Good evening, my fellow Washingtonians.

Events of the last few months have left citizens of this nation and citizens of this state emotionally drained and probably as mentally confused, I think, as citizens have been in a long, long time. A war continues in Southeast Asia, seemingly without letup, a war that has engulfed this country in controversy such as it has never seen in this century at least. Hopefully, the announcement of the President last night in his speech indicates that there is a withdrawal from Cambodia and perhaps a lessening of the intensity of that conflict. But the war still goes on.

At the same time the economy here at home stumbles and falters, unemployment is rising in a good many cities across the nation and is felt particularly strenuously right here in our State of Washington. Inflation continues. The housewife, the family, those living on fixed incomes find it more and more difficult to make ends meet at the rising cost of living robs each person of his savings -- each wage earner of hard-earned wage increases.

Citizens over the past year particularly have been made much more intensely aware of the growing problems of our environment, our physical environment that surrounds us and the human environment that is in particular difficulty in the major urban centers of our nation and perhaps elsewhere as well. We haven't thought much about our environmental problems in the past years, but now we are all too painfully aware that they, too, must be attended to along with our other problems.

Along with all of this we add the problems of campus unrest -- campus unrest that has intensified during the past few months and particularly over the past month since the first announcement of our involvement in Cambodia followed closely by the killings at Kent State and at Jackson. Students by the thousands turned out in massive demonstrations across the country and added further to the frustrations, the confusion, and in many cases the anger of our fellow citizens. Many, I think, feel that the combination of all of these events occurring in such a limited period of time is leading to a disintegration of the order they have known -- a disintegration of the national involvement, the national movement, the national morale.

With all of this, then, I've asked for time to try to express as accurately, as concisely, and as well as I can the events of the past several weeks in the State of Washington, and perhaps even more importantly to try to express to you what some of the events have not been. For I really see that there is much confusion in the minds of people; confusion expressed in the intensity of the many thousands of letters I've received over the past several weeks.

I've had a chance to read virtually all of those letters. They are more personal, more individual and more in number than on any issue I have seen or heard about since being involved as governor or prior to that as a legislator. Let me read for you excerpts from some of those letters. These are letters from angry, confused and frustrated citizens. They are not the extreme. They are typical of many letters that I've received. They represent a continuing concern by people expressed in these words.

"Now that the Ohio State National Guard has taken a positive approach at Kent State University it is time for the authorities at campuses all over the United States to follow suit."

And another letter:

"As a salesman, I talk to many people from all walks of life and know that if the government will not protect our rights, we will do it ourselves."

A third:

"I'm fed up with paying taxes to support an educational institution headed by someone who bow to the minority. I say that if it takes killing of these radicals, let's kill them all. Governor, I have not talked to anyone yet who is not fed up with this bank."

And finally:

"My family is 100% behind you in stopping these student riots regardless of how harsh it is."

Now these letters frighten me. I think they should frighten you, too. They frighten me just as student violence frightens me and the growing gulf or chasm that exists between the generations in this state frightens me. They are symptoms of a growing void that we simply must somehow bridge if we are to have any hope for a productive and progressive future in our state or in our nation.

Unfortunately, too often have descended to categories. We see in news media every single day references to "pigs" and to "crazies" and to "reactionaries". We like to categorize each of our fellow citizens and put him in one or another of those or other slots. But all students in this nation and in this state are not radical. All of our police are not brutal. All of the adults of this state and of this nation have not lost their ideals. I think by and large all students, law enforcement officers, older citizens in our society look for essentially the same thing -- an ability to live a life of their personal choice, to make it a rewarding life and a full life, to live it in a nation that has a free society and a free system of government, a nation that is strong and vital, and a nation that has a real future. So we are really not so different in the ends we seek, but the differences that divide us today are deep; they're frightening.

A little of the history of what has happened on our college campuses and perhaps more accurately -- what has not happened on our college campuses. The campuses in the State of Washington today are educating close to 200,000 young people; public and private four-year colleges and universities have almost 100,000 students and the community colleges of our state educate over 100,000 young people. These colleges and universities have all grown rapidly during the past several years. Most are crowded -- perhaps in some cases over-crowded. They are filled with students with a new idealism, new frustrations, different feelings about education than their parents had and a questioning of the relevance of education. All of these things have helped to create greater political activism on campuses, a greater involvement of students in affairs around them than perhaps existed a generation or two generations ago. The parents of this student generation were
parents by and large brought up during a depression and during a great world war. They faced economic difficulties in growing up far greater than economic difficulties faced by most of our young people today. The general state of our economy, while difficult, bears no relationship to the depths of the depression of the 1930's. We have a war continuing -- a frustrating war -- but it is by no means as intense. It has taken yet by no means as many lives as World War II and all-out war during which most of the adult generation of today served. So in terms of economic conditions and in terms of war the parents of today's student generation lived in quite a different world.

Today's student generation perhaps for the first time in our nation's history can be disinterested and face a future without being as much concerned over economics, as much concerned over earning a living as their parents or their grandparents or any generation that preceded them. This gives them a greater opportunity and more time and a greater chance to be more directly involved in the activities of the community around them than they perhaps a little more intensely want what they consider the irrelevance of some of their education, traditional as it might be. They see perhaps, a little more intensely than generations before them because they have the privilege of time and better economic conditions, the problems of their community, the problems of their environment, the problems of those who live in today's urban slums.

So this is something of the background then that is leading and has led and I think will continue to lead to student involvement degree never before experienced in our nation, never before experienced in our state. Student awareness and involvement isn't going to diminish. It isn't going to go away. If anything, it's going to intensify in the years ahead of us -- intensity regardless of whether or not the Viet Nam war is ended, when changes occur in our economy or what changes occur in environmental consideration. There will continue to be a more concerned and more involved and more aware student generation as each year passes.

About two months ago the trigger that led to a massive and intensive increase in that concern was the Cambodian announcement by President Nixon. It was followed shortly by the unfortunate and unjustified action on the Kent State University campus where four students were killed and shortly after by an incident at Jackson where two students were killed. Students by the thousands on campuses and universities all over our country had an emotional reaction that needed -- desperately needed -- some effective outlet, some effective direction. This was not the demonstration of a few radicals, not the demonstrations of a minority of the students on our college and university campuses. This was the intense emotional reaction of a clear majority. A very substantial majority of all the students on our campuses expressed in different and individual ways.

I received from many students letters and petitions. I saw some of them personally in their requests to me to find some way to let them see the Congressional delegation - the people in power in Washington, D. C. to express personally their deep concern over the change of events in Southeast Asia and the effect it was having on our college campuses.

Most of us as citizens saw only the compressed reports of what was going on on college campuses in the State of Washington. They saw only the peak of action. They saw only the violent events. They didn't have a chance to see in context all that was going on and some of the things that were not going on on our college campuses. I've had a chance to talk with student leaders. I've had a chance to talk with the presidents and the administrators of our college and university campuses, both public and private of this state. The press reports exaggerate the activities of perhaps five or six students engaged in temporarily occupying a building. They almost totally ignored the more than 1,000 students from the University of Washington campus who left that campus to downtown, to work within the system, to try to get their message across to the people of their community.

The context of all that took place is about like this. Classes continued. Classes are continuing. No school in the State of Washington has ceased operations, and all schools in this state will continue and complete the spring quarter of this year. Students themselves by overwhelming votes in college after college across this state voted themselves to continue to keep open campuses, to continue to have classes, to continue to recognize that there was a headquarters for their concerns and that universities and colleges had to remain open if they were to continue to be headquarters for their concern and a place from which they could express these concerns to the people of the community.

Many citizens in their letters to me have been concerned about damage -- property damage -- on the campuses of our colleges and universities across this state. Accounts of damage have been grossly and massively exaggerated. I have had complete reports from all of our public colleges and universities. The total property damage including clean-up after the major demonstration and protest meetings that occurred over the past several months total about the same as the cost of clean-up after the football games during one season at the University of Washington campus -- hardly assuring property damage. More students were involved than any previous concern or activity on our college and university campuses in the history of the memory of every administrator I've talked to on every college campus. And these protests and these demonstrations and these concerns by the students were essentially non-violent -- something that has been misunderstood. I think, by most of our citizens, they were essentially non-violent. Very certainly there were some -- a few on the fringe -- those who are radicals and those who are devoted to revolution and to ruin, who by their actions have tended to involve all students in the same category in the minds of so many of our citizens. Thousands and thousands of young people took part in the campus activities of the past several weeks and the past several months. All but a very, very small minority took part in a responsible, non-violent and concerned way. And the citizens of our state must recognize that in the total context of what has happened.

Many students have not continued to attend class in the same number of hours per week as they had in previous weeks for a very important reason. They have felt that the issues of today in some respects were more important than some of the classes they were taking, and they have taken some of their individual time away from school to downtown to get their message across to citizens of the community. They've taken their time to go out into the community and to speak with citizen groups, community clubs, service clubs or even gatherings of citizens in the front rooms in the homes of people in cities across this state -- a responsible way of expressing their opinions clearly within the political framework and the system we would all like to work within.
These protests to the community are continuing, and I'm certain will continue. They are a good expression of a deep and continuing concern of students over the activities they see in their own community as well as the activities they see of their own nation.

Let me not end this expression of what has happened without a word for the wisdom, for the restraint and for the inherent strength of the college and university administrators of our state. They have all been under enormous strain. They've all had to deal with the intense emotions of thousands of young people gathered in close proximity on such of our college and university campuses. Rather than being condemned by some for being too weak and being condemned by others, particularly students, for being too strong-willed and too unwilling to change, these administrators, Dr. Maggard and Dr. Torrell, the President of our two universities, and the presidents of all other colleges in this state should be commended for their wisdom, their restraint, their concern and the very fact that colleges and universities in this state unlike many other colleges and universities across this nation did stay open, did not get involved in massive property damage. They did have essentially non-violent protests and demonstrations of deep citizen and student concern, and they continue as institutions where free expression of opinion can go on and is going on.

But the real question isn't so much where we've been. The real question is where do we go now? The first place it seems to me as responsible citizens is in the direction of non-violence. I abhor violence by those students who have chosen to be revolutionaries, who have chosen to tear down and destroy a system that has taken more than 200 years for this generation and the many generations preceding it to build up - a system as free and open as any system ever constructed on the face of the earth. That kind of violence cannot be continued, cannot be allowed to continue. Those best capable of coping with that violence by a small fringe of our students seemed to be and must be their peers - the students themselves who can best deal with and who must deal with those who continue to express themselves by violent means.

By the same token, I cannot and do not condone violence by those who would react in any way. Violence by vigilantes - action to repress restrict or in some fashion to strike out blindly at the actions they see around them that they dislike is as reprehensible, perhaps even more reprehensible, than the actions of some of this fringe of today's college students.

The police today have to have the patience of Job to deal professionally with all of the training at their hand with the problems that surround them. But the police are exceedingly well trained or should be. They must never under any circumstances strike out blindly, react excessively, and certainly must never and cannot ever be involved in separate and vigilante action for this only tends to draw back from the public confidence in our law enforcement officers, and they need desperately the public confidence of the citizens of this state today and the citizens of this nation today. Those who are in our uniformed services and who step clearly outside the bounds of their duty ought to be subject to disciplinary action just as effectively as those students who step outside the bounds of reasonable protest ought to be subject to severe disciplinary action and immediate disciplinary action themselves.

Let me read to you another excerpt from a student - two students - dealing with the problems of violence. I think they express pretty well some of the difficulties we face.

"We hope our movement on campus is correctly interpreted, for it is exactly the type of action which the establishment has been appeased to the younger generation to employ - non-violent, toward constructive goals and within the established order. The term "strike" has taken on symbolic meaning for us. We are definitely on strike against the conditions in the United States today. However, the majority of the students on this campus do not wish to see our university shut down, and they weren't shut down."

From another student:

"The very essence of this new education is non-violent action. Those who press for violence as a means to bring about peace have lost the struggle. Having subordinated the need for peace they have been hardened with the need for identity and significance. Hoping that short-term violence will bring about ultimate peace, they fail to see how closely ends and means are connected. They adopt violence in the form of their protest, and it seeps into the content of their ends. Attempting to end the war in Viet Nam by violence even if successful will not eradicate the inhuman attitude that causes war but will actually help to sustain that same attitude. The end is conditioned by the means. Violence to gain peace will require violence to retain peace, and there still will be no peace."

Pretty effective words from one of today's students. I think it's important for all of us, then, to take the time to communicate with the young of today. I hope you into your homes and listen to them and talk to them. The wisdom of age and the enthusiasm of youth ought to work together toward the progress of our state and not at cross purposes.

It's important for all of us to help make the system work and not work to destroy the system. Students seek change. The many expressions of student concern I received over the past several days I obviously could not deal with tonight but let me express briefly what some of them are, because I think they are the same concerns that many of our other citizens have.

Students would like to have the teachers of our universities spend more time teaching and less time in the research and in the non-teaching functions of the university - hardly a radical or a different thought from most of the citizens of our state. They would like to see a greater involvement and a greater contribution to a higher quality human and physical environment, and they would like to see some of that commitment start within the universities and colleges of this state themselves, and it's a good place in which it should start.

They'd like to see education change with the times, and not always be chained to the tradition of the past if those traditions are not relevant to today's needs, and it's up to us to work with students to retain those things that are valuable of the past and to change those things that need to be changed in the educational process.

It's time for us all to look at the priorities within the field of education as well as the priorities in all of the other things we do. We all have limited money and limited resources to do an effective job, and we simply have got to put the most important priorities first if we're going to have any hope of a better future tomorrow.
Let me finally speak not just to the students, not just to their parents and
in that generation, but to every citizen of the State of Washington.
Government simply can't do the total job it's being called upon today to do.
We've asked over a period of years for citizens to make their contribution
through their taxes to their government and for the government then to provide
a series of services in education and public assistance and institutions and a
whole host of other fields. That isn't enough any more if it were ever enough.
Now it's important for citizens to contribute something far more important than
their money and that's their time -- to contribute their time as volunteers
in the scores and scores of fields across the state where volunteer support
couple with governmental action could bring success where today we see continued
failure. There is a place for virtually everyone if only everyone will volun-
teer for a place in our society and for a place in the resolution of our
problems.

Let me ask each one of you to respond. If you will help, if you're ready to
volunteer, if you're ready to be part of this system and ready to contribute
to it, let me know. Write to me so that we can ask you and direct you to your
involvement in the future of this state. If you would like to hear the students
express to you their concern, write to me and let me know that.

The voice of moderation in this state has been too quiet over the past months,
and it is now time for that voice of moderation to be heard, and I ask you to
let me know, let that voice of moderation be heard for if it is heard, then I
think we all have far more hope than hopelessness in the future of this nation.