

Theme
{ Called to Discipleship
Today

Dr Franklin Clark Fry
Rev Arnold T. Meyer

REMARKS Lawrence Nelson

Rev Clair Hoifield

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY (Director of Conference)

LUTHERAN YOUTH CONFERENCE

MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA

Hoifield

Marysville
Delegation

AUGUST 27, 1965
At City
President's Birthday
Last night 1 year ago
Baptized
Highland Norwegian
Lutheran Church
1911

I know that this conference of youth leaders

Talk
seriously

has taken its work very seriously. And I am going
to talk to you ~~today~~ seriously, because you are the
young people who are soon going to be charged with
the serious business of our country.

Good
old
Days

Many times people of parental ~~age~~ or grandfather
(and Jim both)
age come to you and tell you about those good old days.

But today I want to let you in on a secret: There never
were any days quite so good as the ones you are
living now.

Today is the Day!

"Called to Discipleship Today"

These are the best. I have lived 54 years of those good old days and I will tell you I would not trade a single one of them for today. Good old days seem a little better the further you get away from them.

These are the most exciting days that man has ever known. And you are helping to add to that excitement by your ~~very vitality~~ ^{your enthusiasm} by your interest in what is going on.

Exciting Days

Today we are just on the threshold of man's progress. Remember the scriptures say, "Greater things than I have done ye shall do also."

We are just at the pioneering, primitive stages. You have quite a time ahead of you in your lifetimes. Remember this: Some 95 per cent of all the scientists who ever lived are alive today.

Space Science

And these scientists, and technicians, are moving us incredibly forward in outer space . . . in medicine . . . in material progress.

↳ But there is another change taking place too.

People are no longer content to be looked down upon. there is a revolution - Human Dignity

Concern People!

~~This whole great movement of civil rights is nothing more or less than the movement toward the recognition of the dignity of man.~~

We believe in the dignity of man.

↳ We are taught that man was created in the image of his ~~maker~~.

↳ We believe that no man should be governed without his consent.

↳ That is the whole foundation of democracy.

↳ Democracy is more than a written Constitution.

It is more than votes. Democracy is an understanding of man and his relationship to divine Providence.

↳ Once you understand that man is important . . .
once you understand that people are in a sense
reflections of the Divine . . . then we begin to
understand why people ought to live better, we
understand why we believe in equal rights, why we
believe in equal opportunity.

↳ The difference between the totalitarian and the
free man is the difference in outlook about man's
relationship to himself, his state, and his God.

↳ The totalitarian believes that the individual must
serve the state.

The free man believes that political, economic and social institutions are designed to serve man.

Today, because of our belief, we are in America trying to open the gates of opportunity to all our citizens.

The Civil Rights Movement is manifestation of Resurrection of Human Dignity of Freedom of opportunity

A few days ago President Lyndon Johnson signed into law the historic Voting Rights Bill. That Voting Rights Bill ensures political participation and opportunity for millions of Americans. When President Johnson signed that bill he made Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation -- which was a hope and promise -- he made it a reality and fact.

a better America

And America is going to be all the better, all the richer, all the stronger, all the more decent because at long last people -- because they are people, because they are citizens, not because they are short or fat or tall, or thin, not because they are white or black or

yellow or red, or whatever color they may be, but because they are citizens of the United States -- people are going to have a chance to participate in the responsibilities and the duties and the privileges of democratic government.

① *opportunity*
Edna
Heath
Recently we signed into law a massive program of development of our cities. Most of us today live in cities. We must make our American cities places where people want to live. Man was not intended to be imprisoned in concrete and ~~brick~~ *asphalt* and ~~asphalt~~ *Brick* and mortar.

Cities

He was intended to have open spaces and to have clean air, ~~and to have~~ fresh water, and to have green grass, and shrubs and trees as well as housing *and jobs.*

There is no such thing as equal opportunity for a young man or a young woman, for a family, if they are imprisoned in the ghettos and the slums of urban America.

Whites

War on Poverty - fund causes
illiteracy - Disease
- 7 -

Open the Gates
of opportunity

We have to do something about it, and we are going to. And I ask you to help. We invest 30 billion dollars to put a man on the moon. We can afford to invest some money to help put a man on his feet right here on earth.

Yes the physical ugliness of our landscape, of our city life -- and sometimes the ugliness of our own attitudes -- all compel us to do something about these things.

Do you know what one of the greatest foreign policy acts of this government has been? I would say our most significant foreign policy act in the last 50 years was the passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1964.

That law was designed primarily for our needs at home. But I would remind you that two-thirds of the world in which we live is not Caucasian or white.

4 I would remind you that two-thirds of this world is illiterate, hungry, sick and poverty stricken. And I would remind you of the fact that this America -- this rich and powerful and essentially white America -- saw the need and did something about it. It gave notice to the world that we pay more than lip-service to justice and human dignity.

Yes, what we do at home has a great deal to do with what will happen abroad.

And that is something to think about in the world you will live in.

We are going to be involved, my dear friends, for the next 50 years in a terrible struggle. And we must build a strong and free America to meet that struggle.

Long
Struggle

∠ The enemies of freedom are tenacious. They are not going to give up easily. So we must be ready for the long pull.

I hear people every day say we ought to get out of Africa, to get out of Asia, Latin America, -- that we have no business there, that it's a waste of money.

∠ And that's exactly what the Communists want us to say.

∠ You cannot overcome centuries of injustice, abuse, poverty, illiteracy and hunger, in ^{a few} ~~the~~ years. It cannot be done.

We must stick with it.

We have the means to do it.

We can stay with this job and still live a better life than anybody else in the world. We can have everything that we need for ourselves and still share more with others.

Share - Give -
Serve -

The only time this country ever ~~got~~^{was} into serious trouble was when it tried to keep everything for itself and share with no one.

↳ That was when I was about your age -- during ^{the} late
the 1920's ^{and early 1930's}

↳ We decided to keep the pot of gold for ourselves.

We wouldn't share with anybody.

↳ We closed our immigration. We said: "We just don't want anymore of those foreigners."

↳ We closed our trade. We said: "We don't want to do business with people abroad."

↳ We were isolationists. We didn't help anybody.

We ignored Hitler, Tojo, Mussolini.

↳ And then we found ourselves in worldwide depression and world war.

We have learned our lesson.

That is why we are trying to build the great resources of this country to meet long, hard tasks in the world -- building enlightenment and better health, better communities, opening up opportunity.

For -- with all ^{these} ~~our~~ wealth and power -- we can meet the dangerous years ahead . . . we can extend hope and a better life to millions of men and women who have known nothing but desperation and despair.

And, finally, we may -- if we never cease trying -- achieve peace.

Peace is like a great cathedral, Each generation adds something to it. It requires the plan of a master architect. It requires the labors of many.

I ~~happen to be~~ ^{am} of Christian Faith. I do not abandon my faith because we have not fully realized the promise of Christianity. We must build each day.

✓ We build peace with foreign aid. We build peace with Food for Peace. We build peace with the Peace Corps . . . with technical assistance . . . with the Alliance for Progress in Latin America.

✓ We build peace whenever we help anybody with our voluntary religious, ^{or} non-sectarian groups around the world. We build peace with an exchange of teenagers. We build peace with the 4-H Club exchange.

We build peace in the United Nations. And we must win that peace.

✓ Man cannot live through nuclear holocaust. The same man who has developed instruments of total destruction -- and we now have them I can assure you -- is the same man who can develop the instruments to build a better world.

You built it!

We build
peace in
prayer,
in service,
in faith!

Standing over this world, like a cloud, is the nuclear power that mankind has created. We have released the atom's tremendous force of destruction. And yet scientists tell us ~~that~~ that same force can do more good for mankind than any ^{physical} force that man has ever released before.

Here, then, is my message for today to you young people who have the future in your hands:

Be Advocate
Be people
of faith
Christian
concern

Be men and women of compassion . . . of courage . . . of ^{patience of} perseverance. Devote yourselves to the search for justice . . . and for peace.

As the scriptures say:

"And beside this, giving all diligence, and to your faith virtue; and to your virtue knowledge; and to your knowledge temperance; and to your temperance

Move forward -
with a
strong
and true
faith

patience; and to your patience Godliness; and to
Godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness

love." *this is the path to peace -*
to a better world.
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REMARKS OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY BEFORE THE
LUTHERAN YOUTH CONFERENCE, MIAMI BEACH, FLORIDA,
AUGUST 27, 1965

I know that this conference of youth leaders has taken its work very seriously. And I am going to talk to you today seriously, because you are the young people who are soon going to be charged with the serious business of our country.

Many times people of parental age or grandfather age come to you and tell you about those good old days. But today I want to let you in on a secret: There never were any days quite so good as the ones you are living now.

These are the best. I have lived 54 years of those good old days and I will tell you I would not trade a single one of them for today. Good old days seem a little better the further you get away from them.

These are the most exciting days that man has ever known. And you are helping to add to that excitement by your very vitality, by your interest in what is going on.

Today we are just on the threshold of man's progress. Remember the scriptures say, "Greater things than I have do ye shall do also."

We are just at the pioneering, primitive stages. You have quite a time ahead of you in your lifetimes. Remember this: some 95 per cent of all scientists who ever lived are alive today.

And these scientists, and technicians, are moving us incredibly forward in outer space . . . in medicine . . . in material progress.

But there is another change taking place too.

People are no longer content to be looked down upon.

This whole great movement of civil rights is nothing more or less than the movement toward the recognition of the dignity of man.

We believe in the dignity of man.

We are taught that man was created in the image of his maker.

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Democracy is more than a written Constitution.

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Once you understand that man is important . . . once you understand that people are in a sense reflections of the Divine . . . then we begin to understand why people ought to live better, we understand why we believe in equal rights, why we believe in equal opportunity.

The difference between the totalitarian and the free man is the difference in outlook about man's relationship to himself, his state, and his God.

The totalitarian believes that the individual must serve the state.

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Today, because of our belief, we are in America trying to open the gates of opportunity to all our citizens.

A few days ago President Lyndon Johnson signed into law the historic Voting Rights Bill. That Voting Rights Bill ensures political participation and opportunity for millions of Americans. When President Johnson signed that bill he made Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation -- which was a hope and promise -- he made it a reality and fact.

And America is going to be all the better, all the richer, all the stronger, all the more decent because at long last people -- because they are people, because they are

citizens, not because they are short or fat or tall, or thin, not because they are white or black or yellow or red, or whatever color they may be, but because they are citizens of the United States -- people are going to have a chance to participate in the responsibilities and the duties and the privileges of democratic government.

Recently we signed into law a massive program of development of our cities. Most of us today live in cities. We must make our American cities places where people want to live. Man was not intended to be imprisoned in concrete and brick and asphalt and mortar.

He was intended to have open spaces and to have clean air, and to have fresh water, and to have green grass, and shrubs and trees as well as housing.

There is no such thing as equal opportunity for a young man or a young woman, for a family, if they are imprisoned in the ghettos and the slums of urban America.

We have to do something about it, and we are going to. And I ask you to help. We invest 30 billion dollars to put a man on the moon. We can afford to invest some money to help put a man of his feet right here on earth.

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And that is something to think about in the world you will live in.

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The enemies of freedom are tenacious. They are not going to give up easily. So we must be ready for the long pull.

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The only time this country ever got into serious trouble was when it tried to keep everything for itself and share with no one.

That was when I was about your age -- during the 1920's.

We decided to keep the pot of gold for ourselves.

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Here, then, is my message for today to you young people who have the future in your hands:

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Devote yourselves to the search for justice . . . and for peace.

As the scriptures say:

"And beside this, giving all diligence, and to your faith virtue; and to your virtue knowledge; and to your knowledge temperance; and to your temperance patience; and to your patience Godliness; and to Godliness brotherly kindness; and to brotherly kindness love."

[Transcript]

SPEECH OF VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
TO LUTHERAN CHURCH IN AMERICA YOUTH CONFERENCE
Miami Beach, Florida
August 27, 1965

(Introduction by the Rev. Arnold L. Tiemeyer, Chairman, Commission on Youth Activities, Lutheran Church in America.)

Thank you very much. Thank you, Reverend Tiemeyer, for that introduction. I'm very happy that you acquainted me with the group that I was to speak to. For a moment, I was beginning to wonder whether I was at the right conference! The Governor just told me -- Governor Burns -- when I arrived, he said, "I want you to remember, Mr. Vice-President, now, that you're speaking to Lutheran Youth, not Baptist." They had Baptists here not long ago, and he was afraid I was going to get confused. And Reverend Tiemeyer almost helped me.

Dr. Fry and Reverend Hoifjeld, Reverend Nelson, Governor Burns and members of Congress that are with us; mayors, and my good friends of the Lutheran Youth Conference: This is a wonderful day for me. I have to let you in on all the secrets about this day. It was just about this time a year ago that I was waking up from a much-needed sleep. I was at Atlantic City. There was a small meeting going on up there about a year ago; there were some political people there. And the night before, on the night of the twenty-sixth of August, the President of the United States stood before a rather large convention gathering and said that he would like to have as his nominee of the Democratic Party for Vice President, Hubert Humphrey. I've always told the President that was one of his finest hours and greatest speeches -- and without a doubt one of his most important and, I trust,

constructive decisions. Today is a very important day, not only because we're here, not only because it's my privilege to address this fine gathering, but today is the President's birthday. And I've already sent him my present -- I told him I would behave for at least over the weekend.

And then August 27th I just remembered as I walked into the hall and I saw Dr. Fry and we were visiting about this great meeting. I just recalled that it was on August the 27th, nineteen hundred and eleven -- that was a little bit before most of you were here -- August 27, nineteen hundred and eleven, that my mother and father took me to a little church (I was then a little baby of three months' age, having been born on May 27th) -- then took me to a little church known as the Highland Lutheran Church, outside of Lily, South Dakota, a Norwegian Lutheran Church. (Applause) Oh, there are a few Norwegians here, I see. Well, I want you Swedes to know we let you in, too -- don't worry about that. That was the first time I took a stand against prejudice, right on that moment. Went to that little church, and I was baptized August 27, nineteen hundred and eleven, in the Highland Lutheran Church right in that little country town of Lily, South Dakota. So I have some affinity and identity with you even if it's rather historical. But Dr. Fry said, "Well, you are a rather amazing man, Mr. Vice President," he said, "You're the only man that's trying to prove that you can get better by going downhill." He said, "You started at the top, but now look what's happening to you." I wasn't supposed to tell on him, but I thought you'd like to get in on some of the inner secrets of the inner club here, and I'll divulge more as we go along.

Let me also express a special note of thanks to the Minnesota delegation that is here, for your -- (applause) -- I'd like to see all those that are from Minnesota; please stand for just a moment. Well, that looks mighty good. Governor Burns, you'll notice that I never go to a meeting without bringing my own cheering section; it's safer that way. And I want to remind the distinguished mayors that are here, Mayor Chuck Hall and Mayor Roosevelt, of the same thing. But it was so nice to see your sign here, your friendly greeting, and I want you to be sure to take my greetings back to your folks, your families -- I'm going to go back to Minnesota tonight. I don't suppose this is the place for giving a talk on tourism in Minnesota. They might take a dim view of it down here in Florida. But while you're here -- and you're here from many parts of the nation -- don't be afraid to talk about your part of the country, all of you. Because we surely live in a wonderfully, wonderfully beautiful and great country.

It was said here today by Reverend Tiemeyer that I enjoy talking to young people, and I sure do. I've been talking to four of them in my family for some time, but I hope you listen better than they do. Those young people have been growing up on me. I have a daughter, I have three sons, and my daughter married into a fine Lutheran family, so again it's -- seems like we're almost of the same club. And she has three little Lutherans. So Dr. Fry, don't tell me I've never done anything for you!

I want to talk to this fine audience of young people, and everyone here is young of heart and young of spirit or you wouldn't be here -- I want to talk to you seriously. I know you take your work seriously, and I believe that despite everything that's written about this younger generation, it is a -- it is a generation that is of serious mind and

intent, and a generation of deep concern about the times in which we live and of the future -- can be ours. I call this generation the volunteer generation, because more young people have volunteered in this generation for service, for service to their fellow man, than any generation in recorded history. And more of those young people are Americans than any other single group. So when you read all the headlines about all the troubles, and about how everybody else is getting into trouble or doing something that some people say they ought not to do, I want the ledger sheet to show something on the asset side instead of just the liability side. I want that balance sheet to show that this is the volunteer generation of young Americans that are working in hospitals and playgrounds and community houses and churches, working with youth organizations, working in political parties. I talked only recently in Washington to some eight thousand young men and women that were interns in government from high schools and colleges, working this summer to learn about the operations of a representative government. This is the generation of the volunteer of the Peace Corps. This is the generation of the volunteer that knows of the VISTA program, VISTA meaning Volunteers In Service and Training for America -- young Americans, most of them of college age, that are taking their lives and giving those lives to someone else, and that's what we mean by discipleship. That's what we mean by Christian action. Now let me say to my good friends of the media, lest I be misunderstood -- I was asked by John McDermott, one of the leading columnists here today -- he said, "Are you going to stick to your text." I said, "Well, it'll sort of give me a guideline or two." I bring along a text to satisfy my office, and all of the rules of protocol and of journalism. Then I just decide to talk to you

about what I want to talk to you about anyway. So I'll turn a page now and then, just to sort of keep face, but I'm going to talk to you about things that are on my heart as well as on these pages.

You know, many times people -- parental or grandfather age -- and I qualify for both, as you -- as I told you -- they like to tell you about those "good old days." I'll tell you there is nothing more wearisome than an old campaigner telling you about all the wars he's fought and the battles that he's won. I'm not going to tell you about all those so-called "good old days", because I want to let you in on a big secret. There never were any days quite so good as the ones that we're living right now. Those good old days seem all the better the further you get away from them. I remember some of the so-called good old days. I grew up in the days of the Depression. I grew up in a time when Americans were much less concerned about one another than they are now. I grew up in a time when bigotry and prejudice and intolerance were much the pattern of the day. I don't think those were the good old days. I think these are the best days, and you're being called to discipleship today. That's the theme. The only day that you have anything to say about is today. Not yesterday -- that's gone. It may have been pretty good; I don't know how yours was. I've been enjoying today more than I did yesterday, frankly. But I do know this, that the time I have that the good Lord gives me is now, and every man ought to live so that if this is his last second, his last moment, that he has lived a full life, and a life that is worthy of his faith and of his God and of his country. We ought to plan about the tomorrows. Maybe we can make them -- tomorrow, then, a better day than today. But I want to reaffirm for you -- once again I want to state to you that the time that is important is the

time that you have now. This day, this hour, this 27th day of August, in the Year of Our Lord, nineteen hundred and sixty-five. We travel along at a cozy speed of around six hundred and twenty-five miles an hour. Sometimes when we get a little tailwind it's seven hundred or so. Frankly, I can travel from Washington D. C. to New York City faster than I can from where I live in Washington to the office. So maybe they'll buy me a house in New York. I'd better be careful; they've been talking about what they're going to do for the Vice President's house. But these are the most exciting of all days. And why are they exciting? Well, partly because the young people make them exciting, through vitality and through enthusiasm and by the interest that you manifest in what's going on. But today with all of this excitement we are just on the threshold of man's progress. Remember, it is written in the scriptures that "Greater things than I have done, ye shall do also." That's my favorite line, favorite scriptural passage, because it is filled with motivation, filled with inspiration, with direction, with challenge. Christ said to his disciples, and to those who followed them and would lead, would listen to him -- he said, "Greater things than I have done ye shall do also." And some people have refused to believe it, but I believe it, and I'll tell you why: because it is a living fact. Today we do heal the sick, cleanse the leper. Today we do restore the hearing to the deaf. We do help the blind to see; in fact, cure blindness. We transplant organs of the body from a live person, removing an organ and transplanting it to a body where the organ is dead or diseased. We do, in other words, teach the illiterate to read and write, heal the sick, cleanse the ugly, and teach the blind to walk and see. These are really great days. In fact, I have witnessed a surgeon

bring a man back to life, massaging his heart through electrical impulse, a body that is, for all known physiological reasons has expired -- five minutes, six minutes, no heartbeat, no pulse, no breathing, stone cold. The surgeon restores that life. The life, of course, was there, but the surgeon through his -- and the doctor through his knowledge and his professional skill brings that person back to the fullness and richness and the strength of life. "Greater things than I have done ye shall do also." And that's what's expected of us, and that's why I'm here today, to talk to you about that. I'm not here to talk to you about how to get by. You know how to do that without even trying. I'm not here to ask you just to sort of get along, just sort of do things halfway -- anybody can get by these days. Most anybody can do fairly well. But what America needs and what the world needs are men and women of excellence, people of high standards, of high purpose, of high ideals, people who reach to the stars. And if anything that this space age tells us, it is that. It tells us that man's horizons are unlimited. It tells us that you can do the impossible. And if you can't do the impossible, then you can really do -- little or nothing, because anybody can do what's possible. The measure of greatness, the measure of statesmanship, the measure of being really worthwhile, is doing what is impossible to some, but not to yourself. And Americans must have their own high standards -- not judge themselves by others, because more has been given to us than any other people, and more is rightfully expected of us. So when somebody tells you, my dear fellow Americans, that we seem to be too generous, that we seem to be asked to do too much, that too much of the burden rests on us; just remember this, that never in the history of the world has a people been so blessed

with riches and wealth, with power, knowledge, with know-how, as the American people. Much has been given unto us and much is expected of us, and rightly so. And we can be happy over this. What an exciting time in which to live, when new standards prevail! Do you think that Gemini 5 stays in orbit because it's just sort of good? It's had enough trouble as it is, but with a back-up system, built-in extra protections of technology and engineering and science, these two men, Conrad and Cooper, complete their mission. And it is only the beginning. This will be almost like the earliest flights of Orville and Wilbur Wright. And sixty years ago these men were giving us the dawn of the age of aviation. They had a thing they called an airplane -- you've seen it in the Smithsonian Institute, some of you; you've seen pictures of it. I'm sure none of you would like to fly in it, but they flew in it, and do you know what it weighed -- 200 pounds; and do you know how long it stayed aloft -- eleven seconds. And that was the dawn of aviation. And yet today we have astronauts that are orbiting the earth, going on their hundredth orbit, and when I last heard of them they were over Zanzibar or someplace, I've forgotten -- no, Sumatra I guess it was, looking down upon this earth; and the Russians say they're taking pictures, they are, they're looking at the beauty of the earth, the curvature of the earth, the beauty of the seas, the amazing wonderment of the storms. Who would have ever dreamed it was possible? Well, it's only a few years ago that Christopher Columbus -- just less than five hundred years ago -- that he's supposedly to have discovered America. Now the Scandinavians feel it was Leif Erikson. I don't want to get into that argument right now. But be that as it may, I think we discover America every day. Every American discovers America and I want you to discover

your personal America; I want you to make your personal discovery of this wonderful country of ours, with all of its potential, with all of its greatness, with all of its power, with all of its wealth, with all of its goodness and with all of its limitations; and its ugliness and its evil. Know it and see what we can do about it.

Just to give you some little measure of how things have changed and what an amazing time we live in, even though it's a pioneering time and we're actually in science and technology at primitive stages, remember this, that ninety-five per cent, or ninety-five out of every one hundred scientists that ever lived in all of recorded history are alive at this hour today. Ninety-five out of every one hundred. That'll give you some idea of the changes that are taking place so rapidly. And these scientists and these technicians are moving us incredibly forward in many ways: in outer space, in medicine, in material progress. But it takes more than scientists and engineers to make a good life. Many of you have heard this term that has been used by the President so often -- this phrase or concept, the Great Society. What does it mean? It ought not to be talked about unless there's a meaning. Well, the Great Society represents a challenge to you and to me. It isn't something that's been achieved yet. It's something that we reach out to. It's the invitation to a better life, to better citizenship, to better condition on this earth, to higher standards. The Great Society isn't to be measured in gross national produce, even though that's important; it isn't to be measured and judged only in terms of jobs and profits and wages, even those are surely important, and ought not to be ignored or even down-graded. The Great Society is not just more and more and more; it's not just quantity. The Great Society is quality.

It's the richness of life, the happiness of life, the fullness of life. And, my fellow Americans, my good young friends, many Americans are very, very rich and very unhappy. Many Americans know that our material standards today are higher than they've ever been, but they are not satisfied with materialism alone, thank goodness. So we're trying somehow or another to reach out and find out how we can enrich the quality of our lives, to be better people, people of sincerity and of integrity and compassion, of concern and conscience; people that understand that wealth in terms of material goods is not everything, that joy in your heart is maybe worth as much or more as money in the bank; that culture, music, art, literature, adds the flavor to life; and that religion, spiritual dedication, adds meaning and purpose to life. That's what the Great Society is all about. And that's why it isn't something that can be realized by a government alone; government in America is only one of the many, many institutions that help to shape our lives. This is a country of people: we, the people of these United States. Not we, the government of these United States -- we, the people, says the Constitution. And we, the people, must enrich the lives of the nation and of the people.

Every one of you in this audience, every one of you, has repeated a dozen times or a hundred times the Pledge of allegiance to the flag of the United States and to the Republic for which it stands. And I'll bet you've repeated it a thousand times, a hundred times, and you maybe haven't stopped long enough to even remember what you've said. Well, let's stop just long enough now, just a moment to remember what we're saying.

When we get through those pretty words of the pledge of allegiance to the United States and the Republic for which it stands, then we say these

words: "One nation under God, indivisible, with liberty and justice for all." Let that sink in. Let it cut your soul. One nation. Not north and south, not rich and poor, not east and west, not Union and Confederacy; but one nation, and a nation that recognized its humility -- yes, its insignificance, in a very real sense. A nation that recognizes the supreme being, its relationship to divine providence -- one nation under God. Indivisible, because you can't have one nation and have it all chopped up and divided up. Indivisible, one kind of citizenship, first class citizenship. No back of the bus for anybody. Every one a citizen, with the highest honor that can be given to any person alive, to be citizen of the United States. A country united, in common purpose and dedication. A country not divided, a country wherein we heal the wounds rather than open them, where we seek to bring together rather than to divide, where we preserve our individuality, but at the same time have common objectives. One nation under God, indivisible and with liberty and justice for all. And that means just what it says, for all. And the problem has been for so long that there wasn't liberty and justice for all. There isn't any justice, and there isn't any liberty for the man that is treated with less than fair play. There isn't any liberty and there isn't any freedom and there isn't any justice for the person that suffers under the yoke of bigotry and discrimination and intolerance.

So this generation that I speak to, you are living at the time when we've made a big discovery -- not the discovery of the atom and to be able to split it and the chain reaction and what that is; not the discovery of some miracle cure; but the discovery that mankind does have a unity, and that there isn't any way that you can have liberty and justice unless it is

shared by one and for all, that you are the weaker when somebody else is weaker, that hunger and deprivation and disease somewhere else weakens you, knowingly or unknowingly. There's a great change that's taken place, not in the space age, but right here on earth in the human age. People are no longer content to be looked down upon. I don't know whether they were ever content to be looked down upon, but they did suffer it, they did endure it; but no longer. In the faraway places of the world, in countries the names of which you can't spell or possibly identify -- at least I can't -- people of different cultures, mores, religions, backgrounds, ethnic origins, people have decided that they're going to be people, God's children. And I want to remind you in this audience that if you're a little discontent with that kind of thing, remember that you started it. It was our faith, our political commitment, because God did create man in the image of the maker. Man was created in the image of his maker. And we are the people here in America that said that there were certain God-given inalienable rights that belong to everybody, no matter where you were born, no matter the color of your skin, no matter who you were or how you looked. We wrote it, we put it on parchment, we have it in the archives, the Library of Congress; we call it the Declaration of Independence. The French called it the Rights of Man, but it's there, we started it. At least we pulled it together from all the great pockets of history.

We've been told from the prophets of old and from Christ himself that there is a oneness in humanity. One Father, One God, One People. Now, either you believe it or you don't. And there's another little scriptural passage which just passes through my mind at this moment, that ought to shake you up: "Woe unto you hypocrites." And you cannot go to church and

talk brotherhood and walk out and not live it. You cannot talk compassion and charity and service and then deny it in your daily life. Because if you do, you're doomed. "Woe unto ye hypocrites." And of all the unforgivable crimes, hypocrisy is surely one that's close to the top of the list.

Now, the truth is that we in this nation have stood for belief in human dignity. We are taught what I've been saying to you, that man is created in the image of his maker, and that because of this we have believed in government by consent of the government. No man has a right to dominate the other without his consent, and this is the whole foundation of democracy. Democracy isn't a constitution. A constitution is part of a democracy in certain countries, but the Russians have a constitution. Hitler had a constitution -- he didn't even repeal the constitution that he destroyed, the constitution of the Weimar Republic. They have a constitution in China, Communist China. Constitutions do not make for democracy. It depends upon what men do under the terms of that constitution, the spirit, the action, the practice. Democracy is more than votes. They vote in the Soviet Union. I'll say they do; they make sure they vote -- just one way. Democracy is the understanding of man and his relationship to his fellow man and divine providence. And once you understand that the human being is important, and once that we understand that people are in a sense a reflection of the divine, or can be, then we begin to understand why people ought to live better, why they ought to have equal rights, why we believe here so much in equal opportunity. Now the real difference between the totalitarian and the free man is a spiritual difference. That's the difference. They look alike, flesh and blood. Sometimes they talk alike. They speak alike. They may

even like the same music, participate in the same sports, but the real difference is spiritual. It's a difference in outlook about man's relationship to himself, to his state and his God. The totalitarian believes that the individual must serve the state. He repudiates any superior power, any spiritual truth, and spiritual force. He thinks it's all man-contrived and man-made. But the free man believes that political, economic and social institutions are designed to serve man, not man to serve the institutions. He believes that there is something more to life than flesh and blood. He believes in spirit, in spiritual -- in immortality. And today -- today because of our belief, we Americans are trying to open the gates of opportunity to all of our citizens. It's my honest conviction that the civil rights movement itself is a manifestation of this re-awakening of humanity for human rights and human dignity. It's a manifestation of the long-pent-up desire of people for opportunity. Is it any wonder, then -- indeed it is no wonder -- that many of the leaders in this movement have been men and women of deep religious conviction. Of course they've been men and women of deep religious conviction. Because there is a oneness in humanity. If there is a fatherhood in God, then there is a family of man. You can't have it both ways.

Now, a few days ago I saw President Johnson sign a historic law, the voting rights bill. Now, you would have thought that after almost two hundred years of so-called democracy we would have had voting rights for everybody. What right does a country have to take a man from his home in his country, train him in the army, the navy, the air force, the Coast Guard, or the Marines, ask him to eat at the same table, to sleep in the same barracks, to take orders from his superior officers and to send him

into battle, and to do so without any regard to race or color, and say, Look, you're an American, you have an obligation to your country, you have an obligation under the Constitution; go fight for it -- die for it! And when he comes home, say to him, Well, I'm sorry, old buddy, you can't register, you can't vote, you can't eat here, you can't sleep here, you'll just have to go back to where you started from, and that was from nothing. Well, they used to be able to do that, but people are fed up with it. And in a very real sense the military in this country, because of conscription, has had maybe more to do with breaking down these barriers of inequality than any other single force outside of the religious conviction of people. Because when you put fifteen or sixteen million men in uniform, as did take place in World War II, and you ask them to take on the same burdens and make the same sacrifices, to give their lives, you couldn't ask them when they come on home to be second class citizens at home and first class citizens on the battle line. And you can't do it today in Vietnam, either. This country would look pretty sick, fighting for freedom as we say, and fighting against Communist aggression and tyranny seven thousand miles away from home, and permitting it to take place in our own back yard. And anybody that has any sense and fair judgment knows that's true. So we have struck down the barriers; we are breaking out of the prison that's held so many people; and strangely enough and ironically, the very people that were holding people in this prison are benefited even more than those that are released, because America will be a happier and a better country. The voting rights bill insures political participation and opportunity for millions of Americans. It takes Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation which was a hope and a promise, and makes it a reality and a fact. And I

want to tell you, America's going to be a better place because of all of this, all the richer and all the stronger and all the more decent, because at long last people, because they are people, because they are fellow citizens, not because they are short or tall or fat or thin, not because they're white or black or yellow or red, but because they are citizens of the United States; people are going to have a chance to participate in the responsibilities and the duties as well as the privileges of democratic government. You've lived at a historical moment. This is a revolutionary change, and we've been making it with very little difficulty, considering the unbelievable dimensions of this change.

Oh, yes, we've had our riots, and no one can condone, nor should he, violence and rioting and arson and murder in the name of a better life and justice, because those are the enemies of justice, those are the enemies of the very purposes that we seek to achieve. But I might also suggest that we are learning that from that riot, that disorder, whether it's in California or Mississippi or New York or Alabama, or Minnesota or Florida; we're learning that there are causes and reasons for this, and we're beginning to examine those causes; we're beginning to find out what's wrong. If a man continues to have fainting spells, if he continues to have moments of blacking out or of weakness, there's something wrong. It isn't that he just wants to do it because he wants attention. You take him to the doctor, you start to examine him, you start to trace back over his life's history, you try to find out what's wrong. And in America there've been some fainting spells; there've been some emotions of -- fitful emotions, some terrible moments of pain and anguish. And this isn't just to get attention. We have to look and see what's wrong.

Some other things are beginning to happen. We're here in a great big metropolitan area. Now, I've talked to young people here -- and most of you'll live to be -- into the year two thousand. Just think of that. I'm not sure I'm going to make it, but I'm going to try. The year two thousand. Just imagine the first day you can write that on that letter when you're writing to somebody: January first, two thousand. It's quite - quite interesting just to think about that for a moment. But what do you think's going to be your -- what's your country going to be like in the year two thousand? Because that's when you're going to be alive. That's when your family's going to be growing up. You'd better be thinking about that. Well, I want to tell you one thing -- you can rest assured, be assured of, by the year two thousand over ninety per cent of the people will be living in large cities. Now, what kind of city do you want? Do you want cities that are a jungle or do you want cities that are livable? If you think the problems of our cities are difficult in the year 1965, think what they'll be like thirty-five years from now and in the year two thousand there'll be over three hundred million Americans. Not a hundred and ninety-five thousand -- not a hundred and ninety-five million, such as we have now. There'll be over three hundred million. And ninety per cent of them are going to be living in the cities. There'll be one massive city from Boston to North Virginia -- one continuous city in which there will be eighty million people -- eighty million, by the year 1975. That's ten years from now. And if you think it's hard to park a car now . . . Do you know that there will be in the next five years thirty more million automobiles on our highways? Better start learning to walk. Thirty more million. You have sixty-five million now and there'll be approximately ninety-five million by 1975. Seems to me that we have some problems with our cities.

Now, what kind of cities do you want? Do you want cities in which crime is the order of the day, in which you can't walk through the park without fear of assault? Do you want cities that are literally monstrosities or do you want what St. Augustine and others have written about, a city that is beautiful. A city that is livable. That's up to you, you know. It's up to me. We're trying to do something about it starting now; we're not doing nearly enough. I just want to say that we need to make our cities places fit to live in. I don't think that man was ever intended to be encased in concrete and asphalt, brick and mortar. I think he was intended to have some open spaces. And have clean air. Yes, and fresh water, and to have green grass, and shrubs, and trees as well as housing and jobs. And you young men and women have to start thinking about that now, because you're going to have to take the action at home -- social action, political action, community action, to see that this is done. Unless you want to just bring up a family and just lock them up in cement. There isn't any such thing as equal opportunity for a young man or a young woman or a family if they're imprisoned in the ghettos and the slums of our cities. And every time that you read about crime and disturbance, don't relate it only to those living conditions. I wouldn't want you to draw that conclusion, because many people who are quite well off, as we noted the other day up in Long Island, one of the more rich areas of our country -- young men and women and older ones guilty of unbelievable disorder and disgusting performance. So it doesn't mean that just because you're well off or middle income that you're going to do well and be well and be nice. To the contrary. But I will say this: I don't think anybody can prove that a slum makes it easier for you to be better. I don't think anybody can show me that

you have fewer crimes because you have slums. I think you can show me that the facts are that the crime rate, the death rate, the addiction rate of narcotics -- every conceivable act of social disrespect and disorder rises in the ghettos and the slums of our huge cities. So we have a job to do. And we're on it. And this is what I want to tell you -- and I'm going to take just a few more minutes with you. We're doing something about it. It doesn't do any good for a fellow just to get up here and complain. What good is it for me to tell you only about the limitations -- and thank goodness we can talk about our limitations -- you know we're rich; you know this country's incredibly powerful; you know that we have the highest standard of living in the world, and if you don't let me tell you how high it is. Fifty per cent of everything that's produced in the world is produced in the United States. We have fifty per cent of the total gross national product of the entire world. The hundred and ninety-five/^{million}Americans consume fifty per cent of everything. The other three billion, five hundred million get the rest of it. And when the gap grows between the rich and the poor -- and the gap is growing, strangely enough -- that gap causes growing social tension and disorder. Put yourself in the other man's moccasins, as the old Indians used to say. Let me walk a mile in the other man's moccasins before I draw judgment. And imagine the condition in the rest of the world when you know that we have fifty per cent of the total gross national product of the whole world. And the rest of humanity gets the other fifty per cent.

Only a strong nation can discuss its weaknesses. Only a strong and secure individual can admit his inadequacies. The weak man and the weak nation always brag more than the truth can substantiate. So we can talk

about our limitations. We have much. Eighty-five per cent of our people live well, but about fifteen per cent of them have been left behind, as the rest of us have rushed on. And that fifteen per cent today can be the Achille's heel of this nation. It can be the sand in the foundation that crumbles the whole structure. Now, what is more is that the more that you have, the more the moral obligation is to see that somebody else has a fair break. Now, I'm not one that believes that the government owes everybody a living. But I do believe that a government of the people, by the people and for the people and a moral free society owes everybody a chance, the opportunity to make something out of his or her life. Now you may squander that opportunity; you may not take advantage of the opportunity; you may waste that opportunity, but you ought to have it; it ought to be your choice. So today we find that there are about thirty million people in our country that are living on what we call the fringes of poverty. There are fifty million young people in America that came from educational backgrounds that are totally inadequate for modern industry and modern American life. We're going to do something about it. We're waging war on poverty. We're moving in on education; we're upgrading education. Local, state, and federal government, pouring resources -- private churches, schools -- pouring resources into education. Why? To enrich the life and the mind of the individual. I'll give you one little fact that you can tell your teachers when you get back to school: There is no instance in history where a nation has ever spent itself into insolvency or bankruptcy by investing in education. But the history books are filled with the instances of the bankruptcy and the defeat of nations that ignored education. Modern industry today when it looks around for plants not only looks for

clean water and . . . (portion of speech lost) . . . or International Business Machines or A. T. & T. Why? Because they know that brainpower, enlightenment, is real power and wealth. And they know that you can't get by without it. So we're upgrading education. We're moving in, not to merely ease the pain of poverty. I want you to know that this war on poverty that you read about, this isn't just a -- feed people aspirins so they won't know that they're so poor. I graduated originally in pharmacy; I know all about pain relievers. But no pain reliever ever cured a disease. And after you've taken enough pain relievers, you won't have any disease; you'll just be dead. We're not waging war on poverty to make poverty more tolerable. We're waging war on poverty, my young Americans, to find the root causes of it, and the root causes are not all economic. There're all kinds of poverty -- poverty of the purse, but mainly poverty of the spirit, the poverty of despair, hopelessness, of not being wanted, of no place for one. And what we have to wage is a great spiritual, psychological, sociological and economic offensive. And it's going to take a lot of time. You'll be waging that war for a long time, and I'll -- I don't know what your views are on war, but I'll tell you there's one war that you cannot avoid, and there is no room for a conscientious objector in this one, and that's the war on poverty. You're needed.

And every boy and girl that's privileged to have a good home and a good education has a double duty. I have the privilege of a college education in a state university. I like to hear some folks go around and say how they worked their way through school. And ever so often you hear some fellow say, "Well, I never got any help; I earned all mine." And he looks just about as pompous as a bilious pup. He never earned it at all. What

man can pay for seven thousand years of literature that's in our libraries? Who is the man that thinks that he earned the Bible? And the teachings of the prophets of the Old and the New Testament? Who is this person who thinks that he paid his own way -- and yet there's an art gallery there with the accumulation of the arts -- of the art of the ages. Every person that's ever been privileged to have an education in a public or private school has been subsidised. He is the beneficiary of an unbelievable gift. He's been given a loan, and if he lives to be a hundred, he'll barely have a chance to start paying interest on the size of that gift. And those of us that have had this break -- and you're going to have it, many of you; some of you already have, some of you are college age, others are high school age -- we have the extra obligation; we have been given -- much has been given unto us, and much is expected. And I think you either have to make up your mind that you believe that it's better to minister than to be ministered unto, or you ought to quit saying it. You ought to quit saying that it's better to share than to take, or believe it. And I happen to believe that sharing and giving is real happiness. I happen to also believe that the people that share and give always have more to give. And I think the facts prove it.

I would remind this wonderful audience today that two-thirds of the world that you're talking about and that our Bible speaks of and that our ministers talk about -- this one world with one Father -- two-thirds of that world this very afternoon is sick, ill-housed, illiterate, poverty-stricken, much of it hungry. And yet it knows there can be a brighter day. If you don't want people to be restless, never let them see the light. If you do not want people to want more, never let them know that there is more to be

wanted. But people have seen the light. They've seen the light through the missionaries. They've seen the light, if you please, through modern communication. They know there's a better day, if they could but get it. They know that they -- there's no need for their little children to die prematurely. Whether they're from the darkest areas of Africa, a mother loves her child, and when that child is taken prematurely by measles, when that mother learns that there is a vaccine that can prevent measles, that mother is not happy. And I'm here to tell you that she will be ever grateful to the country of the person that brings the cure or protection. This is what we mean by serving. This is what we mean by ministry. And I want to remind this audience that America's been busily engaged in this. You can be mighty proud of your country. Oh, we like to criticize our country many times, but let the record be clear, no country in the memory of man or in all recorded history has ever been as generous or as kind to the vanquished as we. We've sought no territory, we seek no conquest; the people of this nation have poured out over a hundred and fifty billions of dollars out of their government treasury in gifts since World War II, and billions of dollars privately. We've extended a helping hand in food and medicine and sometimes it may not seem to be appreciated, but it's the right thing to do. And when somebody says, I think we're doing too much, all I want to remind you is that, no matter how much we've done, we have more left over than anybody else. And I generally find that the person that says that we're doing too much has got so much left over himself that he hates to even face the tax collector. The loudest complaints come from those who are the greatest beneficiaries, all too often. Not every time, but all too often. And let's us not be guilty of that.

Now, what kind of a world are you going to face in the next twenty-five, fifty years? Well, I'd want to be honest -- I'm going to be very honest with you; I'm your vice president. I've been in the congress sixteen years; I've been privileged to be very well-informed on matters of national security, and I think I would be doing you a great disservice if I were to tell you that the coming years are just going to be a lark. You know, just go-go. It isn't going to be that way at all. But the coming years are going to be very interesting. And they're going to be mighty challenging. Now, you can go around like an old sourpuss and talk about the problems and the difficulties, or you can have a little more confidence and optimism and talk about the challenges and the opportunities. There've always been difficulties, there've always been problems -- they started out with Adam and Eve. Quite a problem, right then and there. And they'll continue to be -- there'll be problems and difficulties. But I want to tell you, there're going to be some opportunities and some challenges. And one -- I think that the New Testament is the book of optimism. The New Testament is the book of hope and promise. It's the book of joy; it's the message of joy. I think the most beautiful of all the religious days is Easter, because it is the day of life, of redemption, hope, of beauty. And we ought to be filled with hope. I'm a political man. I believe in the politics of hope. Not of despair. I believe that people must have -- must have ideals, and they must be motivated by ideals. And I can tell you that better world will come from the vision of the idealists. But I must also tell you that we have opposition and it has been always been this -- the enemies of freedom are not weak and they are not willing to give up and roll over and play dead just because we don't like what they're doing. The enemies of freedom are

tenacious and perservering. And therefore we must build a strong and free America to meet this long-term struggle of twenty-five, fifty years or more. I think that if we buckle down to the task that it'll be an inevitable victory, because my limited knowledge of what's going on in the world shows me that the Communist system is beginning to -- the leaders of the Communist system are beginning to find out they have to alter their system. Did you notice in this morning's newspaper from the New York Times, the new map of Moscow for the first time -- the new map identifies the churches in Moscow. Never before did they even admit they had them. I've stood in a church in Moscow, the Baptist church in Moscow, for two hours standing and witnessed people standing and praying and singing and listening to their sermon and coming and standing in line in the bitter cold, twenty below zero, to pray. I have a feeling that if somebody told you that you couldn't pray, you'd want to. That which comes too easy, loses its value. Now, these enemies of freedom and of spiritual strength, they are tough. Therefore, we have to build the long pole. Franklin Roosevelt, when he was at Warm Springs, Georgia, and he was writing his last message to the American people, it was in April of -- it was in 1945, I believe, April -- the pen fell from his hand, his head in his hands, and he fell limp and he was dead. What were the last words that this man penned? I think they fit this occasion. They're very good for young people. The words were these: "Let us move forward with a strong and an active faith." He didn't say, Let's sleep, let's take it easy, let's sit down, let's back up, let's just roll over. He said, "Let's move forward." And then he said how you move forward, "with a strong and active faith." I have a feeling, my friends, that we could put that on the masthead of every building -- on the cornerstone, on our stationery; we

ought to remind ourselves that we need a strong and an active faith. We need discipleship today. We need discipleship and citizenship today, strong and active. I hear some people say that we ought to get out of Africa and out of Latin America and out of Asia. After all, those people are strange people; they don't speak our language, they look different; not only that -- they insult us, they don't appreciate us. I just want to say to you that that's exactly what the Communist wants us to do. Somebody said to me the other day, you ought to get out of Vietnam-- I said, well, that's what we want to do. I just want to ask one question: Who's moving in when we leave? Now if the Communist would assure you that he wouldn't move into Africa and Asia and Latin America and if the forces of oppression wouldn't move in, if we could be assured of that, we could get away. But the fact is, we don't have that assurance. In fact, we know to the contrary, that every time there's a vacant chair on any banquet table in the world of international politics, one of the Communists moves in. He doesn't always get invited to dinner, but he's standing at the door waiting to see if somebody's absent. And I remind you that this Communist leader may very well not have in mind blowing the world to pieces; he knows about atom power, nuclear power -- they're no fools. They have nuclear weapons. He doesn't intend to blow the world to pieces; he intends to pick it up piece by piece, when you tire, when you give up, when you say it's too much to do, I've got other things to do, it's a waste of money, I'm weary, nobody likes me, they don't tell me they like me. The Americans love to be liked. I want to remind you that most of the insults that we receive abroad are well-connived and well-organized by the very people who hope that you'll just bite the bait -- take the hook, line and sinker, and away, Well, I'm leaving.

Well, if I have anything to say about the deliberations of the government, we're not leaving. This is a good world; it can be one. And I do not believe that people who have had the privileges we have and have our faith and our religion and our conviction have any moral right to pick up and leave when there are threats to the life and the safety of others.

I want to remind you that you cannot overcome the injustices of centuries in a decade, at home or abroad. You cannot overcome the injustices of centuries of abuse and poverty and of illiteracy and hunger, in twenty years or five years. What we need to do is to stick with the job. And we have the means to do it. This is the one nation that can stay on the job of world leadership and still have a better life at home than anybody else in the world. We can have everything that we need for ourselves and still share generously with others. And the only time in the history of this nation that we've really come close to disaster was when we decided not to share with everybody. You were too young to remember the early 1930's and the late 1920's. We decided to keep our pot of gold for ourselves, wouldn't loan anybody anything. We closed our doors to immigration, said we didn't want any more foreigners. We closed our trade down, raising our tariffs. We said, we don't want to do business with those people in other parts of the world. We were isolationists. We didn't help anybody, we didn't want to communicate with anybody; we just pretended that the rest of the world wasn't there, and we were sort of like that fellow who said, "Stop the world, I want to get off." And darned if we darned near didn't do it! And then we found that there were some people that were perfectly glad to take over the world -- Tojo, Hitler, Mussolini, and I think we've learned a lesson. And that's why we're trying now to build the great resources of

this country to meet the long, hard task in the world of building enlightenment, of better health, of better communities, opening up opportunities. For with all this health and power that I've spoken to you of, we can meet the dangerous years ahead. We can, if we will it, extend hope and better life to millions of men and women who have known nothing but desperation and despair. And finally we may, if we never stop trying, achieve peace. And without peace, none of what I've talked about means a thing. Because if there's to be a nuclear holocaust, why worry about jobs? Your cities -- you won't have to clean up your cities; they'll be cleaned out. Peace is man's most important business, and peace is like a great cathedral, a beautiful church. Many of you have visited in other countries and you've seen these magnificent cathedrals, and they were not constructed in one year, or two years, or three years, or five or ten. The cathedrals took centuries, but each generation added something to it. A cathedral, like peace, requires the plan of a master architect, and also requires the labors of many. I'm of Christian faith, but I do not abandon that faith because we have not fully realized the promise of Christianity. There's not anything wrong with our objectives and there's not a thing wrong with our faith. It's just that man sometimes fails to fulfill those objectives, and regrettably fails to live by his faith. So we must not abandon the hope of peace. There's not a thing wrong with peace. Peace is dynamic, it's affirmative, it's positive, it's not merely the absence of war. Peace is what we live for. It's harmony, it's progress, it's joy, it's building, it's constructing, it's youth, it's life. And we're building peace, and we're building it like a cathedral, yes. Sometimes imperfectly, sometimes haltingly, sometimes, like the building of the great cathedrals, there's a generation or a period of time in which there's

no progress. But we must stay at it; we must keep our eyes on the master plan and make up our mind if we're going to add our little stone to it, our little building block. We build for peace with foreign aid. We build for peace with youth exchanges. I was with young people from fifty-five nations last night that have lived four months in the United States. They've learned about America, and we've learned from them; this is a step in the path of peace. Peace won't come like magic. Peace isn't a piece of paper or even a treaty. Peace will not come because somebody wished for it. It will come through work and sacrifice, courage and determination. And we're building peace with the Peace Corps, we're building peace through the work of our church, we're building peace through the Food for Peace program. And this great religious faith that you represent has carried the heaping of food and medicine to millions of people. We're building peace with technical assistance, even with an imperfect United Nations and a World Bank; we build peace whenever we help anybody with our voluntary religious or non-sectarian groups. We build peace with our teenagers who travel, with the Christian Youth Movement, The International Christian Youth Program. We build it with the 4-H clubs, the FFA's. And we build it a thousand ways. I just want to say that man cannot live through a nuclear holocaust -- that's why you have to believe in peace. The same man that has developed the instruments of total destruction -- and we have -- I can give you one fact for sure, we can kill everybody, if that makes you happy. I hear people argue about whether we ought to have more bombs -- atom bombs. And somebody says, well, I think we ought to have more, because I think the Russians are getting more. Now, look, if it only takes five hundred bombs to kill everybody, what do you need two thousand for? Who's going to detonate the other

fifteen hundred? I want this young audience to know that there is no shortage of destructive power in this world. The biggest problem we have is how you control that power, how you limit its use, how you direct the use of that power for constructive and not destructive purposes. If we could get Americans as excited about rebuilding the world as we do about saving the old one -- rebuilding for a new world -- we'd really have something going in this country. But I want to give you a new good news -- the same people that built the powerful weapon that can destroy the world is the same man who can develop the instruments to build a better world, if we but will it. And standing over this world like a dark cloud is this nuclear power that mankind has created. We have released the atom's tremendous force of destruction, yet scientists tell you and me that that same force can do more good for mankind than any physical force that man has ever released before.

Here, then, is my charge to you: Be advocates, be actionists, be disciples, carry the message of your land, of your faith, and of your convictions. Be people of Christian concern. Be men and women of passion, of courage, and of patience and persistence, and devote yourself unceasingly, everlastingly, to the search for justice, and remember that the quest of peace is a process, a journey, and remember that the longest journey is the first step.

Scriptures say -- and the President quoted this the other day, and that's why I've added it to this message; when he was talking to our Peace Corps volunteers, he quoted these words -- I believe it was Phillip that was talking. He said, "And besides this, giving all diligence, and to your faith virtue, and to your virtue knowledge, and to your knowledge temperance, and to your temperance patience, and to your patience godliness, and to godliness brotherly kindness, and to brotherly kindness, love." That is the

most concise and succinct definition of the process or the pathway to peace that I have ever read or ever heard, because we need virtue, and knowledge, and patience, and godliness, brotherly kindness, and love. I say to young Americans that that's not the language of soft people. That's the language of brave people. Name me any people that were braver than the disciples and the apostles. And when I hear people say that when you go around mouthing or saying these words of love and compassion and kindness and service, that it sounds as if you're soft -- I ask them to remember the context of history in which these words were uttered. The power of Rome, pagan Rome, a Christ crucified, disciples that were hunted down like animals. They were men of courage, but they taught compassion and brotherliness and kindness and forgiveness and forbearance and justice and goodness. I say to you that if people who lived under the lash, who were hunted and were looked upon as enemies -- if they could have the courage to utter the words of compassion and brotherhood and love in their world, in their day, when there was no brotherly love, at least for most; when there was hate, when there was evil, when there was bitterness, and when there was despotism; when there was poverty and disease as the pattern of the day -- if an apostle or a disciple two thousand years ago could embrace that faith then, under those conditions, why can't we embrace it under our conditions, where we have everything going our way, where we're backed up by the most powerful government in the world, where we live in the most exciting days of creation, where we have the tools of knowledge and material progress such as no other people ever had. I say to you that this generation has within its grasp the chance to remake the world, and we better get on with the job. Thank you.



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