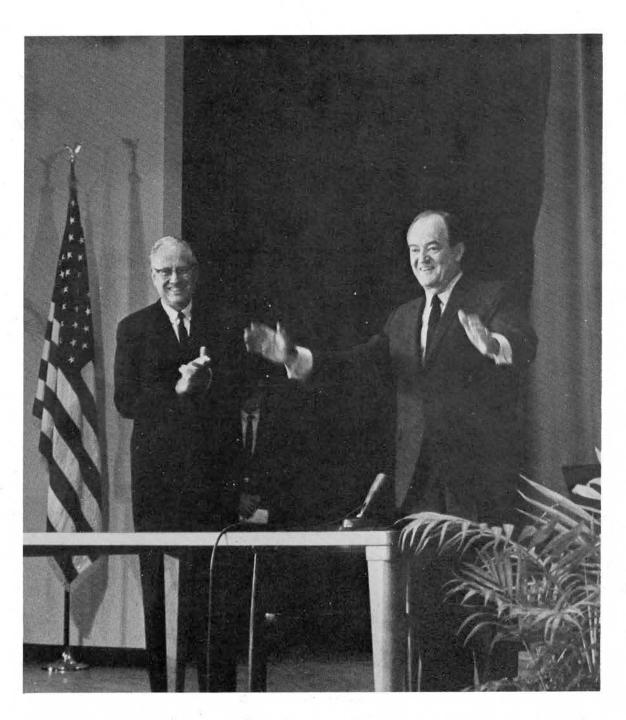
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## THE FURMAN UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE

FALL/1967



A VICE PRESIDENT'S VISIT

### SHADES OF A VICE PRESIDENT!

A t first it seemed it would be a fairly simple thing. The Vice President would visit the campus, talk with students and, maybe, give a formal address. And that would be that.

In retrospect, our attitude seems naive, but then how were we to know? We had never entertained a Vice President!

It all began last winter. A group of students decided to invite Vice President Hubert Humphrey to address the Model United Nations Assembly which would be held at Furman in October. Miss Betty Alverson, director of the Watkins Student Center and adviser to the student group, contacted local alumnus Sapp Funderburk, who is a friend of the Humphreys. On his next trip to Washington Mr. Funderburk visited the Humphreys and told them about Furman and the plans for the UN meeting.

Mr. Humphrey, who is known to enjoy visiting colleges, was enthusiastic about the idea of coming to Furman and promised to see if the trip could be arranged.

In May Furman President Gordon Blackwell wrote to the Vice President, formally inviting him and Mrs. Humphrey to be the guests of Furman for the Model UN session.

In the meantime the Vice President, who is honorary chairman of the National Association for Mental Retardation, was invited to speak at ground-breaking ceremonies of the Mental Health Center in Greenville in September. He decided to combine the two trips, appearing at the ceremonies and also visiting Furman, although this would eliminate his appearance at the Model UN. His office contacted South Carolina Governor McNair's office on August 25 and the Governor's office contacted President Blackwell, informing him that the Vice President would be in Greenville September 20 and 21 and would be Furman's guest during part of that time.

Then began a series of telephone calls between the Governor's office, the Vice President's office and Furman to try to determine just what the Vice President's schedule in Greenville would be. Cordell Maddox, director of University Relations at Furman who was in charge of arrangements for the Vice President's visit on campus, talked four times with Martin J. McNamara, special counsel to the Vice President, and during one call the Vice President also came on the line.

At various stages of planning the Vice President was invited to speak at the Thursday morning convocation, to speak informally with students in the student center, to attend a special breakfast, to attend a special luncheon, to eat with students in the dining hall, to spend the night with the Blackwells, and to spend the night in a suite in the Women's Residence Halls.

On September 13, one week before his scheduled arrival in Greenville, the Vice President's plans were announced. He would be on a very tight schedule, we were told. He would attend a Cabinet Meeting in Washington until 2:00 p.m. Wednesday, September 20, board the Vice Presidential jet and land at the Greenville Municipal Airport at 3:15. He would be Furman's guest from the time he stepped off the plane until about 6:00 p.m., when he would go to the Poinsett Hotel to rest before attending a private dinner that night. (The next day he would spend his time with local Democratic party officials and at the ground-breaking ceremonies before returning to Washington.)

Plans were made quickly at Furman. It was decided that the Vice President should be asked to give a 20-minute talk, then answer questions from a panel of students and professors and, finally, answer questions from the audience. The dining hall, which holds about 1,000 people, seemed the best place for his appearance since it is well lighted and would allow the Vice President to be closer to students than would the more formal set-up in McAlister Auditorium. The 80-piece Furman University Band would play as the Vice President entered.

Almost as soon as the Vice President's final plans were announced, secret service agents began to appear on campus. On Friday, September 15, advance representatives of the Vice President's office arrived in Greenville and set up headquarters at the Poinsett Hotel. That night they were joined by three members of the Governor's staff, who were also to help with the arrangements.

Friday afternoon Cordell Maddox met with several advance representatives and secret service men.

He reviewed Furman's plans for the visit with them

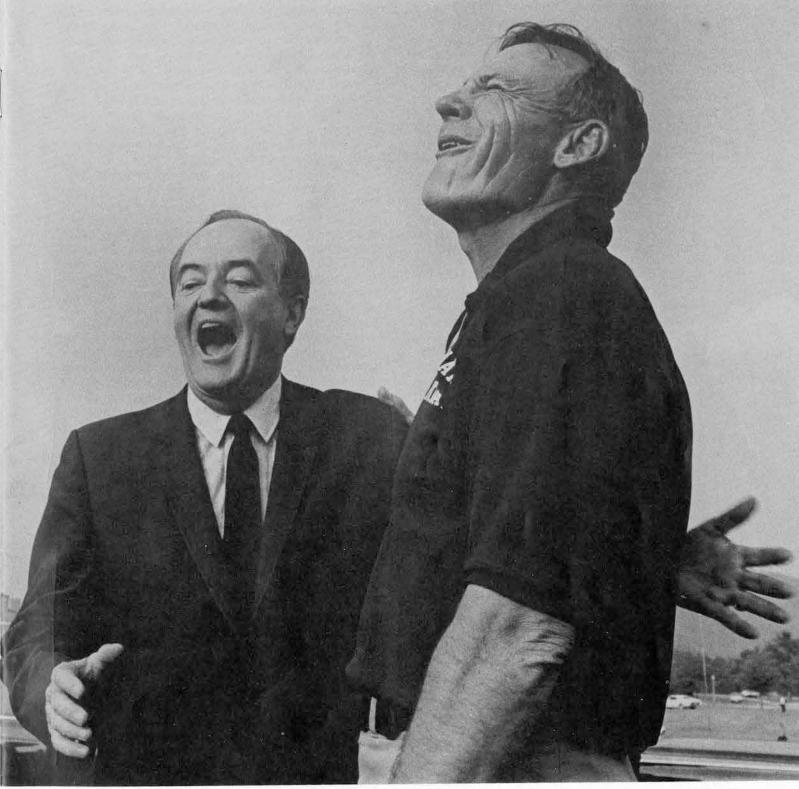
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#### THE FURMAN UNIVERSITY MAGAZINE

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Cordell Maddox '54, DIRECTOR OF UNIVERSITY RELATIONS / Marguerite Hays '54, EDITOR



Coach Bob King and the Vice President whoop it up!

UPI NEWSPICTURES

and showed them around the campus. They assured him that, above all, they wanted this to be Furman's "show," but there were certain customary arrangements that must be made. They strongly recommended that the site of the Vice President's talk be changed from the dining hall to the auditorium for security reasons and because the auditorium would hold more people.

On Saturday morning a coordinating meeting for the Vice President's entire Greenville visit was held at the hotel. Saturday afternoon representatives and security people went over the campus again.

On Monday morning Mr. Maddox met with the representatives to go over a check list of everything that must be done. That afternoon he called a meeting of faculty, staff members and students who would be involved in the preparations, including Vice President and Dean Francis Bonner, Dean of Students Ernest Harrill, Director of the Fine Arts Division DuPre Rhame, Police Chief Thomas Chiles, Director of the Physical Plant Tyler Seymore, Director of the News Bureau Ann Davey, Student Body President Otis Wilson and others.

A VP representative met with the group and ran over a list of details that needed to be taken care of. The list included provision of a dressing room and drinking water for the Vice President, the correct height of the lecturn (41 inches in front and 44 inches in back) and security information about employees who would be working in the auditorium on the day of the program. He asked if a tape of the entire proceedings could be furnished the Vice President's office within two days after the program. The group also discussed the number and position of microphones needed on stage and in the audience, seating on stage, lighting, etc. Wayne Seel, the Governor's press secretary and a Furman alumnus, announced that at least eight television stations would be filming the event in color and that adequate electrical facilities must be available. He said that WFBC-TV had been asked to furnish a video tape to NBC for use on a "special."

Arrangements for the band to sit on stage behind the Vice President seemed to disturb the representative, but he finally approved the plan since there was no other place for the band to sit.

The next day was one of frantic preparation. The entire maintenance crew seemed to be in action on the front campus. All the lawns were mowed, the shrubbery cut, the floors waxed. Carpenters and electricians worked all day and past midnight constructing a platform for television cameras over a section of the seats in the auditorium and installing a special electrical drop to provide 12 outlets for sound cameras and microphones. That night WFBC-

TV cameramen made three tests of the quality of the sound on their equipment, returning each time to the television studio downtown to play back the recording.

Although Wayne Seel acted as coordinator of news media for the Vice President's entire visit, the Furman News Bureau was responsible for getting advance information to newspapers and TV and radio stations concerning the program at Furman. Mrs. Davey spent Monday afternoon and part of the night calling about 30 newspapers and stations to tell them of last minute program changes.

Mike Chertok, director of alumni activities, took charge of arrangements to tape the program for the Vice President's office, supervising the installation of two tape recorders in the "crow's nest" in the auditorium. Two would be safer than one, he reasoned, in case either developed technical difficulties.

Wednesday morning was deceptively quiet. Secret service men seem to appear one by one in unobtrusive positions around the campus. An Army demolition team from Atlanta arrived with a geiger counter and "swept" the auditorium. A newly arrived secret service contingent announced that the band could not sit behind the Vice President and ordered their chairs removed from the stage. Later, this arrangement was again approved and the band sat on stage.

By noon cars were beginning to arrive at the auditorium, and TV cameramen started to set up their equipment. Newsmen began to pour in and, at last count before the program, 81 reporters, photographers and cameramen had received press credentials. This number did not include student photographers.

The afternoon was perfect. The temperature climbed into the low 80's, and the sky was a deep blue. A light breeze scattered the spray from the fountains in a fine mist over the entrance to the auditorium.

Although the program was not to begin until 4:00, a few students who obviously wanted a good view of the Vice President began to fill up the front seats as early as 2:00. One gentleman who arrived about that time and sat among the students brought a newspaper which he read for the next hour and a half. By 3:15 students and people from the community were streaming into the auditorium. Many parents brought their children to get a glimpse of a real Vice President. A troop of boy scouts came in full uniform. (They were later thrilled almost speechless when the Vice President shook hands with each one.)

At five minutes until 4:00 the Vice President and his party arrived in a convoy of five limousines escorted front and back by about six South Carolina Highway Patrol cars. Riding in the car with the Vice President were Dr. Blackwell, who had met him at the airport,

and Governor McNair, who had flown with him from Washington. The Vice President was escorted to his dressing room, and the rest of the party, consisting of about 25 people, including Lieutenant Governor John West, U. S. Representative William Jennings Bryan Dorn, and Dr. Eugene Proctor, chairman of the Furman Board of Trustees, were led to reserve seats at the front of the auditorium.

The band struck up an enthusiastic version of "National Emblem." At its conclusion Dr. Ernest Harrill, Dean of Students who was to act as panel moderator, and the panel members took their seats on stage.

After a short wait, a signal was given and the band played "Minnesota Rouser" as the Vice President and Dr. Blackwell walked out on stage. Members of the audience rose to their feet and applauded long and enthusiastically. The Vice President was visibly pleased.

After a brief introduction by Dr. Blackwell, Vice President Humphrey began to speak. He spoke eloquently — like the orator he is — the professor of political science, mayor of Minneapolis, senator from Minnesota, the Vice President, who has made many, many speeches. The audience scarcely stirred during his 45-minute speech, except to applaud.

At the beginning of his speech the Vice President mentioned that he intended to go to the football practice field later in the afternoon and talk with the players. At these words, the secret service agents, who had not known of these plans, went into action. Several agents were dispatched, with Cordell Maddox as guide, to check out the route to the football field.

By the time Mr. Maddox returned to the auditorium, another crisis had developed. One of the aides had realized that the Vice President did not have any water on stage. "He must have some water to drink



Cordell Maddox averts crisis.

when he sits down," the aide exclaimed in horror. "Why isn't there any water on the table?" Mr. Maddox explained that he had followed carefully the instructions of the secret service. He had been told to furnish the agents two pitchers of water and eight glasses. They, in turn, would decide which pitcher and which glass the Vice President would use. Mr. Maddox gave the prescribed pitchers and glasses to the agents who took them all into the Vice President's dressing room where they still were, evidently. Mr. Maddox and the aide rushed downstairs to the dressing room, but they were barred from entering it by a secret service agent. His orders were to let no one enter the room containing the Vice President's personal effects in his absence. Nor could he enter himself. So the water remained in the room.

Mr. Maddox found another pitcher and two glasses in another room. He filled the pitcher at the backstage sink, and the Vice President drank luke warm tap water when he finished his speech.

During the prolonged applause following his answer to the last question, the Vice President walked over and shook hands with the members of the panel and with some of the students in the band. Outside the auditorium he was surrounded at once by a crowd, and he shook hands with as many people as he could. He and his party drove to the football field and talked about ten minutes with the boys and Coach King. Then the convoy headed back for town along a route lined with Highway Patrolmen and city police.

In many ways it was an amazing and thrilling experience for those who were present. Everyone seemed to enjoy the occasion — students, faculty, children, adults and the Vice President. One young secretary, whose husband is a Furman student, said, "I don't know exactly what it was . . the band . . or the color . . or the Vice President. But I was so excited tears came in my eyes."

There was no hint of unpleasantness — no sign of any anti-Vietnam War or anti-administration demonstration. The people welcomed Mr. Humphrey with great warmth — as the Vice President of the United States. And he spoke to them as their Vice President.

If the cloak and dagger activities of the secret service seemed incongruous on that beautiful September afternoon at Furman, they were more than justified by the rough treatment the Vice President has received on a few college campuses and by the unbelievable tragedy in Dallas in 1963.

But looking at it strictly from a college public relations office point of view, one wonders: if all this was necessary for the Vice President to visit Furman, what must have happened when Kosygin and President Johnson met at Glassboro.

Editor

"Real power is no longer equated merely with weapons systems," said Vice President Humphrey at Furman in September. "Real power is the power of the spirit and the mind."



# The Purpose of Education

### BY HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN a great university and an ordinary one, a great nation and an ordinary one, a great person and just another person is the ability, the desire and the will to do the impossible.

We Americans have been doing it all of our history. That is why we are what we are. Of course, we have had our failures. The American experiment is not based on any doctrine and dogma. It was not conceived or blueprinted in the mind of a Karl Marx. It was conceived by people who believed in what they called our "unalienable rights"—people who saw the human being as the center of God's creation, who understood that human dignity springs from the spiritual nature of man.

It is because of this basic philosophy—which we have held since the beginning of our nation—that we put so much emphasis upon the education of our people. Thomas Jefferson once said that a people cannot be both ignorant and free. We had to make up our minds whether we wanted to be ignorant and remain enslaved by our prejudices and our lack of understanding, or whether we wanted to be free. If we wanted to be free, we had to be educated.

Therefore, we pour into education funds from many sources—federal, state, local, private, church, fraternal, corporate, individual. It is in education we now find the real power of this republic. Power is no longer equated merely with weapons systems. Real power is essentially the power of the spirit and the power of the mind—intellectual power, brain power, moral power. That is what makes for a great nation.

Thomas Huxley once said, speaking of America's bigness and material resources, that: "The great issue . . . is what you are going to do with all those things."

What will we do with our wealth? Our science? Our technology? Our learning? What will we do with our power?

I sat in the Cabinet meeting this noon and listened to the Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers tell of the renewed growth in our gross national product and in our personal incomes.

In fact, this nation of 50 states produced last year almost a third of all that was produced in the entire world, with less than six percent of its population.

We are powerful. We are rich. But the question is: What will we do with our power and wealth? That will be the test of our greatness.

What have we already done? I do not believe that

you prove yourself to be a scholar or even an informed commentator just by constantly listing the inadequacies of the American system. We have our limitations and our weaknesses. We know them so well we don't really need to have anybody tell us about them.

I do not say that we should cover up those weaknesses. I do not believe we should abridge the right of discussion and dissent. Of course, we need freedom of petition and freedom of the press. But freedom carries with it grave responsibilities. Above all, it carries with it the responsibility for a balanced presentation.

I will put it to you succinctly. America is not what is is today because the government of the United States did nothing but make mistakes. The leadership of this country has not always been wrong. America is what it is because we had the willingness to experiment. Franklin Roosevelt once said, "Try it—and, if it doesn't work, admit it and try something else." We are what we are because we have been essentially explorers. We are all trying to find new and better ways to do things.

The most remarkable achievement of this country is that we have been willing to admit our weaknesses and draw strength from that admission. It is only the strong who can ever afford—and are willing— to admit their limitations. The sign of our strength is our critical self-analysis—not for the purpose of mere criticism, but for the purpose of redirection of our lives individually or as a nation.

What then should be the purpose of a college education? To get information? If it is, students are wasting their time. They can get more information out of one copy of the *World Almanac* than they will get out of four years at Furman, and it will cost them a dollar. Then they can throw it away and get a new one next year.

The purpose of education is to learn how to get meaning out of life. It is for the enrichment of life—drawing from every experience the maximum of satisfaction, the maximum of understanding, and thereby developing the individual's talents and intellectual sensitivity. It is for the enrichment of the soul.

That is why a liberal arts education is so important, even for a scientist, a doctor, or an engineer. We are not just scientists, doctors, or engineers. We need the humanities and the fine arts. We need them so that we can, in a very real sense, curb the beast in man and bring out some of the angel.

I know young people today are a bit discouraged













with the older generation. One young person said to me the other day, "You're just too old. You don't understand us." I have three sons and a daughter, so I've heard that even closer to home. I said to that young person, "I'm really not older than you—not at all. I've just been around a little longer."

Age is not related to chronology. I have seen young people who at 19 should have been collecting social security. They did not have a new idea. All they wanted to think about was the past.

Youth is not measured by the calendar. Youth is a spirit, an attitude of mind. It is being, as young people put it, "where the action is." I have seen some people—65, 70, 75—who know where the action is, and they have a piece of it!

I know some young people feel that the Establishment has let them down. Well, this has always been the case. I thought the Establishment that I entered had let me down. That was good, because we ought to want to improve it. We have no right to inherit something and then not add anything to it. We cannot just live off the interest and the dividends, nor should we draw upon the principal. We should add to our inheritance, and that may mean change.

The question is what kind of change—orderly or disorderly? In America we have developed the orderly process of change through petition, free speech, meetings, political protests, elections—but not through violence nor lawlessness. Violence and lawlessness do not bring about change; they bring about destruction. Change should be for constructive purposes, not for revenge.

Let me tell you what I think about young people. I think they are very much alive and very much concerned. I think they are greatly disturbed sometimes by what they see and by the environment in which they live. I also think they are very refreshing. They make us think.

Our young people today are not merely indulging in bitter and destructive criticism. They are volunteers. Last year over a quarter of a million college students volunteered to work with community action programs, social agencies, private agencies, and local governments—free. Over 75 Furman students did this type of work right here in Greenville. There is more political participation among young people than ever before, and more social consciousness.

When I hear people say this generation has no patriotism, my answer is that our military leaders have said repeatedly that the finest troops they have ever commanded are the troops they command today in Vietnam. Without a doubt, they are the best-trained, healthiest, most capable, most competent, and the least complaining.

So I salute this younger generation. But I remind them they have got a lot of work to do. And I remind them of this: There will be more changes in the next 33 years than in the past thousand.

In my work in the fields of space and oceanography, I get a glimpse of the future, at least in science and technology. I know that we are going to mine the ocean floors exactly as we mine the mountains. We are going to take food from the ocean to overcome the protein deficiency among the hungry people of the world. There will be great discoveries of gold in the estuaries of rivers. Rich deposits of minerals, oils and fuels are yet to be tapped at the bottom of the sea.

We may learn something about controlling the weather as we explore space and the depths of the ocean. Communication satellites in the next ten years will bring the leading professors of the world in closed circuit television to this campus. Instead of a teacher, there will be a large screen, and on that screen will be professors from Tokyo, Rome, Paris, London, Calcutta, and New Delhi.

Within the next decade we will not only have landed a man on the moon—we may have a base there, where scientists will work. In the next five years we will have laboratories orbiting around the earth. I said to George Meany, president of AFL, the other day, "You fellows are going to have to thin down a little bit, you construction workers, if you're going to get up there and put those things together in space, or we're going to have to get a bigger booster."

But truly, orbiting laboratories are not merely dreams of the future. It's just a matter of putting them together.

We are beginning to unlock the innermost secrets

of the human cell. We will transplant human organs and construct artificial ones. We may even achieve the creation of artificial life. At one of our great laboratories less than a year ago, I saw scientists working on a radioisotope battery so small you could hardly see it that will have enough energy to keep a defective heart palpitating for five years.

This is what the future offers. But what about man? What will he do? The trouble is he may kill himself off unless he can infuse ethics into politics. Man has discovered how to split the atom, how to release its fantastic energy for destructive purposes. He can literally obliterate himself. But man who created this terrible instrument of destruction can put the atom to work to save lives. It is being done in science and medicine. It is just a question of whether we have the will to pursue that nobler course.

Thomas Jefferson said in the Declaration of Independence that our purposes were life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness, and he and his associates went so far as to pledge their lives, their fortunes and their sacred honor to the achievement of those lofty purposes. This nation is dedicated to peace, peace in the fullest sense of the word—not just the absence of war but the kind of peace that releases the energies of mankind. We are dedicated to opportunity in freedom. College students, above all, should understand this.

We have come to a point of departure now in our national life. For years we thought of the unfortunate as objects of charity. We have dealt in the concept of welfarism, because we are a compassionate people. We do not want people to starve when there is food to feed them. We do not want people to be sick when there is medicine to heal them.

But there is something beyond welfare, and I believe we are at the point now where we seek, above all, to give dignity to human existence. Dignity is not enhanced by welfare; dignity is enhanced by opportunity. Dignity takes on meaning when a man has self-respect, and he gains self-respect through self-help. I believe America has entered a period of its national history when our ultimate goal in freedom is a state with opportunity for everybody.

Thomas Wolfe put it this way: "To every man

his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To every man the right to live, to work, to be himself, and to become whatever thing his manhood and his vision can combine to make him. This is the promise of America."

That is what an education is for: to give you your chance. It is not to guarantee you smooth sailing, a safe harbor, nor to guarantee you a life of ease and luxury, but to give you a chance. I think that is what America is for: not just to give a chance to one ethnic group, not just to whites or blacks, not just to someone who comes from a leading family and not just to someone from an unknown family, but to every man his chance

That is what we are trying to do. That is what government is about, that is what industry is about, that is what universities are about. We may stumble; we may falter. At times our vision may be blurred, but we have not lost sight of our objective. Our objective is a fair chance for all the children of this earth.

A young person who graduates from a great university has a greater obligation to the fulfillment of that high ideal than anyone else, because he has been given so much. His college education is never paid for by his tuition alone. Who knows what it would cost to buy the writings of the great writers and the paintings of the great artists? How could one student ever pay for the library and the books that are in it? How could he ever pay for William Shakespeare or Leonardo da Vinci or Michelangelo? How could he ever pay for the Scriptures?

Those of us who have a college education owe much to the rest of the community. We are a minority. We are of the few who have been privileged to have a higher education. We must make the most of it. When we share its fruits, when we share the richness of that experience with others in our community, we give nothing away. In fact, the more we give, the more we have. I believe that ought to be one of the great and simple lessons of education.

As I have said many times, I still feel that I am a student. If I live to be 100, maybe I can start to pay back on principal; until then I will be paying just the interest on what my own education has given me.

Are South Vietnamese soldiers doing their share of the fighting? After his formal address, Mr. Humphrey answered this and other questions asked by students and professors.

RON McKINNEY: I would like to ask a question regarding the degree of fighting borne by American troops in Vietnam. President Kennedy once said that in the final analysis, it's their war and they have to win it or lose it. In 1964 Secretary McNamara said that he thought that it would be a mistake for us to assume the major responsibility for fighting the war. Yet, recent reports indicate that there is as much, or more perhaps, corruption and inefficiency in the South Vietnamese army as there was when they were fighting alone and losing. Another report said that nearly all American losses came about in offensive actions, and there seems some indication that the Vietnamese like to fight in the dautime but quit at sunset and they only fight five and a half days a week. Would you comment on the apparent conflict between the objective of letting the Vietnamese fight for themselves and the actual situa-

THE VICE PRESIDENT: Yes, I'll be happy to, as I think what you have said is the view of some people.

First of all, South Vietnam has been at war since 1940. South Vietnam did not start this present struggle. It was the victim of Viet Cong attack which was purportedly "indigenous" Communist guerrila warfare.

South Vietnam has a French heritage. You've often heard of French leave. That meant you just went over the hill. The French soldiers didn't do that, but colonial troops that were trained by the French did, and the French never worried about it because they

didn't need them most of the time. The troops got accustomed to going back and harvesting the rice, going back to see the folks, and for a period of time they even brought their women and children along with them. But in this kind of war that doesn't work out too well.

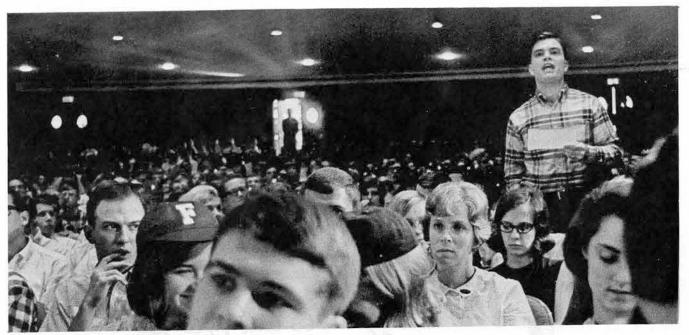
What about the South Vietnamese army? It has good units and bad units. It has the regular forces and the provincial forces. Provincial forces are much like our national guard—a local militia, not as well trained, but performing a vital service of protection. Not a village in Vietnam would be safe without defensive forces because of the Viet Cong. Who knows who they are? The man in the daytime who seems like your friend is the man who at night blows up your village. You must ferret out the Viet Cong, dig them out, one by one. That's as dangerous as being on the front line. There are no front lines in Vietnam.

So when you hear that a large number of Vietnamese forces are on the defensive side of the battle, that is right. They are so instructed. There are American forces in the northern part of Vietnam doing the same thing — protecting the area which has been secured.

General Walt, commander of the Marines in the area up along the Demilitarized Zone who has just returned from Vietnam, told me less than a month ago in my office that he could not believe that he had been in Vietnam from what he read. He said that some

Mr. Humphrey shakes hands with the panel at the end of the program.





Junior Johnny Mostiler asks the Vice President a question from the audience.

of the most gallant men in that struggle—as gallant as any Marine—were Vietnamese. He said, "My task was to keep them from being entirely too reckless in their courage."

Do the Vietnamese fight at night? Some do, some don't. But an increasing number do. The reason some of them don't is that the minute they get beyond the perimeter of their village they are slaughtered, and they don't like to die—like most other people.

But there are some very brave troops. Have you ever read anything about the Koreans? The Koreans are doing a masterful job. Do you realize that their rate of fatalities is almost twice ours?

Have you read about the Australians lately? When did you last read about the Australians whipping the Viet Cong? Our reporters are in there to cover Americans, but this isn't an American war. This is an allied war. We're involved because we're a great nation. If you want to be a leader, you had better be prepared to take the heat. As Harry Truman said, "If you can't take the heat, get out of the kitchen."

We didn't try to become the greatest military power on earth; we came out of World War II that way. I wonder how many people have given any thought to what kind of world this would be if we hadn't been leading. What kind of world would this be if Harry Truman hadn't told Joseph Stalin to get out of Iran? What if Mr. Truman hadn't had the courage to face up to the Communists in Berlin? What if John Kennedy hadn't told Mr. Khrushchev to get his missiles out of Cuba? That was a dangerous moment.

What if we hadn't gone to Korea? That was an unpopular war. Harry Truman's public opinion rating was 26 percent in 1951. Ten years ago Korea was

called America's hopeless mess. Today Korea is a success story. They are our staunchest ally.

So I'm saying to you the price we've had to pay is high. We've lost almost 50,000 men dead in battle since World War II, and almost 200,000 wounded.

We've got some staunch allies, and we're not being let down in Vietnam. I think the only way we'll lose in Vietnam is if we lose in America. If I were Ho Chi Minh and were reading what is said in high places in the Congress, in private life and at universities, I'd think this country is beginning to crack up. But we're not going to. If we stick with it we'll get closer to the peace every day.

We're making progress in constitutional government in Vietnam, the election of the constituent assembly to the election of a president. And it wasn't a fraud. It wasn't a hoax.

Let's give the Vietnamese a chance. They're fighting for their lives. We're their allies. We've put our reputation on the line. Make no mistake about it, the only real shield of peace in this world is the integrity of the American commitment.

The day we go back on our promises, our commitments, all bets are off. Who do you think can keep a commitment, if we can't? Who can help the poor, if we can't? Who can help the weak, if we can't? Who can man the ramparts of freedom, if we can't. If you think it through, you'll know what the answer is. Whether we like it or not, we have a heavy responsibility. If we stay with it, history will note that we were a great people, that we weren't willing to settle for a world of tyranny. Instead, we were willing to put up a fight for a world of freedom in the hope that it might become a reality.

Summer, 1967



Low me Mair SINCE THIS IS THE FIRST WEEK OF SCHOOL, I WANT TO EXTEND A SPECIAL WELCOME TODAY TO MY FELLOW FRESHMEN, AND TO DIRECT MY REMARKS TO THEM. I KNOW YOU ARE SUPPOSED TO BE THE BIGGEST AND BEST CLASS EVER TO ARRIVE ON THE FURMAN CAMPUS. BUT LET ME TELL YOU THAT I, FOR ONE, AM RESERVING JUDGEMENT UNTIL THE BASKETBALL SEASON IS UNDERWAY. "Best" around here means Frank Selvy and over 100 points IN ONE GAME -- AND THAT IS SOME RECORD TO MATCH Tootball-Bob King (coach) urman won first 2 games) I DON'T MEAN TO BURDEN YOU WITH MY ADVICE

TODAY. YOU HAVE A SURPLUS OF ADVISERS AND COUNSELORS,

I AM SURE.

I ONLY OFFER THIS: PLEASE DO NOT OVERLOOK THE FACT THAT THE SOCIETY IN WHICH YOU FIND YOURSELVES, BOTH HERE ON THIS CAMPUS AND IN THE UNITED STATES AT LARGE, HAS BEEN IN EXISTENCE, GROWING AND CHANGING, FOR SOME TIME.

That does not mean our society is perfect.

But it does mean that there is a certain

AMOUNT OF MOMENTUM -- A CERTAIN NUMBER OF FACTS AND

FORCES-IN-BEING -- WHICH YOU ARE GOING TO HAVE TO TAKE

INTO ACCOUNT AS YOU BEGIN TO TAKE OVER RESPONSIBILITY FOR IT.

I DON'T NEED TO ENUMERATE THE WEAKNESSES AND FAILURES OF THE OLDER GENERATION. ( Home your don't know

PICK UP ANY NEWSPAPER AND YOU WILL FIND PLENTY

OF EVIDENCE: CONFLICT AND TENSION ... BILLIONS SPENT

ON ARMAMENTS THROUGHOUT THE WORLD ... ABUNDANCE IN

SOME PLACES, STARVATION IN OTHERS ...

INJUSTICE AND INEQUITY BY THE CARLOAD.

BUT THERE ARE SOME THINGS TO BE POINTED OUT,

TOO, ON THE POSITIVE SIDE -- ALTHOUGH WE DON'T READ

SO MUCH ABOUT THEM.

TAKE PROSPERITY.

WHEN I WAS IN COLLEGE, AND AFTERWARDS

MANY AMERICANS -- INCLUDING YOUNG HUBERT HUMPHREY -- WERE FLAT BROKE. Now MOST AMERICANS ARE PROSPEROUS.

THERE ARE A LOT OF PEOPLE WHO THINK WEALTH

HAS MADE US DECADENT. THE YOUNG ACCUSE THE OLD OF

LIVING IN A SPLIT-LEVEL, TELEVISION, CRAB-GRASS SUBURBIA.

THE OLD ACCUSE THE YOUNG OF WASTING MONEY ON CARS AND CLOTHES. THERE IS PROBABLY SOME JUSTICE TO BOTH ACCUSATIONS.

BUT MEANWHILE, THAT SAME PROSPERITY IS

ENABLING THIS COUNTRY TO DO THINGS IN DEDUCATION, HEALTH

AND DEVELOPMENT OF HUMAN RESOURCES WHICH WE NEVER DREAMED OF BEFORE.

How long has it been since you heard of an epidemic of polio or smallpox? How many of you have scholarships?

But even so, I don't think we have yet done

ENOUGH WITH OUR PROSPERITY.

THEN THERE IS PUBLIC PARTICIPATION. RIGHT

HERE IN THIS AUDIENCE THERE ARE SOME OF THOSE OVER-30"

SUBURBANITES WHO HAVE JUST DEVOTED A DAY TO CONSIDERING NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND LOCAL PLANNING FOR THE 1980'S.

THIRTY YEARS AGO, THEY WOULD PROBABLY HAVE BEEN TOO BUSY TRYING TO SCRATCH OUT A LIVING TO MEET ALL, MUCH LESS ON SUCH A PROGRESSIVE AND FAR-SIGHTED SUBJECT.

LOOK AT THE CAMPUSES THEMSELVES. THERE IS

VERY CLEARLY A NEW SPIRIT OF INVOLVEMENT AMONG THE

STUDENTS STUDENTS ALL OVER AMERICA WANT A GREATER

ROLE IN RUNNING THEIR UNIVERSITIES -- AND I THINK

IN MANY CASES THEY SHOULD HAVE IT.

OUR YOUNG PEOPLE ARE GOING OUT INTO THE

Service Service

COMMUNITY TO TACKLE SOME OF THE MOST BASIC SOCIAL

PROBLEMS THAT FACE US TODAY. - Contributed Total 7 150 hrs
LOUK to Jocal Community

WHEN I WAS IN COLLEGE I WENT OUT INTO THE

COMMUNITY AND WORKED BEHIND THE COUNTER OF MY FATHER'S

DRUGSTORE -- AND ELSEWHERE - TO PAY MY SCHOOL BILLS.

I LEARNED SOMETHING ABOUT CHEMISTRY AND SOMETHING

ABOUT LIFE, BUT I AM VERY SURE I DID NOT LEARN AS

MUCH AS THE 75 FORMAN STUDENTS WHO DEVOTED THEIR TIME

LAST YEAR TO THE SOCIAL WELFARE AGENCIES IN GREENVILLE.

THEIR EXPERIENCE IN SLUM SCHOOLS, WITH

HOMELESS KIDS, WITH OLD PEOPLE WHOSE REWARD FOR A

LIFE OF WORK IS POVERED HIM WILL BE AN INVALUABLE

ASSET WHEN IT IS THEIR TURN TO APPLY THE FRUITS OF

OUR PROSPERITY WHERE THEY ARE NEEDED MOST.

Place Corp VISTA not Teacher Corps

THE INTENSE SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY THAT

MOTIVATES THOSE STUDENTS -- AND THE PEACE CORPS

VOLUNTEERS, THE VISTA VOLUNTEERS, THE YOUNG TEACHERS

WHO JOIN THE TEACHER CORPS -- IS ONE OF THE GREATEST

ASSETS YOUR GENERATION HAS.

THE POINT IS THIS: YOU WILL FIND A LOT IN AMERICAN SOCIETY, AND IN THE WORLD, THAT IS WRONG. FIND THOSE WEAKNESSES. POINT THEM OUT. CONDEMN THEM. BUT DON'T STOP THERE, BECAUSE A PURE HEART AND RHETORIC ARE NOT GOING TO ELIMINATE THOSE EVILS MAKE A REALISTIC ASSESSMENT OF YOUR ASSETS --PROSPERITY, INVOLVEMENT, THE GENERALLY POSITIVE DIRECTION IN WHICH MANY FEATURES OF OUR SOCIETY ARE ALREADY MOVING THESE ASSETS ARE GREATER THAN EVER BEFORE. THE REAL TEST BEFORE YOU IS TO RECOGNIZE THOSE ASSETS AND USE THEM TO CURE THE SOCIAL ILLS WHICH ARE STILL AMONG US, AND USE THEM AS SOON AS YOU CAN.

Now I'D LIKE TO HEAR FROM YOU.

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# FURMAN UNIVERSITY QUESTIONS - //

DR. SCOTT PYRON: In terms of long-range commitments domestically, in her book, The Rich Nations and the Poor Nations, Barbara Ward has suggested that we face a growing crisis in the world due to the increasing gap between the poor nations and the rich nations of the world. In light of her suggested remedies, I have two related questions about our foreign policy. (1) Has the United States, to use your phrase, domestically, a broad long-range goal and plan directing its economic aid to the poor nations? (2) Have we any plans for encouraging greater participation by other so-called rich nations in economic aid to the poor nations?

Ward has tremendous insight into the economic and social problems that confront modern humanity. We have our foreign aid program, a host of programs, in fact.

The Asian Development Bank, the Interamerican Development Bank, the World Bank, the International Development Association, the Export-Import Bank—these are all part of the financial structure of a long-term commitment of the United States towards—international development.

I must confess that I do not believe our present foreign aid program is adequate. It's been sharply cut because of pressures upon Congress. I think the public has some doubts as to the foreign aid program; it obviously on occasion has had some serious troubles. We're working with people today who are not like our Western European neighbors. They are not skilled, not competent in management.



They're new nations, new societies, therefore frequently our dollars are not as productive as we would hope. But we do have a rather substantial commitment.

What about other industrialized nations? I went to Europe for your government in March and April and spent a good deal of my time on that question: going to the more industrialized countries, as I have been to Japan and Australia, asking them to make a permanent commitment to development assistance. We are The OECD has asking progress. We have a committee known as DAG, the Development Assistance Committee, which works on the problem of getting continuing long-term commitments from the more wealth industrialized nations.

I must be honest, however. The gap between the rich and the poor widens rather than being closed, and I believe the greatest danger to world peace today is the widening of that gap. Therefore, it is imperative that the industrialized nations assume a greater share of this burden.

OTIS WILSON: There has been much question concerning the legality of federal aid to church-related colleges and universities. What do you feel are the future prospects for such aid?

VICE PRESIDENT: Speaking for myself as a Senator who voted for church-related colleges
that bill, I believe aid to higher education is constitutional. I do not believe
it violates the concept of the separation of church and state. I believe federal
assistance is absolutely essential if we are going to strengthen our higher
education establishment to meet the ever-increasing demands upon our university
and college system. This does not mean there should be less private help. The

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requirements of students upon universities is so much greater now that we need additional resources.

I believe that aid to higher education can be of significant help to smaller colleges. It can provide research grants, construction grants, library assistance and parts many services which, frequently, private donations cannot possibly take care of. It can help cut down the tuition costs. Otherwise, I'm afraid private schools will price themselves out of the education market.

JOHN MOSTELLER: Mr. Vice President, in 1948 in your home state of Minnesota there was a third party peace movement headed by Henry A. Wallace. At that time you were mayor of Minneapolis and were quoted as saying that the Wallace third party movement was a part of the international pattern to confuse honest liberals and to hobble the functioning of democracy. Today we have seen the embryo of a third party peace movement on a national scale. Those involved in this movement are criticizing the honest liberals. My question is, would you have the same criticism for these people today that you did in 1948.

VICE PRESIDENT: In 1948 we had fought a bitter struggle in Minnesota with between the left wing and the Farmer labor Party and the Democratic Party. In Twas the author of the fusion of the Democratic party and the Farmer labor Party. The old Farmer labor Party was dominated by elements of the Communist party and left-wingers who were not Communists. But men like Clarence Hathaway, former editor of the Daily Worker, and Ernie DeMayo and others were busily



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a party they should get in their own and leave ours alone. We decided to keep our party a clean, indigenous, progressive liberal American party, so we set to work to clean house and we had a bitter battle. We defeated them in the long run.

Henry Wallace was never a Communist. He was never even close to being one. He was an idealist. He was a wonderful, fine human being. I say now and I said then that of all the human tragedies I think the evelopment of Henry Wallace, who wanted peace and wanted it desperately, by extreme leftist elements great human tragedy. And he lived to know it and to repudiate the whole crowd.

But the Communist party was at the very center of that movement.

I am not sure that the Communist party is at the center of the peace movement in the United States today. I know it is at the center in some places, but I know there are an awful lot of nice and wonderful Americans that feel they're doing the right thing by heing for peace and supporting peace candidates. I would not accuse the peace candidates of being under the control of the Communist party. I don't know.

The peace party as yet has not been really organized in America. There are peace candidates, some of them very fine Americans that I feel are terribly misguided on foreign policy. But I do think that the propaganda organization that works day in and day out against American involvement whether it is in Europe or in Southeast Asia, the center of that movement has obvious connections with the Communist party.

FURMAN UNIVERSITY GREENVILLE, SOUTH CAROLINA 29613 September 25, 1967 Mr. Martin J. McNamara Special Counsel to The Vice President Office of the Vice President Washington, D. C. Dear Mr. McNamara: We are planning to print the Vice President's speech at Furman University in the up-coming issue of the Furman alumni magazine, Although we are now having the tape of this program transcribed, it occurs to me that if a speech were actually written it would be helpful for us to have a copy of it. It would help us with correct paragraphing, eliminate repetition, etc. If a copy of the speech does not exist, we will take it entirely from the tape - as originally planned. Thank you for your help. Cordially, Marquente Hays (Mrs.) Marguerite Hays Editor The Furman University Magazine - Plantolo for transcript

September 20, 1967 - McAlister Auditorium, Furman University Greenville, South Carolina

Dr. Ernest Harrill: In just a very few minutes, ladies and gentlemen, we will be ready to start the program.

(Band music and applause)

Dr. Gordon Blackwell: Good afternoon ladies and gentlemen.

First offol would like to recognize and give you a chance to recognize the distinguished governor of South Carolina and his wife, the Honorable and Mrs. Robert McNair. (applause) I should like also to recognize Lieutenant Governor John West, (applause) Representative William Jennings Bryan Dorn, (applause). Now after we have heard from our distinguished visitor there will be an opportunity for our student-faculty panel to raise questions with him and then for those of you in the audience to raise questions. Our moderator is Dean Earnest E. Harrill.

Furman University is extremely pleased this afternoon to share its platform with a former professor of political science, a man who is equally at home with students and faculty as when he is presiding over the Senate of the United States. A great humanitarian, a great American, the Honorable Hubert H.

Humphrey, Vice President of the United States (applause).

Vice President Humphrey: Thank you very much, thank you so much, thank you. Thank you Dr. Blackwell. Thank you for your introduction, but may I especially thank this fine student body and the members of the Furman community for this extraordinarily generous and warm and friendly reception. You just will never

know what this does for a vice president. It just makes you feel good--almost makes you feel as good as if you were president--that is of Furman University.

Members of the panel, I am so pleased that a man who is totally non-partisan, Dean Harrill, is the moderator of the panel. I know that my Republican friends will realize that they are getting nothing but a fair deal.

Governor McNair and Mrs. McNair, and the distinguished Lieutenant Governor John West, and my friend that journeyed with us from Washington, one of the fine Congressman from the state of South Carolina, and he has such a splendid name, it just rings through my very being, William Jennings Bryan Dorn. Now you know what ticket he runs on. But it's such a joy to have had their company; the Governor and the Congressman were kind enough to journey with me on our way from Washington to Greenville and then to be received as we were at the airport by the mayor and representatives of this community, was something that I shall long remember and cherish.

Well, I have many things that I want to talk to you about, but here is the sort of format that we are going to use. I was told by Dr. Blackwell that it would be all right if I spoke a little while. Of course to a for mer senator that doesn't exactly put any time limits on you, and then we would turn to the panel for questions, and then hopefully get to the audience, and I want to follow that format. I have some notes here, most of which I shall pay no attention to. They're sort of like in

Peanuts when he carries the blanket, you know. You feel better when you have these notes along with you, sort of reassures you.

There are some observations I'd like to make. First of all, your beautiful campus. Of course, most of you that live here and attend this University take this campus for granted, but as I came through the gates of this fine University complex I was immediately impressed with the beauty of it, and also with the simplicity of it. It really looks like a University, and I know that it has high standards, and I am delighted that Dr. Blackwell saw fit to meet me, generously. I took what he said very seriously. You know Adlai Stevenson used to say that flattery is all right if you don't inhale it, but I was breathing deeply all the time that he was talking. What I really wanted to say is that elective public office is so uncertain that when he mentioned that I was once a professor, I like to get to these colleges campuses just to renew my acquaintance just in case South Carolina doesn't do any better by us next time than they did last time. (applause) I'll have to let the President speak for himself as to what he plans on doing (laughter and applause).

I know that I'm at a campus and a University that has fine academic standards and I also know that of recent date it has demonstrated that it has fine athletic standards. They tellime, I believe I'm correct, that you've already won two games. I hope that's all legal (applause) and I'm looking forward to visiting the team this afternoon in practice session and saying hello to Bob King, the coach, and I must say that to come to

this great university and to know that the, well to know of its record in basketball (you know up our way in Minnesota we had the Lakers once before they went out to Los Angeles I guess where the customer count was a little more--we hadFrank Selvy too on the Lakers, and believe me when you have a man like that you have some mighty high standards to live up to. As I recall, 100 points a game was sort of at least just a starting point. From there on out you started to judge whether you were a success or a failure.) So as I speak to this audience I think you ought to keep in mind that I am talking to an audience that I hope has the standard, and I believe has the standard, not of getting by, because most anybody can do that now, but a standard of excellence. If there is any one word that ought to characterize the generation that I am speaking to right now it is this standard of excellence, because just to be -- well just to do good enough -- means that everybody else can do it that good. Just to get by -- most anybody can get by; just to do what is possible -- everybody can do what is possible. The difference between a great university and an ordinary one, between a great nation and an ordinary one, and between a great person and just another person is the ability and the capacity and the desire and the will to do the impossible. You know, we've been doing it all of our history. That's why we are what we are. Of course, we've had our failures. The American experience, the American experiment is not doctrinaire, it's not dogmatic, it wasn't blueprinted, it wasn't conceived in the mind of Karl Marx--it was conceived in the mind of people who believed in the -- in what

we call those inalienable rights and saw the human being as the center of God's creation, who understood that human dignity came because of the spiritual nature of man, of his spirit, of his soul and of his intellect; and it's because of that basic philosophy that has been a part of the whole American scene since the beginning of our nation that we put so much emphasis upon education -- the education of the people. Thomas Jefferson once said you cannot be both free and ignorant. We had to make up our minds somewhere along the way whether we wanted to be ignorant and stay literally enslaved by our prejudices and our lack of understanding or whether we wanted to be free, and if we wanted to be free we had to be educated. Therefore, we pour in the resources, federal, state, local, private, church, fraternal, corporate, individual resources into education, and in that education we now find a new power -- the new power of this republic. Power is no longer equated just with the weapons systems. Power is essentially the power of the spirit and the power of the mind--intellectual power, brain power, moral power. That's what makes for a great nation. You're not great just because you're rich, you're not great because you're big. I believe it was Huxley that once said that speaking of America, he knew it was the richest nation on the earth and he knew it was one of the biggest, but then he pointed his finger at his American audience and said, "But what will you do with these things? That will be the test of your greatness." What will we do with our wealth, what will we do with our science, what will we do with our technology, what are we going to do with our learning, what are we going to do with our power -- no nation

ever had so much power as this nation; in fact, so much that our major task is controlling it and limiting its use. No nation has ever known such incredible wealth as this nation. I sat in the Cabinet meeting this noon and listened to the chairman of the Council of Economic Advisors tell your president and the members of the President's Cabinet of the unbelievable take-off again in our economy in terms of our production and of our expansion, of our growth in our gross national product and of our personal income. Unbelievable wealth! In fact, this republic, this nation of 50 states produced last year almost 40 per cent of all that was produced in the entire world. We, less than 200 million people--less than 6 per cent of the population of the world--produced more--almost more than all the rest of the world put together. So I say my fellow Americans that we are powerful, that we're rich, the nation of nuclear weapons, the nation of the dollar, the nation of industry--I do not exaggerate. But the question is, what will we do with all of these things? That will be the test of our greatness.

Now let's take a look and see what have we done. Well, I do not believe that you prove yourself to be an intellectual nor do I think you prove yourself to be a scholar or even an informed commentator by just constantly listing out the inadequacies of the American system or what we call our democracy. We have our limitations, we have our weaknesses and generally we know them so well that we don't even have to have anybody tell us about them. I am not one that says you should cover up those

weaknesses. I do not believe that we should arrest the right of discussion and of dissent. Of course we need freedom of speech; of course we need freedom of petition; of course we need freedom of press, of communication of the media, but that freedom carries with it grave responsibilities. It also carries with it the responsibility above all of a balanced presentation. I'll put it succinctly to you -- America is not what it is today because everybody was a fool. America is not what it is today because the government of the United States made nothing but mistakes. The leadership of this country has not always been wrong, the public leadership, the private leadership -- America is not what it is because it was a failure. America is what it is because we had the willingness to experiment, to try, and if it didn't work, as Roosevelt once said, "Franklin Roosevelt try it and if it doesn't work admit it and try something else." And we are what we are because we've been essentially explorers, we are discoverers; we are all in a real sense doing research, trying to find new and better ways to do things. And I think the most remarkable achievement of this land is that we've been willing to admit our weaknesses and draw strength from that admission. Remember it's only the strong who can ever afford and ever are willing to admit their limitations. It's only the mighty that ever afford to admit their weaknesses, and the sign of our strength is when we have exercised critical self-analysis, not for the purpose of criticism, but for the purpose of a

reorientation, a rehabilitation, a redirection of our lives individually or our nation. And when I come to a college group I often ask myself as I walk onto this platform "for what purpose is education -- to get information? If it is, you're wasting your time. You can get more information out of one copy of the World's Almanac than you'll get out of four years at Furman University, and it'll only cost you a dollar. Then you can throw it away and get a new one next year -- the 1968 edition will be out. I's jammed packed -- hundreds and hundreds of pages of information. The purpose of an education is to learn how to get meaning out of life. The enrichment of life -- drawing from every experience the maximum of satisfaction. the maximum of understanding, the maximum of experience, and thereby to develop your talents, your intellectual sensitivity and capacity, to develop literally your spirit, to enrich your soul. That's the purpose of an education. That's why a liberal arts education is so important, even for a scientist, for a doctor, for an engineer -- because we're not just scientists, doctors and engineers. We need the humanities, we need the fine arts, we need these things so that we can in a very real sense control the beast in man and bring out some of the angels. I think at least that's somewhat descriptive of it.

Now I want to hurry through and not hold this audience too long until we get to the questions. I think I've indicated to my young friends, and I see a number of freshmen here (you know I'm a freshman vice president, too--I hope to be a sophomore but

I'm a freshman now. Just a two-year college course is the most you can have, however, in that job -- two-term, I should say). What I've tried to indicate to the students in particular is that I know that young people today are a little bit discouraged with their older generation. I had a young person say to me the other day, "Well, you're just too old. You don't understand us." I have three sons and daughter -- I've heard that even more closely to home than from somebody else; and I said to this young person in particular, I said, "I'm really not older than you are -- not at all; I've just been around a little longer, that's all." Because age is not related to chronology. I've seen young people in my classroom at the age of 19 who should have been collecting social security. Oh yes, at least sometime, they didn't have a new idea. They'd already. . . what they wanted to think about was their past. I want to remind you at age 18 don't spend much time in your past. There's more future ahead. Youth -- youth is not a time of life on a calendar. Youth is a spirit, an attitude of mind. It's, as you've put, where the action is, and I've seen some people 70, 75, 65--they know where the action is and they're involved in it -- they have a piece of action, as they put it. So when you take a look at the older generation, it has its limitations -- I know that young people feel that the establishment, at least some people feel that the establishment has let them down. Well, it always has been the case -- I thought the establishment that I entered into had let me down, and that's good because you ought to want to improve it. You have no right

to inherit something and then not add something to the principal. You cannot live off the interest and the dividends, nor should you draw down on the principal. You should add onto that inheritance and that may mean change. The question is what kind of change--how do we change--orderly or disorderly? And in this great America of ours we have developed the orderly process of change -- through petition, yes; through speech, yes; through meetings, yes; through political protests, yes; through elections, yes -- but not through violence, not through lawlessness because violence and lawlessness do not bring about change, they bring about destruction, and change should be for the purpose of construction, for the purpose of remedy, not for the purpose of revenge. I want to leave a word of tribute to our young people. I was asked yesterday by a very famous and very wellknown TV commentator, Mike Douglas, whom some of you know--he has a fine TV show. He was up on Capitol Hill doing some interviews, and he said, "I want you, Mr. Vice President, to close off the interviews. What do you think of young people? What do you think of our young people -- how do they stand up with young people in other parts of the world?" Well I can't give you exactly the answers that I gave to Mr. Douglas because that would cut in on his show, and I'm not going to answer the same questions that he put to me. But let me tell you what I do think basically about young people. I think they are very much alive. I think they are very much concerned. I think they are

very much disturbed at times at what they see and in the environment in which they live, but I also think they are very refreshing. They make you think. And our young people of today are not people of destruction or just of bitter criticism -- they are volunteers. I wonder how many young people know that last year over a quarter of a million young college students volunteered their time to work in community action programs, work with social agencies, work with private agencies, with local government -- free. I know that on this campus last there were over 75 that did some of this work right here, working with the community agencies. I know that you had one of the first model U.N.'s right here on this campus. I know that there is more political participation amongst young people today than ever before. I know there is a greater sense of social consciousness amongst young people than ever before. I call this generation the volunteer generation, and when I hear people say that they have no patriotism, my answer to that is that the men who are in charge of our military forces today have said repeatedly that the finest troops that they've ever commanded in the field of battle are the troops that they command today in Viet Nam and Southeast Asia. Without a doubt the best, the best-trained, the healthiest, the most capable, the most competent, and the least complaining, much less complaining there than here. As a matter of fact, I've been with those troops. So I salute this younger generation, but I remind them they've got a lot of work

to do. And I remind them of this -- that there'll be more changes in their lives and in the lives of the next generation, in the next 33 years than in the past 1,000. That's a broad statement, but it's true. We are in the last third of the twentieth century. If I had one promise that could be given to me by some magic or some genie my hope or my request would be that I could live to the year 2001. I'd just like to see what it's going to look like. I know a lot of things are going to happen. In my work in the field of space, in the field of oceanography and the many things a vice president is privileged to learn a little about, and I'm sort of a general practitioner, you know; I'm not really a specialist in anything. My friends Congressman Dorn, and Senator Hollings and Senator Thurmond, whenever they legislate for the vice president, they do some peculiar things to him. They put me in charge of the space program. That means I'm out of this world. And then they put me in charge of the oceanography program which assigns me to the bottom of the sea. I don't know if they like vice presidents or not. But I do know this, that in those programs I get a glimpse of the future, at least in science and technology. I know that we are going to mine the ocean floors exactly as we mine the hills. I know that we are going to take food from the ocean to overcome the protein deficiency of the hungry people of the world out of fish protein concentrate. I know that the largest discoveries of gold will be in the eddies and the estuaries off the coast lines of the nations. In fact, we're finding it right now.

I know the richest deposits of minerals and oils and fuels are yet to be tapped in the bottom of the sea. I know that we'll do something about controlling in temperature as we explore space and the depths of the ocean. I know that in the next few years we'll have communication satellites that will bind the world together into one family, into one union the likes of which none of us ever dreamed possible. Communication satellites in the next 10 years that will bring the leading professors of the world in closed circuit television to this campus, and instead of a teacher before you will be a large screen and on that screen will be professors from Tokyo and Rome, from Paris and London, from Calcutta and New Delhi, from all where I don't know, in closed circuit international education public television or commercial. Communication satellite -- just beginning, just beginning. I know that within the next decade we will not only have landed a man on the moon, we will have a base there, from whence scientists will work. I know that in the next five years we will have orbiting around this globe of ours huge laboratories that will be constructed in space. I said to George Meany, the president of the AF of L the other day, I said you fellows are going to have to thin down a little bit, you construction workers, if you're going to get up there and be putting those things together in space, or we're going to have to get a bigger booster to get you up there. But truly, the man orbiting laboratory, and the unmanned orbiting laboratory, are not things of the future now -that's just now a matter of putting it together. We will have

people go from the earth into space, rendezvous, get out of their space capsule, walk into the laboratory, live there nine weeks, three months, ten months, a year, come back--like a massive hotel, and it'll be put together piece by piece in new types of construction. I know that we're beginning to dissect for the first time to find out for the first time something about the human cell, and the artificial creation of life itself, transplants of human organs and the construction and the making of artificial organs. I was at one of our great atomic laboratories less than a year ago and I saw them working on a little radioisotope battery that is so small you can hardly see it, and it'll have enough energy to palpitate or to activate a mechanical heart for five years, so that if the heart breaks down it'll be replaced, and a heart will be there with perfect precision -- a mechanical heart. You say it's ridiculous -- I say that they've done it at the laboratory level and the laboratory is only 15 years from reality. This is what the future offers, but what about man? What will he do? You know the trouble is he may kill himself off unless he can blend ethics with politics, said Aristotle. There is really nothing much new. The great philosopher, Aristotle, the rediscovery of Aristotilian thought was the Renaissance itself -- the beginning of the Renaissance and it was Aristotle who understood the relationship between morality and politics, ethics and politics, ethics and power -- that's the way you can put it. The same group of people known as the human being -- the same creation of divine providence -- man, has discovered how to split the atom, how to release fantastic energy of the atom for destructive purposes. He can literally obliterate himself, and as one that's on the National Security Council of your government, let me tell you we have tremendous power in the atom, if that makes you happy, and we have enough, I'm sure to take care of everything several times, if somebody doesn't take care of us several times. The atom—the same man though that created that terrible instrument of destruction is challenged to put that atometo work to save lives. And it's being done in medicine, in science. It's being done every day. It's just a question of whether we have the will to pursue that more noble course.

I think it's good to end this part of our presentation with a little favorite verse of mine. We have to have some high and noble purposes, otherwise man loses any reason and right to live. We have many ideals, many purposes. Thomas Jefferson said that our purposes were life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and he went so far with his associates to plege their lives, their fortunes, and their sacred honor to the achievement of those lofty purposes. I think now that what this nation is dedicated to is—we always say yes, and we mean it, peace, but peace in the fullest sense of that word—not just the absence of war, but peace that releases the energies of mankind. We're dedicated to opportunity in freedom—opportunity—and college students above all should understand this. There is a point of departure that's come now in our national life. For years we

thought of the unfortunate as charity cases. We have dealt in the concept of welfarism. Because we're a compassionate people you cannot attend your church without understanding something about charity and compassion. We've been brought up that way -that's a part of our spiritual and political life. We don't want people to starve; we do not want people to be in want; we do not want people to be sick when there is food to feed the hungry and there is clothes to clothe the naked and when there is medicine to heal the sick. That's what we call compassion: that's what we call welfarism or welfare. Now I don't want to be misunderstood -- I still think people must be filled with compassion -- I believe in the good Samaritan. I believe in the basic philosophies that have governed us for a long time; but there is something beyond welfare, and I believe that we're at that point now, where we seek above all to lend dignity to human existence, and dignity is not enhanced by welfare. Dignity is enhanced by opportunity. Dignity takes on meaning when somebody has self-respect and he gains self-respect through self help, through self-development; and I believe that America has entered the period of its national history now where our ultimate goal in freedom is a state of opportunity for everybody. An opportunity. Thomas Wolfe, the great poet of the thirties and also a man of prose as well as poetry, put it this way about the promise of America. He said, "To every man his chance, to every man regardless of his birth, his shining golden opportunity. To

every man the right to work, to be himself, and to become whatever things his manhood and his vision/combine to make him. This is the promise of America. I believe that's so true. what an education is for -- to give you your chance -- not to guarantee you smooth sailing, a safe harbor; not to guarantee you a life of ease, luxury, soft life, but to give you a chance. I think that's what America is for -- not to just give a chance to one ethnic group, to the Whites, and not to the blacks, not to just give a chance to somebody that comes from a wellrecognized family and not to the person that comes from a family unknown. No--what did he say? To every man his chance--to everyone -- the right to make something out of your life, to become whatever things his manhood (which God himself gave him) and his vision can combine to make him. Now that's what we're trying to do. That's what government is about, that's what industry is about today, that's what universities are about. We may stumble, we may falter, at times our vision may be blurred, but we haven't lost sight of what our objective is. Our objective is a human chance for the children of this earth; our objective is for that opportunity and that chance in peace and in freedom, always couched and always in a sense encased in the cause of social justice. And a young person or a young man or woman that graduates from a great university has a greater obligation to the fulfillment of that high ideal than anyone else because you've been given so much. A college education is never bought for by your tuition. Who knows what it would cost to get the writings

of the great writers and the paintings of the great artists. How could you ever pay for the library and the books that are in it? How could you ever pay for William Shakespeare? How could you ever pay for Leonardo de Vinci and a Michaelangelo? How could you ever pay for scriptures? You can't. So those of us who have had a college education -- and I'm one of them. and we're a minority -- we owe the rest of the community so much. As I've said many times, and I still feel that I'm a student, if I live to be 100 maybe I can start to pay back on principal. Up until then it'll just be the interest. I've had it so good even though at times I've thought it's been so hard. I am one of the few and so are you, that's been privileged to have a higher education. Make the most of it for yourselves and for yourself, savor it, take it unto yourself, make something of it. But remember that when you share it, when you share its fruits. when you share what it means, when you share the richness of that education, the richness of your experience with others in your community, you don't give it away. In fact, it even becomes more so, because the more you give the more you have, and I believe that ought to be the lesson of an education. Now we'll take whatever questions you may want to throw my way. Thank you very much. (applause)

Dr. Harrill: Mr. Vice President, you make me even more proud to be an American and to be alive in 1967. Thank you so much.

I would like to present very quickly the members of the panel.

On my immediate left is John Dugan who is president of the junior class at Furman; Dr. Albert Sanders, professor of history; Coleman Richardson, president of Young Republicans (I even left that in); Mr. Ronald McKinney who is president of the Young Democrats; Dr. Scott Pyron, professor of chemistry; and Mr. Otis Wilson who is president of our student body. We will begin with a question from John Dugan please.

John Dugan: Mr. Vice President, there has been much speculation concerning the internal upheaval taking place within Communist China. Do you see this as a struggle between the factions within the Chinese Communist party, or perhaps as an indication of general discontent among the people with the Communist regime; and also, is there a possibility of a two Chinas policy in the next several years by the United States?

Dr. Harrill: Were you able to hear that question? The question concerned the vice president's opinion about the significance of the upheaval in China to and also his opinion about the situation of two Chinas.

Vice President Humphrey: I believe I'll stand up. I never do as good thinking sitting down--I don't know why that is-- and these are going to be tough questions, I can see.

Let me say first that very few of us in this country know a great deal about what's going on in China. In fact, very few people anywhere know what's going on in China; that is, in mainland China. Only last week I sat with the foreign minister of Japan and talked to him at length about the far eastern

developments or developments in the far east, and he frankly confesses, along with others that I have talked to from Asia that they have very spotty information. So when people give you definitive answers on mainland China, on what's going on, I think you ought to be somewhat wary. We only know what we read and what limited amount of intelligent reports we can get. I'm sure you know that your Vice President, along with a few others in the government, gets this very extensive intelligence reports. I get the same ones that the President does every morning to try to know to the best of our government's ability what's going on in the world, but it has its limitations. Now as we see it, the struggle in China is twofold. It's a struggle within the Communist party, which is not unusual -- that took place in the Soviet Union between the Stalinites and the Trotskyites, and later on it took place between the revisionists under Khrushchev and the Stalinites that were under Malinovsky. So there are always some struggles in any power establishment. The present struggle in China is between the Maoists on the one hand and the more orthodox Chinese Communists on the other. The Maoists are the very, very strict purest Communists. I said the more orthodox, I should have said the less orthodox Communists, on the other hand. And this is a bitter struggle, this is a fraternal struggle, this is in their sense a religious struggle. It's a struggle within the confines of their secular church and it's for keeps, and it'll go on, as we see it, for some time. It leaves China unstable, uncertain, but it also leaves it angry

and dangerous -- very dangerous, and we have to be extraordinarily careful in our relationships to that country and developments concerning it. There is, of course, unrest amongst the peasantry, amongst the plain people. I don't ourselves though that this means that there is an uprising immediately in the offing, if at all. Essentially what you're seeing here is a power struggle within the power mechanism, and in any Communist country that struggle takes place to some degree or another. It goes on now even in Eastern Europe. It went on, as you know, between Yugoslavia on the one hand, the Communist party of Yugoslavia and the Soviet Union. The Communist would like to have you believe that their system is a monolith, that everybody sort of marches to the same music, to the same cadence, and the same step, but it isn't so because they are still people. Romania does not agree with the Soviet Union on the subject of Israel and the Middle East. Poland has had its disagreements. Czechoslovakia occasionally goes its way, despite the fact that the predominant power is that of the Communist party hierarchy and despite the fact that in Eastern Europe, for example, the Soviet Union exercises great influence and could exercise controlling influence over the Communist states. There are variables, there are differences, and one of the purposes of our policy is to try to enhance that degree of autonomy. Try to get people to be themselves and to have a degree of independence; a considerable degree of independence. In China our policy is hopefully one of reconciliation, as President Johnson has said, with

the people of that land. Will we have a two China policy? I believe at this stage it's best for me to say to you only that we do not feel that the present regime in China is worthy of being accepted as a charter member of the United Nations because its conduct at this time and its conduct in the immediate past has been a complete contradiction of the purposes and the goals of the charter of the United Nations. However, we recognize that we do not make predictions for a decade or a generation ahead. Our hope is that China can become a member, an orderly, responsible member of the community of nations and we will direct every purpose of our mission toward that end. Because a China that is angry, a China that is in disorder, a China of almost 800 million people that is belligerent with a leadership that is irresponsible and emotional is a danger to the peace of the world. Therefore, we must try our best to not exasperate that situation and hopefully to mollify it.

Dr. Harrill: Dr. Sanders.

Dr. Sanders: Could we change theater a little and come to this country. You have suggested a Marshall Plan for cities as a possible solution to some urban problems. Would you comment on what would be included in such a plan.

Vice President Humphrey: When I spoke to the National Association of County Officials out at Detroit following that tragic riot in that city, one of my comments related to what I thought we needed to do and what we were trying to do in our country relating to our cities. I've been a mayor of a city,

the city of Minneapolis, for two terms, and I have served in municipal organizations, and as some of you may know, that by President Johnson's expressed desire, I was appointed as the liaison, that is the officer of government working between the cities of the United States and the President's Cabinet, the White House. This had been done before we established the Department of Housing and Urban Development. I still maintain that role. I've had over 40 meetings with the large metropolitan organizations and municipalities and counties and local governments; that is 40 of the large national groupings and many, many others. I stay in close contact with them and try to understand what the local officials are working, what their problems are, what their needs are, and how we can work with them. In Detroit I said that what I thought we needed in our cities today, not as a way of preventing riots per se, because I don't think we know really what caused these riots; I don't think we have the answers to all this; I think there is just one thing we are certain of -- we cannot tolerate them; you cannot find answers to the problems of municipalities, to the problems of government in blood, in fire, in arson, in looting and riots. They have to be stopped; they have to be put down, and your government and local government and state government has an unqualified responsibility to see to it that these riots are suppressed. (applause.) And they will be; and that those who instigate them are apprehended and prosecuted. (applause) Now, the proposal that I made was this -- We know that within our cities

there is a growing blight, sor of like crabgrass, as we said out in the country -- it spreads. Obsolescence, slumism, breaking down of buildings, of people. Sometimes you wonder whether its the environment that breaks down first or the people, but it is a deterioration of both the human and the physical. I suggested that if we were going to meet this problem, we had to do more than to go at it in the piecemeal approach. I said that we had prepared legislation that would permit us to go at it in a broader approach. I went on to say that this nation must make a national commitment to its cities where most of you are going to live. Seventy per cent of the people now live in cities. By the end -- by 1980 they predict 80 per cent of the population of America will live in cities. There will be one massive city from Boston to Norfolk, one huge megalopolis as they call it, one massive city. So we are going to have to learn how to govern these areas, how to live in them, , and how to provide social services, a wholesome environment. I don't think we're going to do it by just picking at it piece by piece, and I used the example -- I said how did we launch the space program so that we will put a man on the moon in this decade? By a national commitment, a tenyear program, a commitment; and I went on to say if you can spend 30 billion dollars to put a man on the moon, you ought to be willing to spend at least a reasonable sum of money to help put a man on his feet right here on earth, and I believe that's fair. (applause) So I pointed out that our space program was

a national commitment over a long term. I pointed out that our interstate highway program was a national commitment over a tenyear term. I said that the way we were able to do something effective in Western Europe was not by dealing with one little country at a time and one little problem at a time, but a Marshall Plan -- a broad, long-term plan of action and commitment, and I said that we need the same thing for our cities in America. And then I went on to say that in the Model Cities Program which has been authorized by the Congress and is now being funded that we have the basic tenets of a Marshall Plan for the American city, and we have. Now what are the basic factors or tenets of the Marshall Plan? Long-term commitment, national commitment, planning of the use of funds and resources by the granting agency, that is the government at the federal level, planning by local, private and public resources at the recipient level, the inclusion of the private sector. You cannot rebuild your cities out of the government, and we Americans are going to have to learn that this nation is 90 per cent private, 10 per cent public, and if we are going to mobilize resources we are going to have to mobilize more than the county, and the state and the locality and the federal government. We have to find a way to bring into this tremendous effort the great private economy, the private enterprise, the voluntary agencies, the universities, so that they become a part of a great national effort. Now the Model Cities Program offers that because before

a community can qualify for any federal aid under the Model Cities it must come in with a comprehensive total program of rehabilitation of an area, and that comprehensive program must have been designed not merely by the city, not merely by the county, not merely had the approval of state, but it must have within it the input of the Chamber of Commerce, the labor movement, the ethnic groups, it must have within it, in other words, the private as well as the public. Now that was the success of the Marshall Plan -- a commitment of resources and time and a national commitment; planning at the top and at the recipient end; the inclusion of the private groups. That's what was in it. Now somebody said right away, "Oh, there goes that Vice President. He's going to spend billions of dollars of the federal money and that means the taxpayer, of course, and here he's proposing right now when we've got a budget deficit, he's off there in the wild blue yonder proposing billions more." Well now, the Marshall Plan only cost 13 billion dollars in five years. Thirteen billion in five years. This year -one year, we will spend over ten billion dollars on our cities. One year. What the Vice President said is let's take a look at that 10 billion dollar expenditure, let's see if we can't maximize its impact by working with part of it with Greenville, South Carolina and the state of South Carolina better than we have before; instead of having it come down piece by piece, dribble by dribble let's get together with the people and plan

the proper utilization and organization of it. Let's see what we can do about bringing in the private industry into it. Let's work out a design that'll do the job. That's what we're talking about -- not just more money. One thing we need to get clear -you need money, no doubt about that. You can't go to school without money, but I'll tell you you'll never get a diploma with money either -- you've got to get the grades, you have to have the will. And in America in these recent years we've had a tendency to feel well, if you've really got a problem just write a check. That'll take care of it. And we have parents like that too, and some of us have been guilty on occasion that when you've got a little problem at home just get the boy a car, get the girls another dress or just be nice, just hand them out some more money -- and you know it. And that's not the answer. I don't deny that a little money helps--goes a long way, but I might add what is really more important than money is the mobilization of talent and the other resources that you have other than just the checkbook, and above all the will to do something, the commitment to do something. You can spend--listen, if money were to keep violence down in our cities they should be the most peaceful places in the world. We're spending more money in them today than we ever spent before in all the history of this land. We're spending three times as much now as we spent three years ago. What we need, it seems to me, is much more than that. We need jobs for the unemployed, we need better neighborhoods that are cared for by people who care. John Stuart Mill once said

that those who have no part in government have no love for it. Those who have no part in a nation have no respect for it. So we need to include people in rather than keeping people out, and that's why we're emphasizing training and education and jobs and that's why we're emphasizing community action, that's why we're emphasizing better programs of human development so that people become qualified and equipped to be a participant in the great American experiment. O. K. (applause)

Dr. Harrill: I've got to say Amen to that Mr. Vice President.

Coleman Richardson: Mr. Vice President, with respect to the considerable amount of money gathered by private individuals and sent to Israel to defer the cost of the six-day war this past June, what effect do you think such action will have on the United States' balance of payments and, do you foresee subsequent federal regulation for such sums of outgoing private capital?

Vice President Humphrey: No, I do not see any federal regulation of the flow of such private capital. If you were to do that then you would have to regulate the flow of private capital for any investment purpose. Individuals are entitled in this country of ours, at least under the present circumstances, to do with their money as they wish. Some of them do very foolish things with it, some of them do very good things. I'm not able to stand in judgment.of everybody. I see people at some times buy a painting. I look at and I'm not sure what it means at all, and I say how much did you pay for that? \$15,000.

I say, "You're kidding!" No. Well they want it, it's their money, and if they want to pay \$15,000, \$50,000, \$100,000-ever so often I see somebody buying an antique thing, and I like antiques -- my wife likes them better. I try to keep her out of those shops, and they spend unbelievable sums of money. That's their money. Now our friends in the United States, our fellow citizens who are of Jewish ancestry or have the Jewish faith have had a keen interest in the state of Israel. They've had that interest because they have suffered incredible, incredible punishment and tyranny throughout the years. They saw millions of their fellow human beings exterminated only a few years ago in this century in Central Europe and in Nazi Germany. They see Israel as a haven, as a homeland and they, after hundreds of years of persecution and discrimination, they want to see that little nation state have a right to live, and they have a right to send gifts, they have a right to buy bonds -- as a matter of fact Americans buy other kinds of bonds, you just don't hear about them. Some of our large banks buy issues from Italy and from Germany and from France and from England. They buy money with your money that's been put into those banks, they buy them for investment purposes. If you buy an Israeli bond or an Israel bond you buy a bond that is paid off on schedule with interest. It's an investment. If you wish to make a gift you can make one to Norway if you're a Norwegian; if you're an Arab you can make one to Jordan; or if you're an Egyptian to the United Arab Republic. We do not prevent that. This is a free

country; we're not at war with these nations. We hope that we can have peace in the Middle East, and I must say that the Jewish people have taught the other people of this country a great deal about giving. I've attended many a function of our Americans of Jewish descent and they have taught us a lot about giving. They have given to universities and hospitals and colleges generously that were not hospitals or universities of their faith or even that served their people. They have just been generous, and I might say that Furman University has a program—isn't that right, Dr. Blackwell—where you received a grant from the Ford Foundation—need a little matching funds. I'll put in a plug for it right now, so that Furman University could use some good gifts if anybody wants to make some gifts to this great campus. (applause)

Dr. Harrill: Ron McKinney

Ron McKinney: Mr. Vice President, I would like to ask a question regarding the degree of fighting borne by American troops in Viet Nam.

Vice President Humphrey: The degree of what, sir?

Ron McKinney: Fighting.

Vice President Humphrey: Yes sir.

Ron McKinney: President Kennedy once said that in the final analysis, it's their war and they have to win it or lose it. In 1964 Secretary McNamara said that he thought it would be a mistake for us to assume the major responsibility for fighting the war. Yet, recent reports indicate that there is as much or more

perhaps corruption and inefficiency in the South Vietnamese army as there was when they were fighting alone and losing, and another report said that nearly all American losses came about in offensive actions while only one-third of Vietnamese losses came about in offensive actions, and there seems some indication that the Vietnamese like to fight in the daytime but quit at sunset and they only fight five and a half days a week. Would you comment on the apparent conflict between the objectives of letting the Vietnamese fight for themselves and the actual situation.

Vice-President Humphrey: Yes, I'll be happy to, as I think that what you have said is the view of many people and I think it is a view, sir, that needs to be erased from the memory of the American people because it's not factual. I'm not accusing you, sir, of not -- you're repeating what is often said and your questionion is based on the information that comes to the American people, which may I say, is information that is not fully factual. A little knowledge is a dangerous thing and half information is poisonous. Let's take a look. First of all, the Vietnamese--South Viet Nam. It's been in war since 1940--27 years of struggle. South Viet Nam did not start this present struggle. South Viet Nam was the victim of Viet Cong attack which was supposedly indigenous Communist guerrila warfare, about as indigenous as that which Cuba has going on in Venezuela right now, for Castro trains them up and sends them on in to the mainland of the Latin American and South American continent.

The only difference is he frankly admits it. Finally, the national liberation front, the Viet Cong political arm admitted that on direction from Hanoi in 1959 and subsequently fortified in 1960 the Viet Cong was being trained and directed from Hanoi. No person denies that today that is a responsible person. It is a directed operation out of that part, out of North Viet Nam. Now the South Vietnamese have approximately 750,000 men under arms. That country has a French heritage and our French friends might very well take a look at what kind of a heritage they left them. You've often heard at times about so-called French leave. That meant that you went--you know--just went over the hill. Now the French soldiers didn't do that. France has some of the finest soldiers in the world and she's a great and powerful nation. But colonial troops that were trained by the French used to do it, and the French never worried about it because they didn't really need them most of the time, and the troops got accustomed to going back and harvest the rice, go back and see the folks, and for a period of time they used to bring their womenfolk and children right along with them. in this kind of a war that doesn't work out so well. They've got enough trouble without bringing the family along. What about this army? It has good units and it has bad units. It has the regular forces and it has the provincial forces. Provincial forces are much like our national guard -- a local constabulary, a local militia -- not as well trained, but vital, performing a valuable service of defensive protection. So when

you hear that a large number of the Vietnamese forces are on the defensive side of the battle, you're right. They are so instructed and they have been since the beginning. There isn't a village in Viet Nam that would be safe, of any size, any village of any size that didn't have defensive forces because the Viet Cong -- who knows who they are? You can be talking to an audience like this and everyone of them supposedly screened to be loyal South Vietnamese citizens, and one person within that audience can have with him a hand grenade or a handmade bomb and blow this place to bits as they did only recently with an embassy in Saigon. It didn't take 100 to do it. One man can walk through a hotel as they did, and blew seven floors right out of it. He didn't care if he lost his life, he was a fanatic. So 50% of the the Vietnamese army today is engaged in what we call protection of hamlets and villages -- as vital as any other part of this war. Just exactly as in the American wars that we've been involved in. We've had large numbers of people engaged in logistics. They weren't up on the front line. Of the sixteen million men that were demobilized at the end of World War II-they weren't all combat; that is, they weren't being shot at every minute -- you still have to have people in the Pentagon. you still have to have people in staff headquarters, you still have to have people behind the lines. Every man in the air force is not a pilot; he's not a combat pilot. Most of them are not pilots; they are back maintaining. So we have reporters that come and tell us that most of the Vietnamese are not really

out there on offensive battles. My fellow Americans, less than 30 per cent of the American forces are ever at any time engaged in battle. Seventy per cent of ours aren't in battle either. Sometimes we have/an average of five to six per cent of our forces that are engaged in battle. But that doesn't mean that they are not fighting; they never know when they are going to be called up. And we have large numbers of forces up in the northern part of Viet Nam that were engaged in doing exactly what the Vietnamese are now engaged in--protecting that area which had been secured. Now I talked to General Walt, who has just returned, the commander of the Marines in the I-core area, up along the DMZ, a marvelous military officer (I hope you'll get him down here sometime), the man that integrated Vietnamese troops with American troops; a man that did the very best job of pacification. He did it so good that Ho Chi Minh had to try to spoil it, and one of the reasons today for the massive attacks that come across the DMZ, the demilitarized zone. a violation, may I say, of international law, one of the reasons for that attack is because the I-core area right up on the northern frontier, or right up on the southern frontier of northern Viet Nam was being pacified. Eighty-five per cent of its population secure; most of its area secure; a tremendous program of civic action; a combination program of what they call the combined teams of Vietnamese and Americans. Did the Americans do all the fighting? General Walt told me less than a month ago in my office -- he said, when I came back, and my

friends, I want you to get this, particularly now of the media, I'm always scolded for saying these things -- but when he came back, he said that he could not believe that he had been in Viet Nam for what he read. He said, "Mr. Vice President," and by the way, when I have these generals come in I do not act like I'm their friend. I've read the propaganda, too, and I've read the news stories, and I feel that I ought to put them through their paces, and I have a man working for me who is a military man that spends all of his time figuring up all of the ugly questions that we can ask anybody that comes home. I'm the meanest man in town for that period of that conference, and every time I am. If you don't believe so, ask one of them -they come in the office, because I ask all the mean, nasty questions. Everything, every bit of propaganda that I've ever heard, I put it right to them. I said, "General, I hear that the Vietnamese haven't been doing much fighting up around the DMZ. I hear that our Marines are taking the brunt of that attack and they are the ones that are really taking the blows." He said, "Mr. Vice President, I'm proud of my Marines. I'm a General. I'm a lifetime Marine; it's my whole life." But he said, "Mr. Vice President," he said, "It's outrageous that the American people have been so misinformed." He said the most gallant men in that struggle, as gallant as any Marine, were the Vietnamese. He said, in fact, they captured more weapons. they captured more of the North Vietnamese, they died in greater numbers, they fought their heart out. He said, "My task was to

keep them from being entirely too irresponsible in their valor and in their courage." That's his words. And my friend, William Jennings Bryan Dorn is here and has heard General Walt speak, and he's not a man that speaks irresponsibly. Sure there's some units in the Vietnamese army that are not very good. They've been fighting for better than a quarter of a century, and we're training that army, and we're trying to retrain the whole army, and we're trying to understand that this war is not being won by military action alone, it's being won by political action, and it just so happens that the Vietnamese are maybe better able to talk to Vietnamese than Americans are able to talk to Vietnamese in the villages. And if you're going to have security in those villages, that doesn't mean that you hire a local constable; it means that you put troops in those villages; it means that you fetter out and hunt out the Viet Cong, dig them out, one by one and that's as dangerous a job as being out on the front line--there are no front lines in Viet Nam. Remember what Mao said about the people. Mao said the people are the sea in which the Communist Viet Cong is the fish and swims. He loses himself in the sea. The man in the day that seems like your friend is the man at night that blows up your village. Now do the Vietnamese fight at night? Some do, some don't. The reason some of them don't is the minute that they get beyond the perimeter of their village they are slaughtered, and they don't like to die, like most other people.

But there are some very brave troops. The Vietnamese Marines, their ranger battalions, their regular units, are very brave and others are being trained, and I think it's time that we put an end to this kind of propaganda. Why, when you read, my dear friends, you'd think that nobody else was fighting. Have you ever read anything about the Koreans? Honestly, I ask this audience, have you read any of the battles, about any of the battles that the Koreans are in? How many? Well, my goodness there are four or five of you have seen something about it. You must be getting foreign publications. The Koreans are doing a masterful job. The Koreans have had a heavier loss in terms of their units than we Americans. Do you realize that their rate of fatality is almost twice ours? Do you realize that in the second corps area they have whipped the Viet Cong and whipped them unmercifully? Have you read where the Koreans even dropped their weapons and went into hand to hand combat and literally broke the necks of the Viet Cong--did you read that? You don't read about that -- we don't have any reporters covering the Koreans. Have you read about the Australians lately? They are not over there, you know, just making hot tea and having crumpets. Did you read about them? Well, they've lost some Australians too, and they ve been in pitch battles. When did you last read about the Australians whipping the Viet Cong? A long time ago, I'll guarantee, if you read it at all. Now I'm not being--look our reporters are in there to cover Americans, but this isn't an American war; this is an allied war. We're vitally involved

because we're the great nation, and if you want to be a leader, you better be prepared to take the heat. As Harry Truman said, "If you can't take the heat, get out of the kitchen." Leadership does not give you the chance to pick and choose. It doesn't mean that well, if things don't go well I 'll fold up my tent and quit. Leadership isn't any luxury; it's a responsibility, and we Americans have a responsibility -- we didn't ask for it; we didn't try to become the greatest military power on the face of the earth -- we came out of World War II that way, and I wonder how many people in this room have really given thought to what kind of a world this would have been if we hadn't of been leading; and mark my words, we lost over 200 thousand men dead since World War II in battle. We've lost thousands and hundreds of thousands wounded. We lost over sixty thousand of them dead in Korea; 250 some thousand wounded in Korea. What kind of a world do you think this wouldhave been if Harry Truman hadn't told Jospeh Stalin to get out of Iran, and if he didn't get out -- and he gave him five days -he said, "I'll send the American forces in to chase you out." You know Harry had a way of getting to the point without too much double talk, and if this wasn't a good Baptist school I'd tell you what he really said to him. (applause) What kind of a world do you think this would have been if Harry Truman hadn't had the courage to face the Communists in Berlin and took the chance of nuclear war? The fact that it didn't happen was our good fortune. But we've lost a lot of men in

Europe protecting those frontiers -- lots of men, through accidents, through sickness, through skirmishes. Lots of homes in America are sad because of duty in Europe since World War II, but what kind of world do you think it would have been if we hadn't faced up the Communists in Greece and Turkey? What kind of a world do you think it would have been if we hadn't told Mr. Khruschev to get his missiles out of Cuba? And that was a dangerous moment and that could have exploded into world war, nuclear war in a minute. I sat with John Kennedy the night that he made his radio address to this nation. I was one of the Congressional leaders called in for those discussions. We were stalling for time to get our American power dispersed. Every air field in America had planes on it. We were ready. We moved our fleet from the Pacific to the Atlantic. We were ready -- we were ready for the war -- it was within minutes. Do you think it would have been a nice little America and a nice little world if we said, "Oh, we're scared. We're not going to do that. We didn't really mean it, Mr. Khruschev. If you want to have half of Latin America, go take it, it isn't worth much." No, we didn't; we said "get out! And if you don't we're coming after you." What kind of word do you think it would have been if we hadn't gone to Korea, and that was an unpopular war. You talk about wars being unpopular; I hope they're all unpopular, by the way. I hope America never gets to the place where war becomes popular. It may be necessary, but let's not make it popular.

Harry Truman's public opinion rating was 26 per cent in 1951. That's how popular he was. I was in Congress during that time. We had people writing letters like this: "Get out of Korea! Attack the Chinese! Stop the killing! Murder 'em! Cut the expenses; double the army!" They had it all in one letter. Get thousands of them. The people were mixed up. I've kept those letters -- it'll be a great study sometime for a Ph.D. thesis. Thousands of them! People totally confused. A faraway place --Korea; strange places; hills that were numbered -- not even by name but just by numbers. Thousands of Americans. We were almost driven into the sea. We held onto just a little capsule of land at Puscon. When I was in Korea this last summer --Korea today is a success story. Ten years ago it was called America's hopeless mess. Today Korea is our staunchest ally. So all I'm saying to you is the price we've had to pay has been worth it. It's a high price, but the leadership, the price of leadership is high, and my fellow Americans, we haven't been let down by everybody either. We've got some firm and staunch allies, and we're not being let down in Viet Nam. I think the only way that we'll lose in Viet Nam is if we lose in America. They can't beat us in Viet Nam and Ho Chi Minh said so, just as Ho Chi Minh said in his first struggle, that they'll win the war in Paris -- and they did. The French government gave up, the French people gave up. And they still think they are going to win the war

in America. I've heard many people say that we ought to have a pause in the bombing. We've had three pauses; we tried. Maybe we'll try again, I don't know. Whatever is necessary to gain an honorable peace, we'll do. I wonder if those who are such military strategists that think we ought to have a pause in the bombing ever thought about a pause in the protests. Have you ever thought about that? That might help. (applause) Don't misunderstand me. I didn't say that we stop the protests, that we have no right of dissent. To the contrary, we have, but we might want to have a tactic, because if I were Ho Chi Minh, and I were reading what we say and if I read what was said in high places in government and in private life from universities and elsewhere, I'd begin to think they were--that we were beginning to crack up. But we're not going to. Make no mistake about it. If we stick with it--if we stick with it we'll get closer to the peace every day and the greatest danger to a quick peace is for Americans to pick at each other, pick themselves to pieces. If they'll just stay with it -- we're making constitutional government progress. Oh, I wish I had the time here today. From a constituent assembly to an election of a president -and it wasn't a fraud, and it wasn't a hoax. Isn't that something! Before the election was ever held, we had headlines, we had people proclaiming for our media, getting on the television, speaking in Congress, speaking out on the

platform--said its a hoax and a fraud--haven't even had the election yet. Well, I want to say something -- there have been a few hoaxes and frauds around. Once in a while there have been a few ballots counted in America that didn't exist, too. I almost became mayor of Minneapolis one night until the river precincts came in; and I want you to know this was the most extraordinary example of citizenship responsibility. In 100 years that city had never had over 35 per cent of the electorate in that ward vote. But that night they were just motivated with the highest qualities of citizenship and 92 per cent of them voted, and against me! So I know a little bit about elections: I've been around in the hills and valleys. I happen to think, however, I happen to think that by and large those elections have been pretty good considering the fact, considering the fact of the conditions in the country -the war; and let's give them a chance. They're fighting for their lives. We're their allies. We've got our reputation on the line. And make no mistake about it, the only shield of peace in this world is the integrity of the American commitment. The day that we renig on our promises, our commitments, all bets are off. Who do you think can keep a commitment if we can't? Who do you think can help the poor if we can't? Who do you think can help the weak if we can't? Who do you think can man the ramparts of freedom if we can't? Who do you think there is left to do it that has the resources? I just think if you think it through you'll know what the answer is. Whether we like it or not we have a very heavy responsibility, and if we stay with it history will note that we were a great people, that we didn't just care for luxury, that we did care for the kind of a world that it was going to be, that we weren't willing to settle for a world of tyranny. Instead we were willing to put up a fight for a world of freedom in the hopes that it might be a reality. This is what I really believe, and I'm glad to say it to a college audience. (applause)

Dr. Harrill: Dr. Pyron.

Vice President Humphrey: I won't be so long in my answers now.

Dr. Pyron: Maybe it'll be an easier question. Mr. Vice
President, in terms of your long-range commitments that you
were talking about while ago domestically, in her book, The
Rich Nations and the Poor Nations, Barbara Ward has suggested
that we face a growing crisis in the world due to the increasing
gap between the poor nations and the rich nations of the world.
And in light of her suggested remedies, I have two related
questions about our foreign policy: (1) Has the United States,
to use your phrase, domestically, a broad long-range goal and
plan directing its economic aid to the poor nations, and (2)
have we any plans for encouraging greater participation by
other so-called rich nations in economic aid to the poor nations?

Vice President Humphrey: I'm glad you asked that question on Barbara Ward's writings. Lady Jackson, or Barbara Ward is one of my closest friends. I admire her greatly and I think she has a tremendous insight into the, particularly into the economic and social problems that confront modern humanity. I encourage the students to do some reading of her writings. We have our foreign aid program; we have a host of programs, as a matter of fact. The Asian Development Bank, the InterAmerican Development Bank, the World Bank to which we are a large contributor, the International Development Association, the Export-Import Bank -- these are all part of the financial structure of a long-term commitment of the United States towards international development, and I believe that it's fair to say that since World War II we have exercised a very constructive role of leadership in international, political, economic social development. I must confess that I do not believe our present foreign aid program is adequate. It's been sharply cut because of pressures upon the Congress. I think the public has some doubts as to the foreign aid program; it obviously has had on occasions some serious troubles. We're working with people today who are not like our Western European neighbors. They are not skilled and they're not competent, some of them, in management, they're new societies, new nations, therefore frequently the dollars that we spend are not always as productive as we would hope.

But we do have a foreign aid program and we have a rather substantial commitment as your Congressmen, Congressman Ashmore or Congressman Dorn and others could tell you. It's a very expensive commitment on the part of the United States, including our Food for Peace Program, which runs into the billions of dollars. Now the other part of the question is more important -- what about the other industrialized nations? When I went to Europe for your government this March and April I spent a good deal of my time on that very question; Going to the more industrialized countries, as I have to Japan and to Australia, going to those countries and asking them to make a permanent commitment to development assistance. We are making that progress; we have a committee headquartered now in Europe -- I believe it's in Paris -- it may have transferred its headquarters to Brussels in light of some of the changes -- but we have a committee known as DAC, which is one of the committees related to the OECD, the Organization of European Economic Development. DAC is the Development Assistance Committee -- the Development Assistance Committee of the Industrialized nations works on the subject, on this problem of getting continuing long-term commitments from the more wealthy industrialized nations as a form of aid, of economic and material aid to the developing nations. I must be honest with this audience, the gap between the rich and the poor widens rather than being closed, and I believe the

greatest danger to world peace today is the widening of that gap and therefore it is imperative that the industrialized nations share with us a greater share of this burden. This is not something the United States can do alone no matter how big our heart, no matter how kind we may be, we need the help of others and we're working on it. Yessir, Mr. Wilson.

Otis Wilson: Perhaps you will be able to answer this one quickly as you have touched on it already. There has been much question concerning the legality of federal aid to church related colleges and universities. What do you feel are the future prospects for such aid?

Vice President Humphrey: This is the higher education measure that you are speaking of?

Otis Wilson: Yessir.

Vice President Humphrey: Well, I, speaking for myself as a senator that voted for that bill, and I was a senator and now as a Vice President, and I took an oath to uphold the constitution, and I consider that a sacred obligation—I believe that aid to higher education is constitutional; I do not believes that it violates the concept of the separation of church and state. I believe strongly in that concept. I believe that higher education is absolutely essential, higher education assistance by the federal government is absolutely essential if we are going to strengthen our higher education establishment to meet the ever increasing demands upon our university and college system. This does not mean that there

should be less private help; it simply means that the numbers that are going to our universities, the requirements of students upon universities is so much greater now than it has been that we need these additional resources. What is more, higher education assistance can help--well it can be an equalizer throughout the country. In other words, a state that doesn't have as much in resources as another can get some help so that your educational system can be upgraded as it is being here in the state of South Carolina, for example. I think one of the greatest achievements of your governor and of your state is the emphasis which has been placed upon your educational structure. I know that this fine university has made a distinct forward move in upgrading the whole quality of education as well as the quantity of it, and if we're going to have these smaller universities and colleges in which I strongly believe to the point that my sons have graduated all from small colleges and not from the great state university. One of them from American University, one of them from Mankato State College, and another one now going to Hamlin University, a church-related school in St. Paul. I happen to believe that aid to higher education can be of significant help to those smaller colleges; it can provide research grants; it can provide construction grants; it can provide library assistance; it can provide for so many services which frequently the private donations cannot possibly take care of, and what's more, it can help cut down the tuition

costs. Otherwise, I'm afraid private schools will price themselves out of the education market. So you see where I stand; I guess it's no doubt that I'm for federal aid to higher education. (applause)

Dr. Harrill: The Vice President is a gracious man. He says he will take one question from the audience. Now who has one they feel like they must ask? John.

John: Mr. Vice President, in 1948 in your home state of Minnesota a third party peace movement headed by Henry A. Wallace Thoreau. At that time you were the mayor of Minneapolis and were quoted as saying that the Wallace third party movement was a part of the international pattern to confuse honest liberals and to hobble the functioning of democracy. Today we have seen the embryo of a third party peace movement on a national scale. Those involved in this movement are criticizing the honest liberals. My question is, would you have the same criticism for these people today that you did in 1948?

Dr. Harrill: The question for those who didn't hear it—
he asked the Vice President what his feeling is about a
possible third party movement, particularly among the liberals
who are critical of the current administration. Is that about
it, John?

Vice President Humphrey: In 1948 I was I suppose it's not immodest to say, at least one of the leaders of the party in my state. We had fought a bitter struggle in the state of

Minnesota between the left wing of the farmer labor party and the Democratic party. I was the author of the fusion of the bringing together of the Democratic party and the farmer labor party, as the questioner may know, if he has read some of our political history. The old farmer labor party, the remnants of the farmer labor party were dominated by element s of the Communist party and left wingers that were not Communists. But we had men like Clarence Hathaway and Ernie DeMayo and a few others out there that were -- Clarence Hathaway was the former editor of the Daily Worker of the Communist party and they lived in that part of America, and they were busily engaged in infiltrating our party. I used to tell the Communists that if they wanted a party they should get in their own and leave ours alone. We weren't going to tolerate their presence. I got into politics for this one reason above all. Secretary of Agriculture Orville Freeman coming back from the war as a marine was one of my young associates; Eugene McCarthy, United States Senator from Minnesota was one of my associates. One of my young students that came to help us is Senator Walter Mondale -- he was a student of mine at McAlister College. He serves in the United States Senate now. Mrs. Eugenie Anderson, presently a former ambassador of the United States to Denmark and Bulgaria and now in the United Nations with Arthur Goldberg is another one of us. We were-they called those people Humphrey's diaper brigade -- they were all very young in those days. We decided to keep our party

a clean, indigenous, progressive, liberal American party and we decided that there was no room in that party for people that frankly had connections, some of them, with the Communist party and many of them that were not at all in favor of our Democratic party platform or program. So we set to work to clean house and we had a bitter battle. The first fight took place in 1946. We lost that fight. I remember walking down an aisle just like this -- I was elected mayor of Minneapolis in 1945 -- the largest majority any man ever received in that office, to give you some facts. When I walked down the line the delegates from my own county hollered at me, "Warmonger! Fascist!" and I said, "Wait a minute, what's going on here? They had taken over caucuses -- when I say they had I mean the left wing had taken over. No I don't fool anybody, I've been all my life a liberal and some people think too liberal; some people have even thought radical; but I think that one of the differences that needs to be noted is that a Communist is not a liberal. He is a complete, total Red reactionary -- that's what he is; he doesn't believe in any liberalism at all. He's a dogmatist, he's prejudiced, he's bigoted, he is a doctrinaire person and he's not a liberal, just because he says he's for the working man. You bring me notice that there are very few working people that are Communists. It is generally somebody that got spoiled with wealth maybe somewhere along the line. So we set out to defeat them, and in the long run we did. We cleaned up our

party; I ran on the party ticket in 1948. Mr. Wallace was never a Communist. Mr. Wallace was never even close to being one. He was an idealist. He was a wonderful, fine human being. I say that now as I said then and of all the human tragedies I think the envelopment of Henry Wallace who wanted peace and wanted it desperately, who wanted a reconciliation with Russia and wanted it desperately -- the fact that he was used by extreme leftist elements and some of them Communists, was a singular tragedy and he lived to know it and to repudiate the whole crowd. And what I said then is exactly true about that time and that particular time that that peace party as they called that -- it was called the Progressive Party -- I know who was the head of it, he was from the state of Minnesota--I was very familiar with the details, and I know on what issues they broke with us -- on the Marshall Plan and the Truman Doctrine. Everything that President Truman stood for in foreign policy they opposed, and the Communist party was at the very center of that movement. Now what about now. I'm not sure that the Communist party is at the center of the peace movement in the United States. I know that it is the center at some places, but I know there are an awful lot of nice and wonderful Americans that feel that they're doing the right thing by being for peace and supporting peace candidates. I wouldn't accuse the peace candidates of being under the egis or the control of the Communist party. I don't know. I knew in 1948. I

think the organization was much more closely held and organized and managed and manipulated by the Communist party. I think the Progressive Party was just manipulated by the Progressive Party, I mean by the Communist Party. Now the peace party as yet has not been really organized in America. There isn't any real national organization. There are peace candidates, some of them that are very fine decent Americans that I think are terribly misguided on foreign policy, so I don't want my remarks on this platform to be interpreted that some men who are great doctors and great ministers and great teachers -- and they are, and they're fine and good people that are peace candidates are doing it because they re under the control of any insidious foreign influence. To the contrary, I think they are very sincere; I think they're also very wrong, but I think it can also be said that the propaganda organization which works in this country year in and year out, day in and day out against American involvement whether its in Europe or in Southeast Asia, the center of that propaganda movement has obvious connections with the Communist party, but there isn't as yet any national peace party in America, and I don't want anyone to go around and accuse some of these illustrious Americans who I think are wrong in their views, of being Communists, Communist controlled or Communist influenced. Some of them are very Christian, some of them are pacifistic, some of them are tremendously idealistic and some of them are just plain

misinformed and some of them are just regrettably the victims of a lack of information, and I guess maybe that's our fault. Maybe we should be better teachers. Thank you for your question. (applause)

Dr. Harrill: The Vice President has been much more generous with his time than we could expect. Let me say to you, Mr. Vice President, this has been a great afternoon for us, and I assure you we shall not forget you in South Carolina. (applause)

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