

President Carpenter

REMARKS

VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

21st NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON HIGHER EDUCATION

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

MARCH 15, 1966

Thank you for your tribute. I shall try to deserve your good opinion. For yours is a cause which requires no persuasion on my part. Your colleagues have infiltrated the inner councils of government in Washington. Each time I attend a Cabinet meeting, I see a vast number of fellow ex-professors -- Dean Rusk, Robert McNamara, Willard Wirtz, Nicholas Katzenbach, John Gardner and Bob Weaver. *(and in Cong. Mike Mansfield, Bill Fulbright, Karl Albert, Coleman*
These men constitute a voting majority and their zeal for higher education has not diminished because they have left the academic groves.

You cannot be both ignorant and free

✓ The love of higher learning has deep roots in our country. Thomas Jefferson, in preparing the brief epitaph for his tombstone, chose as one of three accomplishments that he was "Father of the University of Virginia."

✓ Since the founding of our nation, two ideas were set in motion more forcibly than in any other land. ✓ The first was that higher learning must set up no barriers of class or creed. The university was to nourish a society to which all could aspire.

✓ The second idea was that the university would not be a lonely citadel isolated from the rest of the community. Its mission would be to search for truth, unswayed by temporary passions, and to serve all mankind, not merely the rarified ranks of scholars.

A Community Partner -

✓ In other lands, the university has been obliged to build strong walls to guard against the nation's politics.

✓ In this country, the university has no need of walls -- except perhaps to prevent the nocturnal prowling of its students, or the temporary flight of its professors to the public service.

✓ No angry mob stands outside your gates. No serious politician wins fame or fortune -- today -- by seeking to subdue your spirit of inquiry.

✓ The priceless value of interchange between scholar and statesman has been proven many times over. During the

latter half of the 19th century, our government passed farsighted measures encouraging the university to face the problems of an agrarian America. It led to agricultural abundance that made our nation grocer for the world.

⑧ ?
The Miracle of Amer. Agric Production
is in a large measure due
to our Land-Grant Colleges and
Research.

In more recent years, our race to split the atom and to reach the moon has gained its driving force from the ^{Brain} mind power of our universities.

~~and~~ We bless the university as we measure other, less spectacular, milestones of man's progress:

-- the better knowledge of our economy and our environment;

-- the deeper understanding of the world beyond our shorelines;

-- and, by no means least, the jealous stewardship of that fragile crust of culture and civility which separates mankind from the savage state. #

Time after time, I have cause to ponder the truth which comes to everyone in public life: that it is not difficult to do what is right if only there is wisdom to know what is right.

Upon that truth rests today's massive federal commitment
to higher education -- incorporated in the passage of ten
measures of landmark legislation in little more than twenty
years. It includes:

↳ the G.I. Bills of 1944 and 1952 and 1966 which provide
the returning veteran full opportunity to a full education;

↳ the programs of student loans, scholarships and work-study assistance which have opened the college door
to every young American with the ability and the ambition
to enter;

↳ the grants and loans to permit our institutions to
expand their classrooms and dormitories and libraries;

↳ the funds for teaching and research, books and
laboratory equipment to enrich the quality as well as the
quantity of our universities.

N.I.H., Dep Defense, Nat Science Foundation,
The Smithsonian Institution, The Arts & Humanities
NASA - Cellulose -

For my own epitaph, I would like it recorded that I labored for the passage of every one of these measures -- I am proud to say that four of the ten have become laws of the land since President Johnson entered the White House.

~~Tonight all Americans share the great concern felt in Washington over United States relations with Asia.~~

I have recently returned from an extended trip to that area and would like to discuss with you ~~briefly~~ some of my *observations* conclusions.

~~about Asia.~~

First,

~~First,~~ Asia is astir with a consciousness of the need for Asian initiatives in the solution of Asia's problems. Regional development and planning are increasingly being recognized as necessary for political and economic progress. The power of nationalism is now tempered by a growing realization of the need for cooperation among nations. Asians seek to preserve their national identity. They want gradually to create new international structures. But they want to pursue such aims themselves. They want foreign assistance when necessary, but without foreign domination.

At the beginning today I said that the conflict in Vietnam was the focus of a wider struggle taking place in Asia.

During my recent mission I was struck by the depth of feeling, among almost all Asian leaders, that Asian communism had direct design on their national integrity and independence.

Almost all cited examples of subversion, and in many cases direct military involvement by Communist troops, within their countries.

And none --- without any exception -- questioned our involvement in Vietnam. There were questions about aspects of our policy there, but none concerning the fact of our presence there and our resistance to aggression.

Among the leaders with whom I spoke, there was repeatedly expressed a deep concern as to whether our

Third
~~Second~~, the American people, as well as their
leaders, need to know more about Asia in general and
Communist China in particular: the relationships of
that nation with her neighbors in Asia and the Pacific;
the nature of Chinese Communist ideology and behavior;
and the operational apparatus of Communist parties under
Peking leadership or influence. The intellectual and
political resources not only of the United States, but of
the entire free world, should be mobilized for this effort.

~~In this regard, I want to commend the Senate
Foreign Relations Committee for its hearings on China.~~

~~We have made it clear that we are prepared to
assist friendly nations in resisting aggression in Asia.~~

~~But do not believe this goal is necessarily achieved by
isolation. We seek containment of China, but not its
isolation.~~

said:

~~I will begin with words from Confucius~~ "If a man

take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow

near at hand."

*The War in Vietnam is far more than
neville chamberlaine "guarrel in a remote country among people
of whom we know nothing"*

~~Our involvement in Vietnam is not only an immediate
and localized problem in a small and distant country.~~

It is the focus of a broader conflict which involves
the whole Asian continent. ^{and} It also involves basic principles
of international conduct.

~~I will return to this later.~~

Why are we in South Vietnam?

↳ We are in South Vietnam to repel and prevent the success of aggression against the government and the people of that country.

↳ We are there to help assure the South Vietnamese people the basic right to decide their own futures, freely and without intimidation.

↳ We are there to help those people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their children.

↳ We are there to help establish the principle that -- in this nuclear age -- aggression cannot be an acceptable means either of settling international disputes or of realizing national objectives. ↳ If aggression is permitted to go unchecked, we cannot in good faith hold out much hope for the future of small nations or of world peace.

↳ This is why we are in Vietnam.

↳ We are not there to build an empire . . . to exercise
domination over that part of the world . . . to establish
military bases. We are not there to impose a government
or way of life on other peoples. ~~But~~ *Now do we seek
to conquer or overthrow Regimes of other countries*

That last point is worth dwelling on. The National
Liberation Front claims to be an authentic nationalist
movement, representing the overwhelming majority of
the South Vietnamese people.

Put I agree with only one part of the NLF's contention:
That it is a front. *North Vietnamese front*

↳ There was a time, in the colonial days, when the old
Viet Minh movement contained authentic nationalists. *many of
them in South Vietnamese Govt.*

Today there are a few non-Communists in figurehead
Viet Cong posts. But most of the Viet Cong soldiers -- at
least those defecting or captured -- don't even know his name.

But they all know Ho Chi Minh.

*Nguyen-Hu-Tho
Nagoyen, Hu-Toe.*

Twice in recent months the National Liberation Front has tried to demonstrate its strength by calling a general strike. This is a tactic which has been used very successfully by authentic nationalist movements elsewhere. But in Vietnam it was a failure. No popular support.

Contrary to what many people believe, you do not have to have overwhelming, or even majority, support to wage a guerilla war. A determined, highly disciplined, trained and well-organized minority can do that. *and this is the NLF + the Viet Cong.*

Without outside aid the overwhelming majority of the South Vietnamese people would have no hope of self-determination. They would be ruled by force and coercion, as they are today in areas under Viet Cong control.

Things are better in Vietnam, militarily, than a few months ago. Though we must be prepared for military setbacks and disappointments ahead, I believe we have reason for measured encouragement. -

- *Superior*
- *mobility*

Defectors -
Logistics
Command
Program

There is no substitute for the use of power in the face of determined attack. There are times when it must be used.

But the use of power, necessary as it is, can be counter-productive without accompanying political effort and the credible promise to people of a better life.

The peasants of Vietnam -- and, indeed, of all Asia -- are rebelling against the kind of life they have led for ages past. They want security. But they also want dignity and self-respect, justice and the hope of something better in the future.

The Communists -- in their drive for power -- seek to use and subvert the hopes of these people. If they succeed, we could win many battles and yet lose the war.

Vietnam's Rural, and

The struggle will be won or lost in rural areas.

We have said this so often it has become a cliché.
But it must now be proved by programs of action.

The Chinese have a saying "Lots of noise on the stairs, but nobody enters the room."

~~There have been, as I am fully aware, many promises~~
have been made to the peasants over many years -- but painfully little performance.

↳ The hour is late. The need for deeds ~~as well as~~ *is urgent.*
~~words is urgent.~~

That is why the Vietnamese government, with our support, is pressing the "other war" with vigor -- the war against poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance. This is the theme of the "Declaration of Honolulu", -- ~~and I~~
{ believe that the Honolulu Declaration could be a milestone in the history of our policy in Asia.

16
- 12 -

~~the South Vietnamese~~

~~They~~ are beginning in earnest the struggle to win and hold the allegiance ~~of the people who live in~~ rural South Vietnam, in more than 2600 villages and approximately 11,000 hamlets -- villages and hamlets subject to years of Viet Cong subversion and terror.

< This is hard and dangerous work. In 1965 alone, 354 of the people engaged in ~~the~~ ^{rural construction work} were assassinated, and something like 500 wounded. ^{Since 1958 - 61,000 S. Viet officials & reps killed.}

< ~~I do not for a moment minimize~~ ^{These figures reveal} the practical difficulties of carrying out the social revolution to which the Republic of Vietnam is now committed.

^{And then too} Vietnam has experienced a quarter of a century of almost constant warfare, generations of colonial domination, and a millenium of Mandarin rule.

< History has endowed it with no full and ready-made administrative apparatus to undertake such a monumental task.

It will have to be carefully built. But there are a number of well-trained and educated high and middle-level officials to form the nucleus for this effort.

Training
Pol Cadres
45,000 by
end of
this yr

↳ The important thing is to begin, ~~and this the present government has done~~. Responsibility has been fixed, a spirited attack upon inertia and corruption has begun. There is determination that the whole chain of social and political action will be conceived and administered with hard-headedness and efficiency -- beginning in the ministries in Saigon and going right down to the village and hamlet level, ↳ High standards of performance have been set and are expected.

↳ And we are working with the South Vietnamese government at each level, to help see that the product matches the expectation.

South Vietnamese cadre in hamlets and villages will be doubled to more than 45,000 by the end of this year.

~~But~~ Today, they are still outnumbered by Viet Cong activists.

But the gap is steadily closing.

~~Today the South Vietnamese government -- late in the day, it is true -- is trying to meet the pressing needs of the country.~~ Prime Minister Ky was candid with me when he said "Our social revolution is 12 years late -- but not too late."

Some 800,000 people have fled to government-controlled areas in South Vietnam during the past year-and-a-half.

Almost 300,000 have already been resettled. The South Vietnamese government, with allied help, is working to house, feed and clothe these refugees.

In the countryside, schools and hospitals are being built.

Text books - over 5000 classrooms
✓ 5000 Students Summer Project
✓

⌞ In Saigon, a new constitution is being framed and the government is working toward a goal of national elections by the end of next year.

⌞ In short, a forced-draft effort is being made to create a new society to replace the old. It deserves and requires our support.

→ Set Saigon Task Force on Health + Education

? Surgeon Gen Dr Wm Stewart -- Asst Sec for Educ, Francis Keppel
Meanwhile, the country faces staggering economic problems -- the most severe of which is the problem of inflation.

⌞ Despite today's inflation, the long-term economic prospect is good. There is new business investment in

new industries. South Vietnamese land is rich and productive. The people are industrious, ambitious, and quick to learn new skills -- and they are learning.

Communications, port facilities and transportation are being expanded.

Reasons
to work
with

But full economic development certainly will not take place until an environment of violence and conflict is replaced by one of stability and peace.

now My observations of Vietnam are not the product of a weekend visit to Saigon.

~~To be sure, my visit there was informative. It gave meaning to what I had read and to the deliberations of government in which I had participated.~~

As student, professor, Senator and Vice President, I have been intellectually and directly involved in matters of national security and foreign policy. I have read too many books, attended too many hearings and meetings, and participated in too many discussions at the highest levels of government to arrive at any instant solutions to complex problems or to be naively optimistic about a troubled world.

Having said this, I have reason to bring home a message of encouragement about Vietnam.

I know that our opponents are diligent and determined. They are well-organized, and in many areas have a long head start on us.

Thus far they have not responded to our unconditional offer of negotiation -- an offer which still stands -- nor have they responded to the good offices of other nations, of the United Nations, of the Pope and other religious leaders who seek to bring the conflict to the conference table.

~~And they have not responded, I am sure, because~~
Possibly they
~~they still~~ believe that time is on their side *or* that we will ultimately tire and withdraw, either abandoning South Vietnam or accepting a settlement which will give the Viet Cong a victory.

~~Should there be any doubt in Hanoi, let me make it
once more clear: We will neither tire nor withdraw.~~

~~We will remain in Vietnam until genuinely free
elections can be held. *and we will respect the decision
of the people*~~

Keep
~~I, for one, doubt that the South Vietnamese people
will give a victory to the Communists. No communist
government has ever come to power through free election,
and I doubt that one ever will.~~

~~We will pursue, with patience and persistence, the
difficult course we have set for ourselves -- the course
neither of withdrawal nor of massive escalation, but of
measured use of strength and perseverance in defense both
of ally and principle.~~

~~As the President has said: "... the pledge of Honolulu
will be kept, and the pledge of Baltimore stands open -- to help
the men of Hanoi when they have the wisdom to be ready."~~

when it may realize that its objectives cannot be gained by aggression.

But, until that time, I believe we have no choice but to help the nations of Southeast Asia strengthen themselves for the long road ahead.

In helping the nations of Southeast Asia preserve their independence, let no one doubt that we are persevering in the search for a just and honorable peace. President Johnson has made it unmistakably clear that his offer of unconditional discussions remains open. But unfortunately there has been no response from the other side.

Start L Peace remains our objective.

The highest achievement of statesmanship and the ultimate goal of civilized people is the attainment of peace.


It is to this end that education and religion are directed.

↳ Regrettably the history of mankind is one filled with violence, war and disaster. Yet man continues to reach for the stars -- the stars of justice, of freedom and of peace.

yes ↳ Peace is the absence of war. ~~Peace is the cessation of hostilities.~~ But peace is more than just that. ~~Peace is a positive and constructive force for good and progress.~~

Peace is the development of a productive economy. Peace is the development and enrichment of human resources.

↳ Peace is an organized society with government and law and order. ↳ Yes, peace is work and jobs and income. Peace is education and training. Peace is health. Peace is the love of life and the pursuit of happiness. Peace is compassion for the elderly and the sick, the love and care of children.

It is to all of these goals of peace that we must direct our energies and resources if the terrible sacrifices of war are to have any meaning at all. ~~In South Vietnam~~ and, indeed, ~~in all Southeast Asia, peace is to be obtained when those who provoke war or are guilty of aggression are brought to realize that there is no profit in war and no gain in violence.~~  Peace will come when those who love peace can prevent the success of aggression and make the price of violence too costly for those who practice it to pay.

So when we speak of peace in Southeast Asia, we are speaking of construction -- not destruction. We are speaking of progress -- not paralysis. We are speaking of schools and textbooks and universities and training institutes. We are speaking of health clinics and hospitals and doctors and medicine. We are speaking of modern agriculture, ~~improved crop production~~, housing and shelter.

Yes, we are speaking of ^{stable}~~viable~~ government, elected government. These are the elements of peace that give meaning to this precious word.

~~Finally, may I add two additional observations~~

As President Johnson stated at Freedom House
in New York, " We can live with anger in word as long
as it is matched by caution in deed "

In achieving these goals,

We have not set ourselves any easy tasks. But
the tasks, and responsibilities, of the most powerful
nation in the history of the earth are not ... cannot be ...
will not be easy.

Let me close by making this prediction : ten or
20 years hence, historians will mark Vietnam as a place
where our nation --- and free peoples --- were faced with
a challenge by totalitarianism .. and where they met the
challenge.

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ASSOCIATION FOR HIGHER EDUCATION

Speech of Vice-President Hubert Humphrey

March 15, 1966
8:00 P.M.
Conrad Hilton Hotel
Chicago, Illinois

Conrad Hilton Hotel
Chicago

ADDRESS BY VICE-PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY

presented at the 21st National Conference on Higher Education sponsored by the Association for Higher Education, National Education Association, on Tuesday, March 15, 1966, at 8:30 p.m., International Ballroom, Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago, Illinois.

VICE-PRESIDENT HUMPHREY: Thank you very much, Mr. President.

Officers of the Higher Education Association and those of the program of this 21st National Conference: I can't recall just exactly the year, Mr. President, that I was here, but I recall it very vividly as the occasion, and I also remember that from that occasion came new impetus for important legislative endeavors that are now the law of the land.

You mentioned the "Food For Peace" and we also discussed, may I say, on that occasion, the program of international education for peace, and in the President's most recent message to Congress on foreign aid the emphasis is upon the development and the use and the conservation of human resources in which a broad program of international education for peace and freedom is at the very base of our new endeavors in foreign

aid. (Applause.)

You see, one learns in politics, patience. You talk about ten years, but we are moving, sometimes almost imperceptibly slow, but we do move.

First, I want to thank you for the opportunity that you have given me to appear at this, your 21st National Conference. I want to say that it didn't take a great deal of persuasion on your part to get me. It was only a matter of being able to allocate the time. For to come in with you is a special joy. I know that I am a refugee from a classroom myself, and because of the precarious nature of political tenure, I always like to keep contacts with you. (Laughter and applause.)

I may be a little rusty, but I say to some of the deans and presidents that are here, but with just a few, little polishing here and there, a little tolerance on your part, and a good salary, I might be interested. (Laughter.) So if you don't want that to happen to you, you know what you can do. (Laughter and applause.)

Yours is a cause which requires no persuasion on my part. Your colleagues, by the way, have been busy infiltrating the highest councils of government in Washington. Each time that I attend a cabinet

meeting I see a vast array of fellow ex-professors, and I find them scattered all throughout Congress.

I don't know whether we should let the word go from this place or whether we should ask our friends of the fourth estate to keep us off the record, but the educators have taken over, so whatever goes wrong, remember that you have, if not direct, indirect responsibility. You cannot disown us. (Laughter.)

Let me show you. Let me just list for you a few of these ex-professors: Dean Rusk, Rhodes scholar and ex-professor; Robert McNamara, Willard Wirtz, Nicholas Katzenbach, John Gardner, Bob Weaver, those are just the top echelon, and when you get down to the deputies and assistants we have several universities on hand at all times.

In the Congress we have a very distinguished majority leader of the United States Senate, a former professor at the University of Montana, Mike Mansfield. Yes, and you have great, distinguished former president of a great state university out here, Bill Fulbright, the Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee; Gale Key from the University of Wyoming, and Carl Elbert, another one of those Rhodes scholars. They

are all over the place down in Washington, and, by the way, they don't all agree. (Laughter.)

Now, these men that I have listed, particularly those in the cabinet, constitute a voting majority, and their zeal for higher education has not diminished one iota because they have left their academic roles.

Then I should add that the President of the United States is also a former teacher, and he likes to say once in a while that he was a school dropout, too, but he came back soon. But he was a teacher in elementary school.

The Vice-President of the United States, when it was difficult to get good teachers, also was a teacher.

So we feel very academic, yet, at the same time, very practical about some of the duties that we perform.

The love of learning -- and that is a beautiful love -- the love of learning has deep roots in our country. It is about as much a part of America as the soil itself.

Thomas Jefferson, as you well remember, was preparing that brief epitaph for his tombstone, chose

as one of the three accomplishments that he wanted to be remembered by, that he was the father of the University of Virginia, and he surely did father a fine institution -- beautiful.

It was Thomas Jefferson who reminded us, and I think it is well for all people who believe in freedom to remember it, that you cannot be both free and ignorant. Possibly the quest for freedom in this world is based more upon education than it is upon any other single force. Since the founding of our nation two ideas were set in motion more forcibly, I believe, than in any other land. The first one was that higher learning must set up no barriers of class or creed, and now, thank goodness, that learning at every stage shall have no barriers because of race or national origin. (Applause.)

The university was to nourish society to which all could aspire.

The second idea was that the university would not be a lonely citadel, isolated from the rest of the community in its ivory tower, sort of serenely tucked away, unmolested by the facts of the day. Its mission, of course, would be the search for truth,

unswayed by temporary passions, and to serve all of mankind, and not merely the rarified ranks of scholars. The university was intended to be and must be and is becoming more and more a partner of the American community. There is a realization now, as never before, that those who are the leaders in our academic life, in our intellectual life, cannot be permitted, nor have they the right, to be self-serving. They must be the servants of truth and of scholarship, yes, but also the servants of the people. And how true this has become in terms of the many great practical problems that confront us in our urban life, as we become a more urbanized society. We need the expert knowledge, the expertise of the technician, of the professor, of the most competent and the most brilliant minds of the university, to work with the people at governmental levels, and in the private sector, to find the answer to these perplexing problems.

So I think I can say right now that there is a new respect for learning. You will hardly find anyone that razzes a man for being a college professor. They are wanted in government and in industry. Now, in other lands the university has been obliged to build

strong walls to guard against the nation's politics. In this country the university has no need of walls except perhaps to prevent the nocturnal prowling of its students or the temporary flight of its professors to the public service or the private sector.

Actually, the gates are wide open and what the university seeks is to have also an open mind on the part of the people that it serves, and no angry mob stands outside of those gates and no serious politician these days wins fame or fortune by seeking to subdue your spirit of inquiry. You can receive a bit of a notorious reputation by trying to squelch the inquiry, freedom of discussion, freedom of dissent, and, rightfully so, because if ever there was a time when there needed to be an openness of mind and heart and a willingness to discuss every conceivable issue, and in the freedom of discussion, it is now.

I had a quotation that I wanted to read from John Stuart Mill. I may have left it back in the hurly-burly of getting ready to come to see you, but, as I recall, Mill had something to say to the effect about dissent, that it was dangerous to try to stifle it lest what you were seeking to stifle might turn out to be

truth, and even if it were not the truth, it still would be an evil to try to stop the discussion of it. That is a poor paraphrasing of it, but what it really says is that a free society must be truly free, freedom of the mind and of the intellect as well as freedom of movement of the person.

This priceless value of interchange between the scholar and the community, between scholar and statesman, has been proven many, many times over. Why, our farmers can tell you a lot about this. The great land grant colleges have been, for all practical purposes, the source of this miracle of American agricultural production; at least, they have made an immeasurable contribution to it.

In more recent years, our race to split the atom, to unleash that great source of energy, to reach the moon, has gained its guiding force from the brainpower of our universities.

The real wealth today of America is in its knowledge and in the ever-increasing flow of information and knowledge and the application of it, and the real power today of the world is in the spiritual power, combined with mind power, brainpower, morality, and

education.

So we list the university as we measure other less spectacular milestones in man's progress. We owe so much to that university: the better knowledge of our economy and our environment, the deeper understanding of the world beyond our shorelines, and, by no means least, the jealous stewardship of that fragile crust of culture and stability which separates mankind from the savage state.

Time after time I have cause to ponder the truth which comes to everyone in public life and which I have heard at least three Presidents say as they faced momentous decisions: The truth is that it is not difficult to do what is right if only there is wisdom to know what is right.

It is in pursuit of learning, in the development of the sensitivity of the intellect, that we find at least an approach to making the judgment that could be classified as wise judgment and wisdom to do what is right. It is upon that truth that rests today the massive Federal commitment to education, and, in particular, to higher education, and that concept is incorporated in the passage of ten measures

of landmark legislation in a little more than twenty years. You know, I must say, in all the time we have been doing this, people have been having arguments about Federal aid to education. I used to say to some of my colleagues, "Let them argue while we pass it," because I was afraid if they stopped arguing we might not pass it, because some people do better than the rest, and while others have argued and pounded the table and thought they were thwarting progress, there were those of us who were behind this smokescreen of fuss and fury that were busily engaged in trying to develop a structure of aid to education that was helpful to the American people.

Now, these measures are included in such things as the G.I. bills of 1944, '52 and now 1966, the programs of student loans and scholarships and work study assistance, the grants and loans that permit our institutions to expand their classrooms and laboratories and dormitories and libraries, the funds for teaching and research, the books and laboratory equipment to enrich the quality as well as the quantity of our universities -- and many of these aids have never come out of the Office of Education.

Why, I look over this audience and I see people here that have contracts with the United States Navy for basic research that has about as much to do with an aircraft carrier and a submarine as a canary does with the moon, but it was important research.

I think of the millions of dollars of grants from the National Institute of Health, yes, of the Weather Bureau, from the Department of Agriculture, the Department of Commerce, and I think of the vast investment by the National Science Foundation, and now, more recently, the program of arts and humanities that some of us worked for for fifteen years.

I am happy to say I introduced the first bill on the arts and humanities and I spent nine years getting the first section passed at the first session of the 88th Congress.

We introduced the first civil rights bills, too, sixteen years before they became law, so if I use the words like "perseverance" from time to time, it is not a theoretical expression. It represents experience and sweat.

I happen to be Chairman of the Space Council, the National Aeronautics and Space Agency, and that

great program of the Space Council has poured billions -- not millions -- billions into American education, because we are not going to get to the moon by just telling yarns and tales about it. We are going to put a man on the moon when mankind has been able to harness basic research, applied research, technology, creativeness and courage.

I would have figured that year might be about late 1969 or 1970, and not much later. We are all going to be around here, I am sure, to find out whether or not Orville Freeman has cheese stored up there for the Department of Agriculture. (Laughter.) I think I can tell you without fear of contradiction we have not used it for storage. (Laughter.)

So for my epitaph I would like to record it that, if you will now bear witness to this, that I labored for the passage of every one of these measures, and I am proud to say that four of the ten have become laws of the land since President Johnson entered the White House.

I don't think there has been a greater -- there has been greater progress in the field of education in a shorter period of time in our history than in

these last two years since 1964. (Applause.)

I have lived a rather full life. My work in public life has been dedicated in large measure to social welfare and education and civil rights. It's also been dedicated to freedom, because all of this is of nothing, means nothing, unless man can live in a free environment.

I see no reason that we shouldn't be concerned about America's commitment to freedom and what we do about it.

Recently you know that I journeyed to nine far eastern and Pacific countries, and about two months before that, four others. I want to say quite frankly that these rather intensive and short journeys, short in time, do not give one depth of knowledge, but they sharpen one's book learning. Oh, how they do bring into reality what you have read or what you think you know.

I want to discuss with you, if you will give me the time now, a few observations on that, from that journey, or those two journeys. Much of this you already know. As a matter of fact, let's face it, education is essentially saturation. Most of us get educated through osmosis. We have to be steeped in it, and we

have to do it by repetition, keep at it.

Now, we have learned a great deal about Europe, because we are a European-oriented people. Our culture is essentially European; therefore, at long last we begin to understand that we cannot isolate ourselves from Europe.

We have learned about half of the world -- not quite half -- about a quarter of it. Recently, we began to learn a little bit about Latin America. At first we thought about it primarily as the siesta, and we talk about Latin America as if it were one country, with one culture, one heritage, one set of rulers.

Within the last ten to fifteen years we began to remember that there are separate republics, with all kinds of problems and different cultures, so it is fair to say that possibly by putting the Western hemisphere with Europe we, at least, have known a good deal about three-eighths of the world -- let's make it half of the world. We know little about Africa, very little, and we know almost as little about Asia.

I don't believe that a world power should have a half world knowledge. (Applause.) I do not believe

that you can justly qualify for the title of leader of freedom or leader of the free nations if you have little or no understanding of a large number of the free nations. This is not to say that we ought to know less about our friends in Europe or Latin America, because we need to know more about them, but it is to say that we need to know more about other areas of the world that no longer are distant places. They are not distant. It takes less time to fly from Washington, D.C. to Saigon now than it took to fly from New York City to Rome at the beginning of World War II, and the journey is much more comfortable and much surer in terms of the ultimate destination.

What was the first observation that came to me -- and you have had it many times -- Asia is astir, it is on fire with the consciousness of the need for Asian initiatives in the solution of Asian problems.

Make no mistake about it, they have to be their initiatives. Regional developments and planning are increasingly becoming recognized as necessary for political and economic progress.

The power of nationalism, which is a real force, is now tempered by the growing realization for

cooperation among nations.

Asians seek to preserve their national identity as they engage in the creation of new international structures, but they want to pursue these aims themselves. Oh, yes, they want our support, they want our backing, they want our foreign assistance, when necessary, but they want to preserve their own personality, their own identity. They do not want domination; they want cooperation.

During my recent mission I was also struck by the depth of feeling amongst all Asian leaders -- and I repeat all Asian leaders -- that Asian communism had directed design on their national integrity and independence. To these people, my fellow Americans, communism is not a subject for academic discussion; it is a matter of life or death, survive or perish.

Almost all of the cited examples of subversion, and in many cases direct military involvement by Communist troops within their countries, almost every leader was able to do that, and none, none of these leaders -- and you can go from Japan to the Philippines, Korea, the Republic of China, to New Zealand, to Australia, South Viet Nam, to Laos, to Pakistan, to

India, to Thailand, you name it -- none questioned our involvement in Viet Nam.

There were questions about certain aspects of our policy. Some wondered whether we were doing enough; others were worried that we might be doing too much, but none were critical of the fact of our presence there and of our resistance to aggression. They seem to understand what is going on.

Thirdly, the American people, as well as their leaders, need to know more and more about the Asia of today, Asia, in general, and Communist China, in particular.

I said recently on the "Meet The Press" telecast, and I shall say a little more about it here, that we must, indeed, with allies and friends and neighbors and some that are not so friendly, like the Soviet Union, seek to contain the military outburst and thrust, the aggressive thrust of Asian communism -- contain it, don't let it gain momentum.

But, at the same time, let us not isolate a total people. It can't be done with any degree of safety and security.

So we need to know about Communist China in

particular, the relationship of that nation with her neighbors in Asia and the Pacific, the nature of Chinese Communist ideology and behavior, because it is different than others, the operational apparatus of the Communist Party under Peking's leadership and influence.

The intellectual and political resources, therefore, not only of this great United States but of the entire free world, should be mobilized for this effort, and I want to say that we'd better start pooling our intellectual resources and our knowledge on this matter before it is too late, (Applause) for it is for this reason that I have commended the Senate Foreign Relations Committee for its hearings on Asia and China, in particular. One of the reasons that we have a Senate that has some responsibility in the field of foreign relations is so that it can do this pioneering. The State Department and the executive officers have to be constantly careful of every word, of every action, but a Committee of the Congress can probe almost fearlessly as long as it does it with a degree of responsibility.

The hearings which are now underway are long overdue, and I think will do a great deal to enlighten

Americans. (Applause)

Now, you wouldn't expect me to speak about Asia if I didn't mention Confucius. Confucius said, "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand." Just put that down in your mental notebook, "If a man take no thought about what is distant, he will find sorrow near at hand."

There isn't any such thing as distance any more. Wendell Willkie called this one world, and he was right, way before his time. But it is a smaller world every day and it is going to be smaller five years from now.

What kind of a world will it be when we have a supersonic plane in five years that travels 2,500 miles per hour, faster than time itself?

So we had better project ourselves into that future. The war in Viet Nam is not far away, and it is far more than Neville Chamberlain had to say when he said these words about Czechoslovakia -- remember that -- he spoke of Czechoslovakia this way at the time of Hitler: "It is a quarrel in a remote country among people of whom we know nothing," and on that day mankind almost perished.

That kind of thinking, as if mankind had no interest in what happened in what he thought was a remote country, Czechoslovakia, about a people that we know nothing of -- well Viet Nam is not a remote country. It is a people about which we know too little. It is a focus of a broader conflict which involves the whole Asian Continent, and it also involves basic principles of international conduct.

I am going to take the time to tell you why. I think we are there in South Viet Nam, not only because of treaties, not only because of honor, as I have heard and you have heard many times -- that, too -- not only because of the integrity of the American commitment, which I believe is the real shield of peace in this world today. (Applause)

I'd like to ask this fine audience to ponder for a few moments tonight what would really happen in Europe if your government were to announce tomorrow morning that no longer would we defend Berlin, and Berlin is 100 miles inside the Communist desert. In terms of geographical position for defense, it is more untenable than Viet Nam, but we defend Berlin not because of Berlin alone, even though Berlin is important,

we defend Berlin because we have made up our minds that aggression cannot be the pattern of international conduct in the Nuclear Age, and we made it crystal clear time after time that we would defend it with our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor, and every time we had to make a decision on Berlin or Cuba or on Turkey or Greece or on Iran, every time we made a decision we ran the risk of all-out war. The fact that it didn't happen is something for which we can be prayerfully grateful. Possibly the reason it didn't happen is because somebody knew it could happen.

There has never been an important decision made by this government in these post-war years that didn't carry with it tremendous risk.

Now, we are in South Viet Nam to repel and to prevent the success of aggression, and no responsible person today denies that there is aggression from the North. We are there to help assure the South Vietnamese people the basic right to decide their own futures freely and without intimidation, and we are there to help these people achieve a better standard of living for themselves and their posterity, and we are there, more importantly, I repeat, than anything about

geography or contemporary zones. We are there to help establish the principle in Asia, as we did in Europe, that in this Nuclear Age aggression cannot be an acceptable means either of settling international disputes or gaining political power or realizing national objectives, and in the other half of the world that has to be understood as well as in the Western world. (Applause)

Every little nation on the face of the earth has a stake in this conflict, because if little nations cannot be safe in the sea of the large nations, if they cannot be safe in the world of the giant, then there is no hope for the future of small nations or world peace.

Seldom has a major conflict started over the open confrontation of a big nation with another big nation. It is generally some smaller nation.

These are some of the reasons that we are in Viet Nam. Now, why are we not there? Well, we are not there to build an empire or to exercise domination over that part of the world or to establish any military bases, and we are not there to impose a government or a way of life on any people, nor are we there to

overthrow any regime or occupy any country or to provoke war with anyone.

I become a little weary when I hear people say, "Well, America should work for peace". I say to you in all reverence, what nation has worked more for peace than this nation? What nation has given more for peace than this nation? This nation has given 168,000 casualties since World War II, and we didn't get one inch of territory. We had 800,000 men in the field of battle in Korea, a far away place and a strange people, they said. What do you think would have been the result if aggression had not been checked there?

Now, I know there are those who would have you believe that what goes in Viet Nam is just a little old civil war, but the Vietcong is not an Asian version of Western social democracy. The Vietcong is part of the National Liberation Front, and the only true word in that sequence of words is "front". It is a front that was created in Hanoi for one purpose, to gain control of South Viet Nam, and so it was stated.

It had three methods to do it: a general uprising, guerilla war, or a coalition government, and they so said.

Twice in recent months the National Liberation Front has tried to demonstrate strength by calling a general strike. It is so, recently, in the "Hate America" week of October of this last year, and it didn't work. There was no popular support, and, contrary to what many people believe, you do not have to have an overwhelming or even a majority support to wage guerilla war. They found that out in Greece and in Malaysia, just to mention a couple of places, and without outside help the overwhelming majority of the people in Malaysia and in Greece would have gone down to Communist oppression, and, without outside help, so would South Viet Nam.

But I can tell you that things are better in South Viet Nam, militarily, than a few months ago, but we ought to be prepared for some difficult days ahead. I believe that we have major reason for major encouragement, and I will tell you why: The fire power of our forces, not just the United States. There are only 220,000 Americans there. There are 660,000 South Vietnamese. Every time you read of an American casualty, read of four South Vietnamese. They have fought this war for years.

There will be approximately 50,000 Koreans out of their little population, 4,500 Australians, some New Zealanders, and I might add that New Zealand and Australia love peace with a passion, but they live in the Pacific, and they have some comprehension of what is going on.

And the Filipinos will be there, too. So, with increased allied strength, with mobility, with fire power, and with high rates of defection in the Vietcong -- as much as 2,000 a month -- with new harbors and roads being opened up for the first time, and logistics improved, with a better command structure, and with a plan of action for the first time, since we have only been there a short time -- a plan of action, carefully premeditated plan of offensive action, things are better militarily.

It is true that there is no substitute for the use of power in the face of determined attack. There are times when it simply has to be used. I don't care whether you are a liberal or a conservative, it has nothing to do with your politics, but the use of military power, necessary as it is, can be counter-productive without accompanying political effort and a

credible promise to a better life for the people.

Modern wars today are both military and political. The peasants of Viet Nam and of Asia want better. They are tired of the old ways. They want security, but, above all, they want justice and hope, something better in the future, and the Communists, in their drive for power, seek to use and subvert the hopes of these people, as they have everywhere. If they succeed, we can win every military battle and still lose the war.

Viet Nam is a rural economy. North and South Viet Nam are not an urban economy, and the struggle will be won or lost out there in those villages, in the rural areas.

We have said it so many times that it has almost become a cliché: The Chinese have a way of saying, "Lots of noise on the stairs but nobody enters the room." Many promises have been made, but few fulfilled, and the hour is late. The people are weary. The need for deeds is urgent. This is why the Vietnamese government, the government of South Viet Nam, with our support, is pressing what I like to call the other war with vigor, and this is a war that you should

be interested in and that I must be interested in, and this is a war that we know how to win hands down, going away, the war against ignorance, illiteracy, poverty, and hunger and disease.

This was the theme of the Declaration of Honolulu, and the tragedy of that declaration was how little impact it had on American public opinion. It makes me wonder and worry. Are we only interested in winning military victories? Are we not interested in helping to build a new nation? Is all that we ever see in our press the pictures of horror, of pain and tragedy, or could we sometimes see the picture of a village that has been rebuilt, or would it be possible to see the picture of young people that have gone out to help the refugees, or would it be possible to see how many schools and hospitals have been constructed?

I think that the Honolulu Declaration represents for the Pacific what the Atlantic Declaration and Charter represented for the Atlantic and Western Europe in the early days of World War II.

The people and the government of South Viet Nam are in earnest in this struggle to win and hold the allegiance of the rural areas. There are 2,600

villages, 11,000 hamlets, and many of them have been subject to Vietcong terror and subversion for years.

Since 1958, my fellow Americans, 61,000 village leaders and government representatives have been assassinated in South Viet Nam by the Vietcong. That is a conservative figure, 61,000.

In 1965, alone, people that went into these villages to teach people how to farm them, teachers, doctors, 354 of the people engaged in rural construction, civilians, noncombatants, were assassinated, and over 500 wounded, and twice as many kidnapped.

I think these figures reveal some of the difficulties that we are going to have in carrying out the social revolution.

I brought home a medal for a young boy who was a member of the International Voluntary Service, who was assassinated trying to teach a little farmer, peasant, how to work his rice paddy, how to do a better job of farming.

Cold-blooded assassination -- I have been told I shouldn't use those words, but I want to tell you when you meet the parents of this young man and you meet his partners, as I did, you feel sick.

Murder is murder. It is one thing to be engaged in war, where men in uniform are ordered to kill, but to be engaged in the works of peace, to teach little children, to show a farmer how to drain his land or irrigate his soil, and then to be stabbed, and to have the village burned and the leader killed, is not my idea of civilized conduct.

Now, Viet Nam has experienced a quarter of a century of this warfare, generations of colonial domination, and a millenium of Mandarin rule, so the task is difficult and to do the job that needs to be done is going to take time. The whole structure will have to be carefully built.

But I am happy to report to my friends of education that there are a number of well-trained and educated high and middle level officials to form the nucleus for this effort.

I have been in many of these countries. You go to some countries and you go to the Ministry of Agriculture and there are two people that have had training beyond high school. That happens in quite a few countries.

You go to Viet Nam and you will find a

hundred or fifty.

You go to the Ministry of Finance in some countries. You are fortunate if you can find one college-trained economist, or a half a dozen.

In Viet Nam you will find fifteen to fifty, not nearly enough from our standards, very, very mediocre, very poor, but there is something to work with.

I think the important thing, though, is to begin, and now the responsibility has been fixed, and the spirit of inertia and corruption is being attacked. There is a determination that the whole chain of social and political action will be conceived and administered with hardheadedness and efficiency.

We are getting in the ministries in Saigon and going right down to the village level, and we are working side by side in every level of government to be a partner in this effort.

The South Vietnamese cadre in hamlets and villages will be doubled by the end of this year, more than 45,000 trained leaders. Why? To fill in the void of the 61,000 that have been killed. And many of those 45,000 will likewise be killed, and not a one of them

will be military people, but they are still outnumbered by the Vietcong activists, so the gap is closing but we are yet behind.

Prime Minister Ky was very candid with me. I don't know how good a leader he is going to be, but he is what they have.

He said these words, and I shall retell it to you. He said, "First of all, the Vietcong has no monopoly upon revolution. They are not revolutionaries, they are oppressors."

He said, "You tell your fellow Americans that the National Liberation Front liberates no one, it enslaves as many as it gets its hands on."

Then he said these words, and I put them down: "Our social revolution, Mr. Vice-President, is twelve years late, but not too late."

He is determined to do something about it.

I went into the areas with him. I went into the slum districts of Saigon, in District 8, where the refugees were in the most unbelievable conditions they have been living, and in District 8, outside of Saigon, the students from Saigon University had created a whole new community themselves, cleaned out an old graveyard,

reburied the remains of those that were there, drained the river, and brought in the sand and the gravel, leveled it out, put in streets, built a school, a community center, a health clinic, built hundreds of little homes themselves, they and the refugees. They were the technicians. They did it before they went to work in the morning and when they came home at night.

They had one little electric plant that was given to them by American aid, one little Delco plant.

I think you should know that after I left District 8 and District 6, that the Vietcong made it their business to punish those areas because the prime minister and the Vice-President of the United States had been there. There were none there but refugees.

Some 800,000 people have fled the Vietcong areas. By the way, you know, I hear many times that the Vietcong is very popular. If they are so popular, why do the refugees all go south? Why is it that there is no flow of refugees to the north?

They can't vote with ballots yet so they are voting with their feet.

The same thing that happened in East Germany, that workers' paradise on the other side didn't seem to

be much of a paradise when the gates are opened. People flooded to the West, and when the battles take place, the refugees, the peasantry never goes north, even though the road runs both directions. They come south.

800,000 in the last half year -- year and a half. 300,000 have already been settled, and there is so much work that needs to be done. In the countryside there are schools and hospitals that are being built, over 5,000 classrooms, 6,000 public health clinics. Half of them have been burned down by the Vietcong.

5,000 students from the university this last summer went out on what they call their summer work projects, their own Peace Corps. It was so successful it has now become a permanent program.

Why don't we read more about this? Why don't we know more about the efforts these people are trying to make?

This isn't our war. We are there as an ally, just as we were an ally to France in World War I and to Britain and to Belgium and to others, and as we were in World War II.

We need to hear a little bit about those who have suffered along with us.

In Saigon a new constitution is now being written by a committee of 80, covering every single element of that population, and national elections are scheduled for 1967, and local elections were held last May, and not a single person that was a Vietcong won.

This is a four-strap (?) effort to help create a new society to replace an old one.

Just yesterday it was, or the day before yesterday, Secretary Gardner led a task force of many top-ranking Americans, including Dr. Stewart, the Surgeon General of the United States, Francis Keppel, the Assistant Secretary of Education, and top educators and doctors and public health officials to go to Viet Nam to help them with specialized training, specialized effort, just as Secretary Freeman did a short time ago in the field of agriculture.

Do you know what I found in other capitals of Asia? They said, "Send us the same team. We need help. We need it desperately," in country after country.

I am happy to tell you that there are good resources with which to work. The land is rich and fertile, the people are industrious and ambitious, and

they are quick to learn new skills, and they are learning. Communications are better, transportation is better, the port facilities are enlarged. There is a real opportunity here to help build a good nation.

Now, my friends, I have taken too much time, and possibly you think that my observations are the product of just a weekend visit to Saigon. They are not. Like yourself, I have been a student, professor, Senator, and Vice-President, and my whole life has been given to the study of international relations and what we call political science. I have read too many books and attended too many meetings and hearings and heard too many witnesses and participated in too many discussions at the highest levels of our government to arrive at any instant solutions to these complex problems or to be naively optimistic about this troubled world. It will be troubled when I am dead and buried and when you are gone, too, but the duty of a man in public life and in any type of position of leadership is to give of his best to help relieve those troubles as best he can.

And, having said this, I have reason, then, to bring home a message of encouragement about Viet Nam,

and I want you to know that we will pursue with patience and perseverance and persistence the difficult course that we have set for ourselves. The course is not one of withdrawal or pretending that there is no problem, nor is it one of massive escalation, but it is one of the measured use of our strength and of perseverance in the defense of both ally and principle.

So the world needs to know that we will remain in Viet Nam until the conditions that permit self-determination are guaranteed and until genuinely free elections can be held, and we will respect the decision of those elections. (Applause)

I, for one, doubt that the South Vietnamese will give an election victory to the Communists. Why do I say that? Because every so often I hear some good soul come to me and say, "Well, if they had a free election in Viet Nam you bet the Communists would win."

My dear friends, they have had free elections the world over and the Communists have yet to win. (Applause)

No Communist government has ever come to power through a free election. I doubt that one ever will. I don't think you win free elections by exalting and

practicing the methods of terror and brutality.

So we are going to pursue and persist, and, as the President has said, the Pledge of Honolulu will be kept and the Pledge of Baltimore stands, too, the pledge to help the men of the North and of Hanoi, to help them with their society, as well as the South, when Hanoi, when the men of Hanoi have the wisdom to be ready.

Peace remains our goal and our objective. The highest achievement of statesmanship and the ultimate goal of civilized people is the attainment of peace, and it is to that end that education and religion are directed, but, regrettably, the history of mankind is one that is filled with violence, war, disaster, yet man continues to reach for the stars, the stars of freedom, of justice, and of peace and of opportunity.

Peace is the absence of war, but peace is more than just that. Peace is not negative; peace is positive. We need to define peace. It is not merely a word or a thought or an attitude. It is that and more.

Peace is the development of the productive economy; peace is the development and the enrichment of human resources; peace is an organized society, with

government and law and order; peace is work, jobs, income; peace is education, training, skills; peace is health; peace is the love of life and the pursuit of happiness; peace is compassion for the elderly and the sick, and the love and the care of children.

That is what peace really means, and it is to all of these goals of peace that we ought to be directing our energies and our resources, if the terrible sacrifices of war are to have any meaning at all.

Peace will come when those who love peace, who talk about peace, who pray for peace, and who ask for peace are willing to prevent the success of aggression and make the price of violence too costly for those who wish to practice it.

So when we speak of peace in Southeast Asia we are speaking of construction and not destruction; we are speaking of progress and not paralysis; we are speaking of schools and of textbooks; we are speaking of you that work there, of universities and training institutes, and we are speaking of health clinics, and we are speaking of doctors and hospitals and medicine; we are speaking of that doctor that left Miami,

Florida, just two weeks ago. I saw his little nine-year-old daughter, and I said, "What does your daddy do?"

She says, "He is a doctor."

I said, "Well, where does he live?"

She said, "Mommy just put him on an airplane. He's going to Viet Nam for three months."

He gave up his practice to go heal the sick. That is peace. That is the kind of peace we ought to be parading for. That is where we ought to be directing our energies.

It is the teacher that leaves his classroom and volunteers to go to Viet Nam or to Laos or to Cambodia or to India or Pakistan, you name it, willing to give up and go and help. That is really practicing peace.

When we speak of peace we are talking about modern agriculture, where we have been able to show them how to double their rice crop, how to be able to produce fine pork, how to have an export, even in onions and garlic, how to irrigate their land, and how to care for their soil. That is peace.

Many nations are helping obtain that peace in Viet Nam -- and of housing and shelter.

Yes, that is what we are speaking of when we talk of peace. We are speaking of stable government, elected government. These are the elements of peace that give meaning to this precious word. Otherwise, this word, my dear friends, is just a word, just another word on a placard, just another word from the lips of a hypocrite.

Peace is life. Peace is progress.

Now, in achieving these goals, and these are our goals, we have set ourselves some mighty difficult tasks, and not a single one of these goals can be achieved without a standard of excellence and a commitment of ourselves now, as in the days of our forefathers, a commitment of our lives, yes, our fortunes, and our sacred honor. That is the way to save all of them, to commit them.

But I happen to believe that the task and the responsibility of the most powerful nation in the history of the earth are not and cannot be, nor were they intended to be, easy tasks. Much has been given unto us and, rightfully, much is expected of us.

So let me close by making this prediction: Ten or twenty years hence historians -- and maybe at

your college -- will mark Viet Nam as a place where our nation and other free peoples stood and were faced with a challenge by totalitarianism, and where, like brave men before them, they met the challenge, and the victory of life and the victory of hope was their prize. Thank you. (Applause)



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