



OFFICE OF THE VICE PRESIDENT

FRIDAY PM'S
MAY 17, 1968

EXCERPTS
QUESTION AND ANSWER SESSION
VICE PRESIDENT HUBERT HUMPHREY
UNIVERSITY OF MAINE
ORONO, MAINE
MAY 17, 1968

These opening remarks will be brief.

There are two reasons for this brevity.

One is that I need the practice.

The other reason -- and the real one -- is that I count it one of the basic...and pregnant...facts in America today that such a distance is developing between American youth and what you call...and I know what you mean..."the Establishment."

Talking about a "generation gap" is no help...but only some more of our habit of turning off any real thinking about a problem as soon as we have a catch-phrase for it.

There is much more here than just the kind of thing every generation has experienced with those which preceded and followed it.

I think you could very fairly paraphrase a recent report on another -- probably not entirely unrelated -- problem; and say that this nation is moving today toward two societies: one young, one older -- separate and unequal.

If this seems something else entirely...I point out to you that the two areas in which there is today the highest tide of protest in this country are America's campuses and her ghettos.

Is this only coincidence?

Perhaps so...if it is reasonable, that is, to expect a correlation between protest and the denial of the good things in life...in the usual materialistic sense. For the campus and the ghetto are at opposite ends of the spectrum of opportunity as we ordinarily think of it.

And yet these two areas have one thing in common: It is among Negroes and college students that there is today the strongest feeling of being left out -- excluded -- as far as participation in the decision-making process is concerned.

I don't press the point. Perhaps it is an illusion. I don't think so. I think...rather...that much of the discontent in America today traces less to what is being done...or not done...in terms of results...than it does to a growing insistence by American individuals that they have a larger voice in the affairs of institutions.

I guess this is clear on the campuses.

It is perhaps less obvious in the ghettos.

I think it is probably true, however, not only among university students and minority groups but a vast majority of Americans -- without regard to race, religion, education...or age.

And I think it represents one of the most significant dimensions of contemporary democracy.

But I said this was a reason for my being brief here today.

It is.

This is one session where "the Establishment" is going to listen...and respond to whatever questions you may ask...and find as much instruction in your questions as you may in the answers.

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James Pres. Jim Turner - New Pres. Steve Hughes
THE REMARKS PRIOR TO YOUR ENTRANCE ARE FAREWELL TO
(Start with H)

MAINE UNIVERSITY PRESIDENT, EDWIN YOUNG, AND VICE
PRESIDENT H. AUSTIN PECK, AND INTRODUCTION OF NEW
STUDENT OFFICERS.

my candidates
- Sen Muskie
- Steve Hughes
- Brian Hardin (Student President)
Steve Gould
Good credits
need Rain

LOCAL COLOR

DOWNSTAIRS AT "PATS" IS THE BIG COLLEGE HANGOUT
FOR MAINE UNIVERSITY STUDENTS

BEER AND PIZZA ARE GREAT

Pats | Steve Gould
Police Chief
Campus

Ed Young - Pres. U" Maine
"Change of Plans"

(John Hironaka - Pres)

⊗ Steve Muskie

Yonkers Conference
State Baseball
Championship
Bates College
Coby
Bodin

Girls
Stay
out
later
change of
Rules

LOCAL COLOR

THE LOVELY RIVER WHICH THE MOTORCADE
CROSSED IS THE "STILLWATER".

~~HOWEVER~~

A GREAT DEAL OF DISCUSSION ABOUT HOW
POLLUTED AND SMELLY IT IS.

"Smell water"

THERE IS A PEACE CORPS TYPE ORGANIZATION ON CAMPUS

CALLED

STUDENT ACTION CORPS

YOU WILL MEET REPRESENTATIVES OF THIS GROUP ON

YOUR DEPARTURE FROM CAMPUS

Volunteer Generation

Action

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omit in
release

An unusually kind friend told me the other day that the new
definition of an optimist is a woman in the audience who starts
putting on her shoes when Vice President Humphrey says, "And
now in conclusion ..."

omit in
release

Abraham Lincoln's theory was a little more charitable: that when some people start talking they are too lazy to stop.

The other reason -- and the real one -- is that I count it
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one of basic ... and pregnant ... facts in America today that
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Communication Gap
older + younger

Communication Gap

2 societies - one young - one
old - separate + unequal

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Protest

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Ghetto
+
Campus

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Decision
making

I count!

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Address by

HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Vice President of the United States

Memorial Gymnasium, Orono, Maine

Friday, May 17, 1968

2:30 p.m.

THE NATIONAL ANTHEM, by the University of Maine Band.

REMARKS, by Paul E. Cote, Assistant to Senate President, 1967-68.

In a few minutes we will listen to a speech being given by a man who is Vice President and wants to be President. Among us in this audience there are two men to whom we owe special thanks. One of these men is Vice President and is leaving us to become President. The other is our President and he is leaving us to become someone else's Vice President. There are many reasons for thanking these men so we have many thank yous. First, thank you, Mr. Young, for giving us the freedom of dissent. Many times we do not agree with you, Mr. President, but you possess enough intellectual integrity and curiosity to find out why we do not agree. Thank you. Further, thank you for recognizing that students were indeed first class citizens and should be treated as such by properly guaranteeing their rights, and thank you for making yourself available. Many students, I am sure, do not realize that talking to the President required but a short walk to Alumni Hall or a brief trot to the den at times. There are many college Presidents who can administer, but fewer and fewer who are generally human beings like you, Mr. Young. Next, we thank you, Dr. Peck, for being more than a Vice President. Often the office of Vice President is nothing more than second fiddle. If you have ever played second fiddle it is because there was a concert master in the first chair, but many times you were the conductor, especially concerning academic affairs. Our thank you, Mr. Vice President, is extended because you have made the

University of Maine a stronger place academically. Thank you. Finally, Mr. Young and Dr. Peck, if the administration of Lloyd Elliott will be remembered for its honeymoon in the State Legislature, yours will be remembered because of its befriending of the students. We wish the very best to you wherever you may go and express our sincere gratitude for what you have given us here. Thank you.

INTRODUCTION, by James M. Turner, President, Student Senate, 1967-68.

Thank you very much, Paul, for saying what so many of us feel and expressing the sentiments of so many of us at the University. Dr. Young and Dr. Peck, we will truly miss you. The year has been a good one for student government. It has been one of progress and cooperation -- cooperation with administration and cooperation among students. It has been hard work and much of it has been rewarded with success. Politicalism may very well be just a name. It began on a chilly Sunday evening last fall with Barry Goldwater but it ends here today, but today is really just the beginning of bigger and better things that students can do with this University. The person whom I am about to introduce is the President who will lead those efforts next year. Three months ago he was relatively unknown. Today he is the new Student Senate President. He campaigned unswervingly against overwhelming odds and he won, and I am confident that his determination, his soft spoken manner, and his firm leadership will lead student government next year on to both bigger and better things. At last Tuesday's Senate meeting we

passed the gavel from the old Senate President to the new Senate President, and I just had to mention this at this time because I gave Steve a new gavel and it was a white one. I told Steve, white stands for purity and honesty. Don't let yours get tarnished. This one was mine. Ladies and gentlemen, your new Student Body President, Steve Hughes.

REMARKS, by Stephen T. Hughes, President, Student Senate, 1968-69.

(Vice President Humphrey enters the Auditorium.)

That was our first departure from the format. It is a real thrill to greet the Vice President here tonight and to welcome all of you to our program. I think that I am going to keep my remarks very brief but I want to say one thing. I think every student on this campus owes a debt of gratitude to the former President of the Student Senate, Jim Turner. Probably the most effective activity the Senate followed this year was the Politicalisms Committee actions. This is the last activity for the year, but I think it really sets the pace for what we are trying to do next year. We have a budget which will be over twice what we had for the past year, and if the cooperation from the classes continues on the level it has in the past, we will be able to bring the most exciting list of speakers this campus has ever seen. I think that next year we are going to try to branch out in our area of activities, bringing not only political speakers but also speakers from the arts and from other fields of government and learning. So I am looking forward to great things from the Politicalism Committee and I think that your Senate

is going to be the Senate that really comes of age in its quest for responsibility and for real student participation in the decisions on this campus. As I said, the classes in this past year have cooperated greatly with the Student Senate in bringing to our campus speakers and the man I am going to introduce now will introduce our guest for the day. He is the new President of the Class of 1969, Mr. Brian R. Harden.

INTRODUCTION, by Brian R. Harden, President, Class of 1969.

I have been asked to introduce to you a man who the nature of this gathering assures me needs little introduction. Anyone who could cause 2,500 students, 100 reporters, 5 TV cameras, half the policemen from here to Boston, enumerable representatives of the Secret Service, the University Band, 150 invited guests, 20 distinguished invited guests, and Steve Gould, - this man must have made a name for himself somewhere. This man has been one of the most creative legislators of our times. Throughout 16 years as a United States Senator he fought diligently for such realistic and productive legislation as that which provides training for unemployed youths, that which protects the public from harmful drugs, that which provides scholarships for needy college students, and that which protects the rights of the individual through political participation. This man has accepted the challenge of doing more in his four years as Vice President then presiding quietly over the Senate or sitting in on Cabinet meetings. He has served the President and his fellow Americans with dignity and pride, both at home and abroad. His

interests in the right of the individual and of the unfortunate have continued to advance the cause of unity here in America. His Vice Presidential missions to Africa, Asia, Europe and nearby Mexico and Canada has strengthened our relations with other nations. Today I present to you a man with vision, a man with ideas, a man with energy, and a man with compassion. Ladies and gentlemen, the Vice President of the United States.

ADDRESS, by Hubert H. Humphrey, Vice President of the United States of America.

Brian, I would like to put you on my payroll as a professional introducer. I have never been introduced with more flattering comments and in the words of Adlai Stevenson, flattery is alright if you don't inhale it. I was breathing deeply with every line. President Young, former President Turner, President Hughes, President Harden, - my, I like to hear that word President. I hope you will take note of the fact that of these amongst the student group that there were two presidents who started with "H" and only one with "T" and none with "K" or "M" except it could be Muskie over here. By the way, I thought I ought to explain the purpose of this journey. I was asked by Senator Muskie to come here to launch his campaign for the presidency. I don't want to do too well. I want you to know that, but I have my Muskie button on today and I am for my dear, good and wonderful friend, Senator Ed Muskie, to be president of Maine, and I want to tell you the people of this country could do a lot worse and I doubt if they

could do better if they made him president of the United States. That is enough, don't go any further. I am sorry I haven't met Steve Gould. I want some good protection. They tell me if I go down to Pat's I will find him there. I said to Senator Muskie as we were driving in by motorcade and went across the river, I said what is the name of the river and I thought I heard him say Stillwater but it seemed more like Smellwater, but he is a great publicist for this campus even though, of course, he is one of the more underprivileged people of your state. He went to Bates. I asked President Young, I said could you just give me just a little indication of some of the more topical current events and he said yes. He said the University of Maine just won the State baseball championship, and I said, well, that is very, very good. I said what kind of competition did they have, and he said not much, Bates, Colby, Bowdoin and a few others like that. It was at this point that the Senator from Maine registered his protest in dissent. Now, I want to -- oh, by the way, I am so pleased that I was able to prevail here. You know Vice Presidents are like Hector. They are sort of like the political scientists say, they are experts and they are not supposed to be on top. They are just supposed to be on tap. President Young asked me for a little advice. He said there was some discussion here going on about how late the girls could stay out, and I advised let them stay out as late as they want. They will anyway. I want you to know that was not the advice I gave to my daughter, however. My part in this program -- formal part will

be rather limited. I want to turn this program over to the students for a dialogue for communication. I have heard repeatedly about the generation gap and I think there is a great deal to it. I must say though that this matter of youth is not always a matter of age. I have seen a few young people that were really ready for geritol and social security at about age 20. I won't say what their politics was but they had rather conservative views, and I have seen some people at age 75 or 80 that I would advise them to keep away from this campus late at night, particularly with the new rules that you have. It is said, you know, about Justice Brandeis that when he was in his 80's and on the Supreme Court, and his beloved friend Oliver Wendal Holmes was walking down one of the streets of Washington with him, and Brandeis at about age 88 saw a very lovely creature going by him and he turned around and he said, oh boy, what I would give to be 70 again. This is only a way to document my case. Age is not so much a matter -- or youth is not so much a matter of age as it is attitude. Somebody put it, and I have forgotten his name and I am sorry I can only paraphrase it, but he said we are as old as our doubts, and as young as our faith. We are as old as our fears, and as young as our hopes. We are as old as our despair and as young as our ideals. That is the way that you measure youth. America is not what you would call a young nation any longer, except in its hopes, its ideals and its faith. If there was ever a time we needed to think that way, it is now. Many people spend their days telling us about our weaknesses and we have them. There isn't any doubt

about it. One of the great Swedish socialologists was once asked, he was asked how do you find out what is really wrong with America. This great Swedish professor said just ask somebody, he will tell you and he will talk about it for a week. No doubt we know our weaknesses and our limitations. The difficult problem is to know the answers and find the solutions and be able to look ahead and see what we can do to remedy these weaknesses and limitations. I do not believe in glossing over the facts of our times, dismal facts, some of them very sad facts of deprivation, of hunger in a land of plenty for some of our fellow Americans, of discrimination and segregation that blight and break the human spirit, of urban slums, of polluted water and air, of the dangers of the threat of major war, and the fact of a sad and ugly war on our hands even at this time. These facts are here, but there are also some other facts, that never has a nation or society been so well equipped by science, technology, know-how, learning, resources, material and spiritual, to cope with these problems as this particular society of ours called the United States of America, and I will put it another way. If you think that we hope for a better world and many of us are deeply concerned about the poverty in India, we are concerned about the poverty and the tensions in the Mid-East, we are concerned about the necessity of better relationships between the west and eastern countries, between the so-called free countries and the communist countries, I submit to you that if we in this country cannot learn how to live together without a divided nation, separate and unequal,

if we in this country with what we have cannot overcome the tragedy of poverty, if we cannot overcome man's ancient enemies of illiteracy and hunger and disease with what we have, with an \$850 billion economy, with 57 percent of the families of America with a son or a daughter in a university, with having produced over 50 percent of all of the world's goods last year from only 6 percent of the population, if we cannot overcome poverty, distress, discrimination, and the ugliness of slums, what makes you think anybody else can. So I am one of those Americans that says that we can do it. We have the capacity. We have the ability. We know some of the answers. The question is do we have the will, and that is what I am here to talk to you about. Now, we are not going to have that will if we have a divided society and the division is not just black and white, it is even young and old. There is in a sense some generation gap, but more importantly there is a communications gap, and that is what we need to start to close because remember you don't stay young forever. One of the reasons I wanted to come to see you is you are going to be in charge of my Medicare and I wanted to take a look at you and see what you are going to do about it. One of these days it will all be yours, good, bad or indifferent, and then there will be another crowd coming around and telling you that you are the establishment so get ready for it. Now, I admit we are part of the establishment, but it is my establishment and the non-establishment to try to broaden the establishment. What is behind this protest that seems to be evident throughout the world?

Some people think it is all bad. I don't. I was saying to Senator Muskie and Dr. Young on the way in that my visit with John Gronouski this morning, our Ambassador to Poland, without revealing the intimacies of that discussion let me say something is happening in the world. The emancipation. The so-called iron curtain is being pierced. There are different relationships today within the communist countries. There is no monolith any longer. And in Czechoslovakia, Rumania, Hungary, Poland and Yugoslavia and other countries that only a few years ago we considered as if they were imbedded in concrete with a fixed ideology and fixed position, that isn't the case any more. People are wanting to be heard. They are wanting to be identified. They are really standing up and saying don't make me an IBM card. Don't punch or mutilate. I am a man and I want to count. I want to be identified and some people come up and poke their finger and say remember me, don't put a serial number on me. This is not bad. It is good. It is the rise of individualism, but that rise in individualism must come within a frame work that is sufficiently flexible to channel these energies to constructive purposes. Individualism can lead to amity or individualism can lead to liberty. It can lead to freedom and freedom is not license. Freedom is not exploitation. Freedom is not violence. Freedom is the pursuit of common goals by individuals who are capable and willing to use their own individual capacities to enrich their own lives without detracting from the life of somebody else. I happen to be one of those who believes you don't need

to tear this country down in order to build yourself up. I don't even believe in politics that you need to tear the other fellow down to make yourself look a little better. I don't think you need to be a negativist, and I don't think you have to be a polyanish populist. I think you need to have some grasp for the facts and then put the facts to work. Well, finally, let me put it this way. There is a lot of people who feel left out, and believe it or not they are not all poor. I was at the village of the poor in Washington yesterday. They call it Resurrection City. I didn't wait for the leaders to come to me. I went to them. I happen to believe that a government of the people, by the people and for the people ought to have some interest in the people, and you ought not to have to wait for the people to come to you and plead a supplicance, rather that those of us in public life have an obligation to search out the problems and to go and try to find a way to work with those who are facing and who are afflicted by these problems. On campuses and in ghettos there is protest. I am no expert in any of this, but I know this much, that some of our great universities are so big that the student feels lost. I was a teacher, under-paid at the time I might add, - one of those teaching assistants and then later on full professor with great title and low income. I am a refugee from the classroom. I mentioned to Dr. Young I may have to come back and apply for a job. I understand that you believe in me. That is the biggest noise out of Humphrey for some time. I didn't know you were going to respond so soon, Dr. Young. Some

of you may have thought that was a no. Really it was just a voice that was yes. I believe that much of what we see today is an effort on the part of people to be included in the decision making processes, and much of it is very healthy. The community action committees of our poverty program across the country in which thousands of people, never heard of before, never had a chance to be heard, no one paid any attention to them except to call them poor, - thousands of people today are making decisions about their lives. Head-start programs are being operated by the mothers of the poor. Projects like Vista and Upward Bound and others are an indication of a broader participation on the part of a large number of people that never before had a chance to participate. This is what I call the new democracy, the participatory democracy, broadening the base on which government by the consent of the governed is established, and this is the story of democracy. We have always said in our history that we had democracy from the beginning. We, of course, did not. We had the seeds of democracy. We did not have universal suffrage and it is only within this recent period that we had the guarantee of the right to vote, regardless of race, creed or color and the Act of 1965. But guaranteeing the right to vote is not enough. What is enough is that the man who votes feels he has a stake in his society, that he is not rebelling against it, but rather that he is loving it and that he feels he is a part of it. As John Stuart Bell once said, let a man have nothing to do for his country and he will have no love for it.

Never were truer words ever spoken. What we need is not just government for the people, or a university for the students. We need government of the people and we need government by the people, all kinds of people, people that you and I have never met, people that have been rebuked and left out for years, and our great universities today are finding that there is a great deal of merit in some of the requests that are made to make the university curriculum more relevant to the facts of life, to have some coordination between students and faculty and administration. This does not justify, does not justify vigilante activities on the part of one side, nor does it justify rabid, ugly, arrogant violence on the part of the other. If there is any place in the world where we ought to be able to reason things out, it is in a university. A university ought to be the one establishment in which man's intellect, his mind, his capacity to reason, to make the necessary adjustments, is demonstrated unmistakably. If we cannot do it where we have learned people, if we cannot do this in an atmosphere of scholarship, which atmosphere should bring with it tolerance and respect for the other man's point of view, what makes you think that we can adjudicate or settle our problems in an atmosphere of a ghetto or in the atmosphere of political tension. So I call upon you university students not to hush their tongues, not to be yes people, not to run away from the privilege and the duty of dissent, but to do it within the framework of responsibility. Reason, restraint and responsibility adds up to an educated person. And I gather the purpose of

the university and a free society is the education of the human being that brings his enrichment, spiritually, intellectually and materially. Well, those are some of the things that I wanted to say to you. I have a chance now to have you talk to me, and Mr. Turner, I turn myself back to your tender mercies and may you be as tender as I suggest. Thank you very much.

JAMES M. TURNER:

Today our guest, Vice President Humphrey, will answer questions from a panel of students, representative of the university community. At this time let me introduce our Meet The Students Panel. From the Vice President's left, immediate left, Miss Jan Martens, a senior psychology major, very active in student government and a member of Phi Beta Kappa and Phi Kappa Phi; Mr. John Noble, a graduate student in history, who did his undergraduate work at the State University of New York; next Miss Marcia Due, a Junior journalist major and editor of the Maine Campus; and last Paul Cote, administrative assistant to the President and a Senior major in philosophy. We will begin the questioning with Miss Jan Martens.

MISS JAN MARTENS:

I begin the question and answer period, Mr. Vice President, by asking you this, and that is do you feel the United States can find a solution to the national and international problems, and regardless of the late Dr. Martin Luther King's cause, there are many people who have been quick to point out that he did in fact on occasion break the law and furthermore with his non-violent methods

did at times lead to violence. What I am specifically asking you is this. Would you place the preservation of law and order above the violation of the law in order to promote or achieve justice?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

In a free society where the democratic processes can work, where the right of political participation is now protected by Federal law and Federal officials, where education is at least in the main general and open, I believe that we can get the redress of our grievances, and most people have some, through the peaceful, non-violent processes; and, therefore, I cannot subscribe to actions that are directed towards violence or actions which lend themselves towards violence, and I say that not so much because I think every law is just, because many laws are not just and many laws you don't like, but if each individual decides to only obey the law he or she likes, then you have no law because freedom does not carry with it the right of the individual to choose as to what is the prevailing law or the prevailing law of the country duly established political processes. Just as we must have respect for the rights of the minority we must also abide by the decisions of the majority, preserving the right of that minority to change that majority. That is what it is all about in a constitutional process. That is what it is in our own democratic process. I know everybody can judge and would like to make selected judgments. I know a lady here some time ago who refused to pay her income taxes because she didn't believe in some programs of the Federal Government. I have

forgotten. She had several write-ups in several magazines. I can imagine everybody would like not to pay your income taxes. Pretty soon if we let that standard prevail, there would be no revenues. Some people like social security. Somebody else doesn't. Some like the fair labor standards act. We are going to have the 25th anniversary of it very shortly. I mean 30th anniversary of it very shortly. But a large number of employers think it is terrible. Now, if we are going to permit individual choice on whether or not you obey a law or live within the frame work of a law that is established by democratic processes, you are going to have amity, and it is just that simple. We ought not to pretend that you can somehow pick and chose. However, you do have the right for political action. You do have the right to participate in political processes. You do have the right to appeal in the Courts. You do have the right to peaceful demonstration, the right to picket, the right to demonstrate, and many rights. And, of course, there are some local ordinances, which I must confess, I cannot imagine anything more undesirable and more deplorable to human dignity then to have a local ordinance that says that you because you are black you go one place and you because you are white go another place. Now, fortunately, the political processes said that is unconstitutional. First of all, I believe it is immoral, but I also believe it is unconstitutional and so did the courts and the Congress acted affirmatively along the basis of the Court decision and constitutional processes. Dr. Martin Luther King was not a violent man, but every

movement always has with it and brings in its wake people who exploit in it,- Every movement. I have never seen the time that a progressive or liberal movement, even a radical movement, wasn't infiltrated by people who are basically reactionaries, commonly known as communists, the biggest reactionaries in the world. But they always hang on and they are always the extremists. There are many decent, wonderful people in the south, white moderates, that are not always with us on these things, and right away something attaches itself on the side known as the white supremacy crowd, who are the extremists, the Klu Kluxers and then you get a liberal group over here like the student non-violent movement or Dr. King's movement and right away someone attaches themselves on and they call themselves militants. They are not militants at all. I feel that I am rather militant. I have been so most all of my life. Some people think too much so. But they are not militants. They are extremists that indulge in exploitation of human needs and human behavior and human make-up and they lend themselves to violence and to criminal and inhuman acts. I don't consider those people very helpful to any cause. You don't promote a good cause in a free society that way. Thank you.

MR. JAMES M. TURNER:

Mr. John Noble.

MR. JOHN NOBLE:

Mr. Vice President, will the United States negotiate directly with the National Liberation Front of Vietnam? Will we accept the

coalition government of the NLF as participants? If you answer yes to this question, why wouldn't we accept this same thing three years ago? What happens to the present South Vietnamese government? Will we sit by and watch Nguyen Ky eliminated the same way Diem was eliminated?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

Can we take them one at a time?

MR. JOHN NOBLE:

Okay.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

I notice you have a rather long agenda there. Now lets just take No. 1 first.

MR. JOHN NOBLE:

Will we negotiate with the National Liberation Front?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

It has now been agreed at the Paris meetings that the North Vietnamese can have whomever they want on their side and we will have whomever we want on our side. It is just that simple. Now that is the language used to permit the representation of the Viet Cong and the NLF with those negotiations with the North Vietnamese on their side because there isn't any doubt but the North Vietnamese today are the major combatants in South Vietnam. The ranks of the Viet Cong today are filled anywhere from 50 to 80 percent by North Vietnamese regulars. They bring their -- well, now, I bet you have better reports up here then we have in the

government. Without going into that detail, the North Vietnamese and NLF are, and the Viet Cong are on one side of the table and the United States and South Vietnam and the other allies are on this side of the table. That is the answer to No. 1. That problem now fortunately is behind us.

MR. JOHN NOBLE:

Will we accept the coalition government of the NLF?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

We will not impose a coalition government upon the elected government of South Vietnam. If the government of South Vietnam that we have advocated through the political processes through general elections for all people, if such a government happens to bring in to it by the election process representatives of the NLF or whatever representatives it is, or whatever representative there may be, that is their decision. We did not enter the struggle for the protection of the right of self determination, to determine what will be the establishment of government in South Vietnam.

MR. JAMES M. TURNER:

Marcia Due.

MISS MARCIA DUE:

You led the successful fight to enact the Peace Corps program, but now the Peace Corps is losing prestige in the under-developed countries because volunteers cannot justify their aiding people when at the same time the United States is supporting status quo dictatorships in most of these countries. Would you please comment

on this?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

I am very proud of the Peace Corps. I am very pleased and may I say humbly proud to be the chairman of its advisory council and have visited the Peace Corps all over the world. It is not losing momentum. It is not losing its sense of morale. It is doing a remarkable job and countries all over the world are asking for more volunteers and I hope that this university will do as it has in the past in providing a number of those volunteers. The Peace Corps is not directed towards remaking governments. It is directed towards helping people remake their lives. We have asked our Peace Corps people not to be political machineries. We have asked them to be missionaries for human betterment, by that I mean workers for human betterment. As a matter of fact, some of the places where the Peace Corps is needed the most is where the government is the worst. And I think that that answers the question pretty well. If we have a Peace Corps going in as if political commandos we will be in trouble. We have got enough trouble now without asking for more. What we are trying to do is to keep the Peace Corps and help the people, to educate the people, to get them help, community experience, community development experience, and it is my view that if we can keep at that and keep out of some of the domestic politics that some of these countries have, some of which I don't like at all, that in due time what the Peace Corps does will help bring about a reform in such country, a change in government in

that country, a change in the economy that will be helpful to the people and democratic processes.

MR. JAMES M. TURNER:

Paul Cote.

MR. PAUL COTE:

Mr. Vice President, are you familiar with the facts and substance of Senator Mark Hatfield's recommendation for a professional army? If so, will you comment on that?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

I am not familiar with all of it. I recall the Senator's comments about it. If we could have a professional army of sufficient size, I suppose that might have merit, but it is our view that in the kind of world in which we live, in which those countries that occasionally confront us, politically, diplomatically and sometimes militarily, have universal subscription, men and women from ages 18 on up to 45, it is our view that an army that is set up partly professionally on the basis of trained professional soldiers, partly volunteers, partly through selective service, is the best, is the better at this time. I don't say it is the best. There are many things that we can look at first as to how we constitute a military force. Might I add that I hope and pray that a time may come when we can negotiate a reduction in these forces. This should be the end objectives of a country like ours and other countries, and we are busily engaged at this time, might I add, trying to negotiate a non-proliferation treaty, a nuclear non-proliferation treaty, and this is one time

when the Soviet Union and the United States have walked hand in hand, arm in arm to try to stop the dangers of nuclear weapons race, to stop this proliferation. I think this is making the most important step toward world peace and world safety of our time, and I wish we had a little more enthusiastic support for it. We are having all kinds of trouble, both at home and abroad. I remember when we had a nuclear test ban treaty. Senator Muskie and myself and others were co-sponsors of the nuclear test ban treaty resolution in the Congress. I was one of the pioneers for it, called every name in the book, - some I don't dare even repeat here in this free academic relationship. But I think the test ban treaty didn't hurt our security. I think it was a reasonable approach to a more secure and safe world and I think the nonproliferation treaty is the next step that needs to be taken. As for a professional army at this time, I doubt if it would meet the bill of our national security under the terms as I know it.

MR. JAMES M. TURNER:

Jan Martens.

MISS JAN MARTENS:

Mr. Vice President, would you please comment on your plans for the California primaries. There have been rumors that the Humphrey organization has contacted Senator Eugene McCarthy in an effort to stop a Kennedy victory in that state.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

Well, you know if I were the senators I would be thinking about how

to stop Humphrey. You don't need to stop somebody that is in second or third place, you know. I say that very modestly. Now, the truth is in all seriousness I could not enter any primary because the law did not permit me to enter any primaries when I became a candidate for this office. Had the President, if he was going to do what he did, and wanted to be a real help to me, he might have done it a month earlier so I could get into some of these primaries but really he didn't take me into his confidence that much. As a matter of fact, there is some doubt if he talked to Lady Bird that much about it. When I announced my candidacy there was one primary left open that I could have entered, my native state of South Dakota. The law did not permit me to get my ballot out in any other state. Lets get it clear. Some of these men out here had trouble understanding that. The law made it utterly impossible. I could have entered the South Dakota primary. That is after the California primary, and I imagine if I had won it, it wouldn't exactly have been a major explosion on the political scene. I can just read the columns now, saying, well, Humphrey ducked them all even though the law didn't permit me to enter them, and he entered one that he was sure to win. And what a sputtering fire cracker that was. It would have made a good column and it would have been written. What we have done is simply this. I have asked the people in California that thought that they might want to be for me to do nothing. I am not a candidate there, directly or indirectly. I will not be in California between now and the 4th day of June. My

first visit to California will be on the 15th day of June. I have written to every member of the delegation that has pledged its -- I have, I should say Senator Mundale and Harris, who are my two co-chairmen, have written to the delegates and said that the Vice President did not want to be referred to directly or indirectly, involved directly or indirectly. I can't prevent the opposition from making statements saying that we are ganging up on them. Now, my good friend, Senator Ted Kennedy, and he is a delightful and wonderful man, a good friend, - and I like his wife, Joan, too. Teddy was out there in good spirit. He announced in Los Angeles that Gene McCarthy and Hubert Humphrey were going to gang up on Bobby. He put that thought in my mind. I never had it before. But I dismissed it quickly, because, I tell you why, because in Omaha Bobby announced that he and Gene were going to gang up on Hubert. And I just decided, I said to Teddy the other day, I wish you brothers would decide who is going to gang up on who. In the meantime I am not in Oregon and I am not in California nor am I in South Dakota. If I wanted to be there, I would put my name if I could on the ballot. It is spelled H-U-M-P-H-R-E-Y. It isn't spelled J-O-H-N-S-O-N. It isn't spelled W-R-I-T-E - I-N, write in. Those write-ins are for the birds, not candidates and I am not about to get involved in that. Lets get it clear here today. Okay. Thank you, Jan. We appreciate your remembering that question.

MR. JOHN M. TURNER:

John Noble.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

John is coming back at me again.

MR. JOHN NOBLE:

Will we sit by and watch Nguyen Ky eliminated the same way Diem was eliminated?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

Well, Diem was shot. We are not advocating that for anybody. May I say that if negotiations in Paris are to be futile at all, it will require a commendation on the part of the allies on our side, the South Vietnamese side, and the commendation of the part of the North Vietnamese on their side. We will have if these negotiations progress beyond the preliminary stages, and I think they will. I want to be clear, I think they will. It will require then that the people on the allies side as well as the South Vietnamese-United States side include South Vietnamese representation with ours and whatever agreement is arrived at will have to be agreed upon by our participants as well as the participants of the other side. I don't think you can pre-judge this, John, and I don't want to. I am the Vice President of the United States. I am not just a candidate for office. I have said and I want to repeat it here. This is such a sensitive matter and there may be many things that happen today that we cannot predict at all. I may already have said too much as it is, because I haven't exactly been the quietest member of this administration as you know and I got myself in a reasonable degree of trouble saying too much at the

wrong time on occasion. So I believe that the best thing I can do, and the best thing we can all do for some time is to try to permit Mr. Harriman and Mr. Vance, two excellent diplomats, under the guidance of the President and Secretary of State to try to work out whatever arrangement they can that will bring this war to a negotiated settlement and I will repeat -- to a negotiated settlement because that is the only kind of a settlement that is going to stick, going to work -- a political settlement. Now there may be all kinds of changes and adjustments made between what our previous position was and what it is today. The purpose of a negotiation is to find a way to bring something to an end, and it is quite obvious that what we have been saying in the past and what the North Vietnamese have been saying in the past didn't bring it to an end. So there will have to be a change in the conversation, in the dialogue, and I think we will proceed step by step. Hopefully the first area on the DMZ to make it a demilitarized zone. Hopefully, as I see it, some de-escalation. Hopefully where we can approach to a total cessation of the bombing, but which will require some reciprocity from the North. I don't know how long it is going to come out. I do know this, that I have a duty as your Vice President whether I ever get elected to anything else from here on out all of my life to do nothing, to do absolutely nothing that will complicate those negotiations. My hope and my prayer is that those negotiations can be successful. I had somebody say to me the other day, it will benefit you, won't it, Mr.

Vice President. I said I will tell you what, if the negotiations are successful it will benefit everybody in the world and I am one of the people in the world. Yes, it will benefit me. If those negotiations fail, everybody suffers. So it seems to me that our task is not trying to gloss over the hard facts. Our task is to let the negotiators try to find a negotiating posture or stance, be willing to try to pick and chose as best they can what issues to discuss as a beginning because negotiations is something like planting a crop in bedrock. It takes a lot of good luck and constant care to even get a little plant to start. Once it starts it grows on itself. And I think we have a start. It is my view we have a start. We are going to have a lot of propoganda. There is going to be a lot of things said and a lot of people are going to lose their patience. I am not. I think we have to have as much patience at the conference table as we have on the battle field. We have been on the battle field for three years. Now if we can fight for three years, we can negotiate. I don't want to have to be there that long but I think we ought to negotiate and try to find an honorable peace, not a mixed up faint peace, not to sell the people of South Vietnam out, not to impose upon them a rule that violates every sense of decency and reason and honor, but to find a way to negotiate our way out of this war, and I think we can if we will all stick with it. And that is the President's point of view. That is why he quit politics. I wish he had given me a little notice, but that is why he quit. And he has been the first casualty, major

casualty of the political life of this war. President Johnson gave up the political leadership as a second term president or even possibly a second term nomination to confine and concentrate all of his attentions on the pursuit of peace. That is what he is doing. That is all he is doing. That is why he isn't taking part in this campaign. I think I would have reason to expect that he might be fore me if it wasn't for that particular fact that he doesn't want to jeopardize what he is trying to do. He is trying to be a non-political president, and he has asked the people to give him that support, and I am going to do it. If it means that I am not nominated, so be it. If it means I am not elected, so be it. I don't happen to think that I have a right to place my personal ambition or even my personal prejudices and views above what I consider to be the basic security needs in each corner of this country in the hope for peace. That is exactly my views.

MR. JOHN M. TURNER:

Marcia Due.

MISS MARCIA DUE:

Mr. Humphrey, could you tell the audience why you as a founder and former national chairman of the Americans for Democratic Action has dropped out of that organization? Do you still endorse its principles?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

I dropped out when I became Vice President of the United States. I didn't think I ought to be Vice President of two organizations.

I didn't think it would be good for ADA and I didn't think it would be good for my position as your Vice President. I left every office that I had from the American Political Science Association to the ADA. I just resigned from being Vice Presidents or officers of other organizations when I became Vice President of the United States. Yes, I think the ADA serves a very good function in this country. I am sorry they don't all agree with me. But one of the reasons you have the ADA is to provide a home for disagreeors. And they have trained up more political fighters in that gymnasium than any other place I know of. I think you will find if you attend their convention which is on this weekend, as I recall, there will be quite a split of opinion over a host of issues that confront our country. It is an organization of political purpose, it served a very useful purpose. I was its national chairman once. I helped organize it as a non-communist, political, liberal, progressive organization. It is needed. It acts many times as a sort of political gadfly. It stings some of us. Sometimes it stings even some of us into action. I happen to think they have some misguided views on a certain number of things, but you know what -- they think I have too. So we still get along. Most of the former presidents of the ADA support Hubert Humphrey. I don't know as that is going to be a blessing or not, but that is a fact.

MR. JOHN M. TURNER:

We have time for just one more question. Paul Cote.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

We just got wound up.

MR. PAUL E. COTE:

Mr. Vice President, can you justify the government making such decisions on censorship as that concerning the iron mountain report on perpetual peace on the basis that it is better not to upset or scare the people and tell them the truth?

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

They must have really censored that one. I don't know what you are talking about.

MR. PAUL E. COTE:

It is a report recently published and I obtained the publishers name through the office of Senator Smith of this state concerning a report as published or printed that supposedly iron mountain -- supposed to be somewhere, and they were to study perpetually the possibility of peace, and the story and the premise of the report claims it was an organization that was called together under the auspices of this administration and was to report only to the administration.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

Let me tell you if it was reported to the administration you would have heard about it long before. We haven't been able to keep one living secret. There has been no lapse of information. I don't know if it is good. Sometimes people think it is not accurate, but there surely has been no lack of dissent in this country. I can tell you that. It seems to me if President Johnson has been able

to do anything, it has been to get the people to disagree. I regret to tell you honestly I don't know about it. I would be more than happy to look into it for you, and your Senator is here. He might know about it. I will tell you if you want a report from your government, you just write to your Senators. He can do anything. I think he has even opened Ft. Knox, either he or DeGaulle. I am not sure which.

MR. JAMES M. TURNER:

We have about 30 seconds. Jan Martens.

MISS JAN MARTENS:

Mr. Vice President, just one last brief question which I cannot resist. I would like you to speculate for us who you think will emerge from the Republican convention with the nomination.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

Well, Jan, I wish that I had that kind of a crystal ball and that sort of prophetic vision. There haven't been any prophets named Humphrey and I really just don't know. Let me just analyze it as I see it now. I don't think there is any doubt at this time that Mr. Nixon is by far the leading contender for the nomination. But that nomination isn't until July. I have to keep remembering that, too, you know. Between now and the time of the convention so many things can happen. Mr. Rockefeller's re-entry into the Republican contest, - of course, he cannot be in any of the primaries. That is going to make it rather uncertain. I think Mr. Nixon has a very substantial and commanding lead for the

presidency. Now, the Republicans generally don't ask me about it. I must be a good Democrat. That is it. I haven't had a Republican ask me who they thought ought to be the nominee. I just want to say this without being too purposeful about it. Whoever they put up, I hope that he has a plan, something planned for the future outside of 1600 Pennsylvania Avenue because I wouldn't want him to go out in life as one of the unemployed, hard core unemployed.

MR. JOHN M. TURNER:

Jan, John, Marcia and Paul, thank you for being our panel members and, Mr. Vice President, I want you to know it has been a distinguished honor to have you with us. You are welcome any time. We hope you will return.

VICE PRESIDENT HUMPHREY:

And I want to thank the student body for something I was told about as I came in here by Senator Muskie. First of all I want to thank you for sending your senator to Washington, thank you for both of these senators and thank you for your Congressman. You are very well represented in the Senate of the United States, and very well represented in the House. I was told that you have on this campus an organization somewhat similar on the domestic scene as the Peace Corps is on the international scene, - a Student Actions Corps, and I want to compliment you. I have tried to go around to university campuses, - I mean around this country telling our people that there is so much good going on on the campuses of America amongst young people that it is about time somebody heard about it. How many people

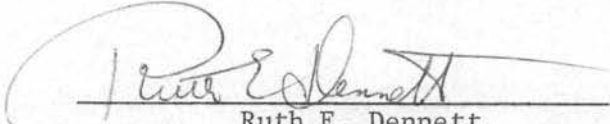
in this audience know that last year 400,000 university students gave freely of their time in charity work to the inter-city youth, 400,000. I wonder how many people know that, for example, a university I visited in West Virginia, the John Marshall University, some 14,000 students, the student body of that university pledged 2,000 man and woman hours to help the mentally retarded. I was at another university not long ago where they pledged 8 months of activity, student activity of not less than 4 hours a day for students working with the physically handicapped, and this is another instance of what I call the volunteer generation. You generally hear about some of the things that are not too good. There isn't a person of my age in this room or any place else that can match what this generation of young people is doing in terms of community service and social concern. It has been students who helped the sit-ins and the freedom rides, that helped break the back of segregation and discrimination. There are thousands of students today who are working at neighborhood youth centers. There are literally thousands of students today who are working as recreation directors, free of time, free time. I know. I am the chairman of the President's Youth Opportunity Council. We have today over 75,000 students from universities giving free time to inter-city counselors as recreation workers and doing work under the President's Youth Opportunity Program. When I saw you had your own Student Action Corps here, I thought it would not be a bad idea if the Vice President of the United States, on behalf of the people

of the United States were to use this platform to say that the volunteer generation is doing a mighty good job. You still have a lot of work to do and I hope that if you feel that you have to protest you will go out and find somebody you can help, somebody who needs a little guidance and attention, some kid that never had a break, someone who should be encouraged to stay in school instead of being a school drop-out, find some place you can go to work to help even the scales of justice a little bit and help us make sure this country is not too societiest, black and white, separate and unequal. Help us make this country what it ought to be and what you and I want it to be -- a united country, a united country in spirit, not necessarily in every word, not necessarily in every thought, but in spirit, a united country that is dedicated to human betterment. That is what we are trying to build in this country and that is what we have gotten started here. If we can get the message across this land and throughout the world that America cares about people, that we really care about the individual, the lest of these the poor, the broken down, the handicapped, the deprived, the sick, the frustrated, - if we can get that message across we will have the praise and the respect of the world, and if we cannot get it across, if we fail in that, all of the power and money we have will be for nothing. Power does not gain friends or respect. What gains it is dignity and respect for human dignity, and I call upon my friends at the universities to think of the days ahead, to think of what you can do to help somebody find themselves. You may

save a life. There are a lot of walking dead. If they have a spirit, they have hope and any time you can bring a little hope and a little spirit into somebody, you save a life, and if you can name me anything better then saving a life, see me after the program is over. I cannot think of anything that would be more satisfying, more rewarding in any man's life or any woman's life to know somehow, some way, that by an act of yours you saved somebody else. You save them for themselves, for good citizenship, for a chance in this world and I want to compliment this university on this activity and its high standard. Thank you very much.

I, Ruth E. Dennett, a free-lance Court Reporter, of Bangor, Maine, hereby certify that I stenographically recorded the address of Vice President Hubert H. Humphrey at Orono, Maine on May 17, 1968 and that the foregoing 35 pages is a transcript of my notes.

Dated at Burlington, Maine this 18th day of May, 1968.


Ruth E. Dennett



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