. He's entitled to respect for his rights. It isn't just the community, that somebody describes, is entitled to something; the community is made up of individuals; and you can't have a good community if you can't have good individuals; and you can't have a free community if you violate the freedom of every individual; and you cannot have an America that is "With Liberty and Justice for All," if 27 million Negroes are denied it. You cannot have an America that is united, if you have bigotry and intolerance, and men walking around in night shirts in the day time. So I guess you have my point of view, right now.

Therefore, I strongly support these programs that help to lift people out of the mire of their environment, of their indifference, of their frustration, of their hopelessness; and that's why these

programs of education, while they're not the full answer, they're helpful. That's why the billion, 300 million dollars of elementary and secondary education assistance had a billion dollars in it for the deprived, primary for the American poor man, many of whom were Colored, because they were denied. Certain sections of our Country have what they call "Separate but Equal Education." In very few instances was it equal; it was always separate; but both the White and the Colored were denied, because it's very difficult for even a rich state to support two systems of public education. We are beginning now to understand that; and we're going to upgrade the whole education level. We are going to upgrade the whole training level; and we're finding that with training--we are finding now, as we study our employment figures--we're finding that the unemployed people that we have presently are made up of the hard core of those that have been by-passed, technically and scientifically; they are out of the main stream, so to speak, of modern science and technology. And now we're working on how to bring the young people more fully into the economic and social life of the Nation. It's understandable that this problem will be with us; because, literally, 25 or 20 years ago, these people were in the social and economic life of the Nation because their father owned a grocery store or a drug store or a garage or a tailoring shop or a laundry. But today, there are a few of them. There aren't that many daddies who have their own businesses. You can't bring your son into the Civil Service Commission and say "Sit down here, Son, and watch Daddy." You cannot bring your son over to the Department of Defense, if you're one of the Lt. Colonels or Generals and say, "Now would you like to help Dad plan the War Program?" We have people that are working, now, for others; and we have a serious problem, today, of new adjustments in family life, and the relationships between father and son and mother and daughter and mother and son. We are going to have to learn how to do something about that. I don't know when we'll do that; I wasn't able to work it all out, myself. I turned that over to Mrs. Humphrey. She's done quite well with it. Well, those are some of the concerns that I have.

I want to tell you that I end on an optimistic note. I think we're making tremendous strides. I can't think of a more exciting period in which to live; and I have very little time for people who go around complaining about it. Ever so often, I hear someone give a lecture--"the hell with the high-school students!" They say "Oh! What a difficult time to live!" And I say "Bunk!" It's the most exciting time in the world. They never had anybody in outer space when I was a kid; what an exciting time! My sons--I listen to them. They talk a separate language. It's a whole new world for them--several new worlds, as a matter of fact.

Surely there are problems internationally. We know more about each other now than we ever did before. I sometimes feel sorry for youngsters these days. Everybody's got an eye on them. When I think what I got by with, when nobody was looking! And you're a little too young to know all about that. But this is a good time to be alive. This is the best time to be at the prime of life, the best time to be starting the upward climb in life, too, because look what's going to happen. In your lifetime, you're going to "lick" cancer, just as surely as you're in this room; just as, in my lifetime, we "licked" polio. Why I'm here to tell you that 25 years ago if anybody would've gotten on a platform and said that we would be able to find a cure, or preventive, for polio, they'd have said, "Oh, oh! Get that fellow out." We are going to find answers to stroke; and we'll find ways of preventing it. We'll find ways to do something about it. Just in the medical field, just as surely as I'm standing here before you, we're going to meet and master most of the main killers. Then we are going to be able to keep people so they'll live longer. Then the question is: What are they going to do when they're living longer? That's for the social thinkers, political thinkers. There's a whole lot of new thinking that has to take place. This is a terrific period of change!

I think that we're also going to learn how to do a better job in terms of international peace (international security). We are going to learn it, even out of this Dominican crisis. That's one of the reasons I was held up before coming over here. We've never really ever made the OAS (Organization of American States) what it ought to be. We have had it as a sort of an adjunct. It was sort of like thinking of your rich uncle once in a while, and letting him know you had respectability. It was a sort of a picture on the wall. It never had much of anything to do with the realities of life. We used it as a forum, as a sort of a dressing gown. Now we're going to have to see to it that it takes on responsibility. It's had its days of luxury and ease; that's all over. Because just as sure as you and I are now here, there'll be more of these little problems that we're seeing. The question is: Will the United States always have to intervene? If we do, we'll lose the last friend we ever had. We have to find a way for the Organization of American States to provide for provisional government.

Let me give you an example. What if there was a revolt in Cuba next week, next month, and there was mass slaughter, as there would be, if there were a revolt. Total chaos! What is supposed to happen? If we intervene, we'll be accused, the world over, of having started it, a premeditated, imperialistic plot. All-in-all, oh, my! I won't say what I was about to!

But don't you think, therefore, that out of this crisis we might learn how to provide for a provisional government--not we, but the Organization of American States--how to provide for law and order--peace, law, and order, to obtain law and order, until there can be an established government? Don't you think that we can learn that? We'd better. And we'd better find other ways to strengthen the peacekeeping machinery of the United Nations. The United States has a greater stake in peacekeeping machinery than any other nation on the face of the earth. The Communist doesn't care whether there's a little disorder; that's his garden. He isn't interested in pulling up weeds; he believes in weeds. The dirtier the soil, the better. The more social injustice, the more disorder, the better! They can take over; and they'll run it. One thing I'll say for the Communists: They do know how to run things. They'd just like to get their hands on troubled nations. Now we've got to know how to prevent them from getting their hands on them. We have to be able to find ways to help people run their social structure their way. They don't all have to be in the pattern of the United States; we have to get over that, too! And everybody doesn't need to get up and give sort of a religious acknowledgement to the United States every morning before they start their daily tours. We're not asking for love or adoration; all we want is respect, and to be worthy of it.

So, I'll give you a couple of jobs to do: Cure poverty! You can do that. Combat illiteracy! You surely can help with that. Help improve the human resources of our Nation, and of the World, because this is a world-wide problem. This is the world-wide problem. Find ways and means of peacekeeping, lest we have to garrison place after place. Really, I think we're being told by the developments of this decade that we must find new ways for keeping the peace, of maintaining security, of inviting and encouraging freedom!

Thank you.

If you have any questions, I'll take some for a few minutes.



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