

From the Office of
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VOLUNTARY EFFORTS ESSENTIAL AS MAJOR FORCE FOR PEACE, SENATOR HUMPHREY SAYS

A stepped-up "people-to-people" approach toward building international understanding and friendship "offers a tremendous challenge as a positive force for peace in which every American can participate", Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, told the National Board of Directors of CARE at a luncheon meeting at the Statler Hotel today.

"I like to think of it as an essential 'third force' for peace in the world, supplementing and expanding upon rather than substituting for the constructive role of the United Nations and its affiliated agencies, and our own foreign aid and technical assistance programs," Senator Humphrey declared.

"There is a role for every American in this people-to-people approach, whether he is the biggest corporation executive or the average housewife or working man," Senator Humphrey said. "They can share in guiding destiny of the world by enlisting as crusaders for peace, and doing something positive about it instead of leaving everything to governments. They can prove to the world the warm-hearted spirit of America in a way which means more than just government hand-outs, because they can make it a bonafide expression of goodwill from the people of America to the people of other lands -- whether it is in providing food, clothing, self-help kits, or other forms of sharing the blessings that are ours."

Senator Humphrey cited the work of CARE as an outstanding example of the work being done by voluntary agencies in the international field, describing his own reactions to seeing the benefits of CARE distribution of food, clothing, and vocational tool kits during a recent tour of the Middle East and Southern Europe.

"Here is one opportunity for private enterprise and private individuals to share with their government in serving common objectives -- of proving that our desire for peace is from the hearts of our people, not just a matter of official government policy," Senator Humphrey said.

"People-to-people efforts at building friendship are not bound by the restrictions and handicaps which encumber official government-to-government dealings, and can often be more effective. It offers a way to bridge over and under barriers of unfriendly governments to get to the people themselves.

"We need the United Nations and all the influence it can exert for peace in the world. We need in our own enlightened interests to continue the policies and programs of our own government designed at aiding other people and other countries to help themselves. But we also need the third force I have mentioned -- not as a substitute, but as an essential supplement. That third force is the voluntary participation in people-to-people programs such as CARE's -- programs which can and should be expanded.

"Every American business concern interested in international trade should be enlisted in CARE as the 'free enterprise' branch of our foreign relations, the voluntary effort to build a climate of friendship so necessary in the world for trade and development to flourish.

"Every mother concerned about whether her growing sons must some day enlist for war can do something herself now, by enlisting for peace -- both with her dollars and her help to stimulate support of such organizations as CARE through her church, her clubs, and her neighborhood friends," Senator Humphrey declared.

Senator Humphrey commended CARE for expanding its activities along "self-help" lines, including distribution of kits of working tools and equipment to help needy people in other countries to become less dependent upon direct food assistance.

Sp. File July 24

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Wash.*

STENOGRAPHIC TRANSCRIPT

CARE LUNCHEON

SOUTH AMERICAN ROOM

HOTEL STATLER

Tuesday

July 24, 1957

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United States Senator from the State of

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INTRODUCTORY REMARKS BY WALTER WILLIAMS, UNDER
SECRETARY OF COMMERCE.

(Mr. Williams was speaking when the reporter
arrived.)

MR. WILLIAMS: (Continuing) What a difference there
is in interpretation of words. What does the word liberal mean?
What does the word conservative mean? Indeed, what does the
word Republican and Democrat mean?

Well, we have had a fine illustration of that as
we all kept you waiting standing up getting our pictures taken
in the far corner. When pictures finally got taken, I said to
this young gentleman from Rhode Island, Senator Green, "Well,
come on, quick, quit your knocking with that hammer and come
on up to the head table. So, promptly he said, "I'm not
knocking, I'm just hitting the nail on the head." (Laughter.)

So, you see, there is the difference in viewpoint.

I suppose that partisan politics is reflected in those
two viewpoints. My job of introducing the speaker today is a
delightful one because as I have been handed this full sheet
of single spaced typewritten material prepared by the speaker
himself -- (Laughter) -- I find a good many similarities between
himself and myself.

In the first place, believe it or not, we were both
born.

are
In the second place, his initials/HHH . Now, I'm

going to ask Mark Childs and Pete Edson and Patty Cavin and anybody else from the press, radio or TV here, please to regard this statement I am about to make as being strictly and highly confidential, top secret. As a matter of fact, my initials are WWW. I come from a long line -- not of illustrious, but just a long line -- of William Walter Williams', believe it or not. I dropped that William. I may have to put it back on, because there are 14 Walter Williams in the telephone book of Washington, D. C., two of them are in my apartment building. I get his bills and he gets mine. Anyway there is another similarity -- HHH, WWW.

Then I notice, too, that our speaker is a graduate from the College of Pharmacy in Denver. Well, I grew up as a kid, Hubert, in Denver, Colorado; so there's more similarity.

Now, here's one that your modesty and mine really drives hard for me to even refrain from mentioning, but in a rather subdued voice let me say that we both belong to Phi Beta Kappa. You people of the press can make note of that if you want to.

Now, here's another similarity. We both have an interest in having graduated magna cum laude. Now, there is just one little slight difference. The claim that I have to magna cum laude is that my younger daughter got it, not her father. (Laughter.)

Then, as you know, the speaker today was elected to

the United States Senate -- a great similarity there, too -- because I, too, ran for the office of United States Senator.

(Laughter.)

When it comes to the matter of similarity in the matter of political issues I think you will be interested to note, and I read, I quote: "He" -- meaning the speaker -- "has long been an active supporter and sponsor of the Point Four Program, Reciprocal Trade Policy, Mutual Security and the North Atlantic Treaty, is a vigorous opponent of the go-it-alone approach in international relations."

That sounds to me like a plain, old-fashioned Republican because I believe that, too. (Laughter.)

So, you see the similarities continue.

Well, I think perhaps the finest similarity of all is to be found in our similarity of interests when it comes to CARE.

I like very much the statement that Dr. Harris used in that very wonderful invocation which I think set a very fine tone for this meeting when he spoke of the golden currency of faith, hope and charity. These days we will talk about foreign exchange and perhaps the golden currency of this foreign exchange can be thought of in terms of faith, hope and charity. Yes, but also we can think of it as being measured in terms of values humanitarian.

At the Posnan, Poland, Fair recently I was told of some

very gripping human interest stories which more or less illustrate what I am just saying about humanitarian values and the importance of us as Americans not selling good will but just being ourselves and reflecting the kind of character that we hope we are here in America.

One little old lady came up to one of the members of the staff of the American team over there in Posnan, Poland, and grabbing his lapels of the coat looked up at him and said, "God bless America," and burst into tears.

Another little old lady, this is an entirely separate incident, apparently came up to another staff man and more or less had the same sentiment but a little different words when she said, "Don't let America ever leave us again."

I don't know just what was going through her mind but you can guess what was going through her mind.

Still another little incident I remember their telling me about is a man who was eating his lunch on apparently a sort of a plaza that identified itself with the American Pavilion, and this man came day after day after day and ate his lunch there and somebody apparently inquired one time as to why he came up there, and he said, "I want to get just a little of this peace of America and this is my opportunity to do so."

I think that if we think in terms of the kind of behavior that we as individuals express when we go abroad, if

we think in terms of the perfectly astounding impact that is being made by this organization CAREas reflected by this wonderful report that Dick has just read, we get something of the enormity of the power of America when measured in humanitarian values and impacts of that sort.

I know that my expressions in this regard with respect to my own convictions are identical, not just similar, but identical of those of our speaker today and it is on that note that I am proud to present to you the Senator from Minnesota, the Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey.

(Applause.)

REMARKS OF THE HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY,
UNITED STATES SENATOR FROM THE STATE OF
MINNESOTA.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you.

Thank you very much, Mr. Secretary.

I shall have an opportunity in a moment or two to make one or two references to some of the information that you imparted to this audience, but in the meantime I would like to pay my respects to my two distinguished senior colleagues that are here from the Senate, Senator Green who has given us such wonderful and dedicated leadership in the field of foreign policy, and Senator Wiley, who likewise has given us the same kind of dedicated and devoted leadership in the field of foreign policy.

I want to say if I meet any more Republicans like Senator Wiley and Mr. Williams I may have some of my partisan enthusiasm slightly deluded for a moment (laughter) -- or did I say deluded? I think it was deluded.

I couldn't help but note when the Secretary was commenting upon my expressions, at least alleged expressions, relating to foreign policy and being a vigorous opponent of going-it-alone that he then stated that he found this to be strangely similar to good old-fashioned Republican doctrine. Well, it may have been strangely similar to good old-fashioned Republican doctrine, but it's this modern Republican doctrine, you see, that's got me worried. (Laughter.)

Now, having made my comments on political matters in jest and in good spirit, let me be more serious with you.

We are under a little duress of time today, there is a debate going on over in the Senate and I should like to participate in it before the day is through, and therefore, I am going to try to eliminate extraneous material and get right down to cases.

I am here to address a group of men and women that in my mind have performed a great and important patriotic service not only for the United States of America but for the cause of human decency and freedom. I like to identify the over-all objectives of American foreign policy beyond the confines of the territorial limits of the United States. After all, there

are some universals, there are universal principles which should motivate us and guide us and I feel that our foreign policy is strong and demonstrates the strength when it has a relationship to those universals or those principles of democratic faith and it is weak when it deviates from those principles of democratic faith.

Now, what is the motivating principle behind a democracy? It is service to the individual. And I say that every person that is elected to office or holds office by appointment in a free country under democratic institutions should remind himself every hour of the day and at least once a day that his primary responsibility and duty and purpose is to serve and not to be served. This is within the christian ethic, too. He who would be first, let him be last. I come to minister, not to be ministered unto.

There is much that can be said in terms of all religions in so far as service is concerned.

I feel that our foreign policy has real importance and genuine constructive effect when we search for and find and use the key and the secret to this what we call the American way of life.

What is it that really typifies our country? Not wealth. Other countries have been rich, even though we surely have wealth compared to other nations today. Not power. Other countries have had power and have used it, and sometimes used

it to their advantage and sometimes to their destruction. It is not size because we are not the biggest country in terms of size, even today, and we surely do not represent the greatest empire if we could use such a term. We are indeed one of several large countries. So what is it that has typified or has exemplified or characterized what you call an American? Because an American is not a unique breed of the human species. It's hard to find how you would identify them from the point of anthropology or even physiology. We are a conglomerate. So, what is it that identifies us? It is a sense of generosity, of compassion, of kindness, of tolerance, of understanding, that is exemplified not only in our official institutions but in our voluntary organizations.

I say to you that no country on the face of the earth has the number of voluntary organizations that we have in the United States or voluntary organizations that are so generously supported and voluntary organizations that have such a wide scale of activities.

You can go to Great Britain, to France. France which cherishes her individualism, the France of liberte, egalite and fraternity and yet in France you will find a dirth of voluntarism in terms of community activity. They rely upon the state, they rely upon the government for their social welfare programs, they rely upon official institutions for what they call their official or their governmental policy.

To me this is a sign of weakness.

We are engaged today, fellow Americans, in a struggle with a totalitarian force and I regret to say that the American people are not being educated as to what is meant by totalitarianism. They assume it's a political party in control of a country. They assume it's just another political force at work. It isn't. It is more than that. It is a political force, a military force, an economic force, a social force, a human force, a machine force, every conceivable force that you can put in one package, mobilized, directed and energized for the purpose of the leadership of a state.

Now, our Government is only part of America. Therefore, when the Government of the United States joins the issue with the Soviet Union we come in with one arm strapped behind our back and one leg literally cut off. The Government of the United States cannot compete with a totalitarian power. But the Government of the United States plus the voluntary organizations, plus the people of America, plus every social and political institution that we have in America cannot only compete but we can win. And I say most respectfully to my friends from Government that the task of American Government today in the field of foreign policy is how do you mobilize, energize, utilize the great forces of freedom which are available in the American community on the basis of individual participation and voluntary action? And if you can't find a

way to mobilize those we are bound to lose because a democracy by its nature is a limited instrumentality of social organization and therefore when you are compelled to compete against the combined forces of a totalitarian state where the literature, where the music, where the playgrounds, where the household, where the factory, where the books, where everything is a part of a total state policy you are bound to be in a minority position.

Therefore, I feel that CARE, representative of 29 great voluntary organizations, is a fundamental adjunct to and part of the total mobilization of human resources in this country for the fulfillment of objectives of American policy as well as objectives of democratic philosophy.

This is why I am here today. I say that I have been a teacher in school. I always mention that because I may need a job again (Laughter). I say to you that our educators have done a poor job of teaching democracy and they have done a worse job explaining to the American people what is involved in totalitarianism. They got some idea that all it is is socialism. Then they get into an argument as to whether that is good or bad. They have some idea that all it is is atheism. Well, it's that plus a kind of distorted socialism, plus all kinds of other things that represent power and brutality and organization and discipline, and until Americans understand what they are up against we are going to be constantly fighting

an uphill battle, utilizing more of our resources than we should for the objectives that we seek to attain.

This leads me to say this. That you can get more good in terms of human welfare, in terms of human betterment, in terms of emancipation of people from their fears, from their disease, from their illiteracy, from their ignorance, from their frustration by voluntary groups working in the field of social welfare and voluntary groups working with other peoples in other lands than you can through government.

Now, both are needed, don't misunderstand me, this isn't either/or, this is and. It includes both. It means a role to be served by government and a companion or supplemental or coordinate role to be served by the voluntary agency but at all times the voluntary agency to be truly so, and not to be dominated by government, to have that interpretation, that liberalization, that emancipation that comes with voluntary groups so that you are not in a straight jacket of official governmental policy. This means that you have got to have trust.

If I had the State Department officials here today I would say don't be suspicious of our voluntary agency; if they don't do everything that you think ought to be done in the field of American policy it's possibly you that are wrong, not they. The odds are that they may be more right. What is more, one of the great attributes of a democracy is the right

of people to make mistakes and admit it. The trouble with government is it never admits mistakes. Therefore, it takes away some of the democratic appeal of our actions and decisions.

One of the privileges of a great free people is the right to start something, then decide to shift gears and go some place else, and admit it. So, I say to you, my friends, that there is a great role for organizations such as CARE to play. You are not engaged in something now that is just doing good; you are engaged, as you know better than I do, in a life and death struggle. This is a one-game world series. I don't know how many innings it's going to go, but you are not getting the four out of seven in this one. This isn't the New York Yankees versus the Milwaukee Braves -- I cut you in on that, Alec -- nor is this the Chicago White Sox versus the Brooklyn Dodgers. This is a one-game world series against forces of evil, of imperialism, of power, of totalitarianism, and we either win it or lose it. How long it goes on only we can tell, by what we do each day. I happen to think we are going to win. I have always been an optimist, I have never been a pessimist. I don't have much time for people that are pessimistic, I feel that they ought to go see the doctor and not bother people who want to live a good life. Doctors are paid for and trained to help people who are in misery, and if some of it is self-inflicted there's no reason they should afflict it upon others.

What does CARE, then, represent?

It represents self-help. This is good.

What else does it represent?

As was pointed out here by our friend Dick, and a very fine report, may I commend you, it represents the demonstration to living application and demonstration of compassion and charity and there is nothing wrong in being charitable. I have always said I'll run on the platform of Santa Clause against Scrooge any time. Any time anyone wants to run on that platform they can count me in. I have never tried to make a fact that I'm the biggest tightwad in the country, I have no desire to be the richest Democrat, Republican or anybody else in the cemetery. I desire to use the good things that the good Lord gave me. I have never made a fetish to see how many dollars I can save. I prefer to find out how many you can invest and for what purpose.

Many people have saved and saved only to destroy themselves and their families and countries have done exactly the same thing.

I grew up at a time when this country closed its doors to immigrants, when it closed its mind to new ideas, closed its heart to the crying suffering of other people, and finally we ended up closing our factories, our businesses, and our banks and almost destroying the whole temple of American democracy. I remember that that was the impressionable period

of my life. From 1920 to 1933 I listened attentively to those who were then the spokesmen of American ideals and their sense of idealism was to save, to use the money, to guard it, to protect it, don't let anybody touch it, don't let anybody use it unless you say so, and don't be too good to anybody (laughter), and in the process they were the ones first to be destroyed.

I remember when bankers were jumping out of hotel windows faster than pheasants went out of a South Dakota corn field (laughter). I'm not saying this to be unkind, I'm saying it because it is true and I'm delighted and I'm the happiest man in the world to live in a time when the Government of the United States has been criticized for being over-generous rather than for being a kind of tightwad.

I am happy to have lived in a time when the American people have been asked again and again through the Community Chest, through every crusade that you can possibly think of, through the CARE program, through the Crusade for Freedom, to contribute and contribute and contribute and interestingly enough, my good friends, you look and see, the record is that the larger the contributions to voluntary agencies the next economic index reveals that the prosperity of the country is that much better. Study it some time and see if I'm not right. You will find out that when people show a spirit of generosity, of openness, of kindness, that for some peculiar

reason, and yet not so peculiar because it reveals an attitude, a philosophy, that the country itself is in a better economic, political and social state of health.

That is why I feel the way I feel about politics and that is why I feel the way I feel about these great programs.

Now, what is CARE doing as I witnessed it? I saw CARE in operation, I want to be specific now. I want to say right now that CARE has in Italy, for example, I was told that our surplus food, and much of it administered through CARE, that our surplus food had done more to defeat the forces of Communism in Italy. I was told by our present ambassador there, by our economic minister there, and by the former ambassador to Italy, Mrs. Luce, I have been told by three prominent officials that our food program did more to defeat Communism in Italy than the Government of the United States had been able to do through any of its agencies for help.

I happen to think the forces of religion did more.

If you put those two together that is what did it, not your military assistance, not one bit. We need that, just^{as} sometimes you need to have your appendix out. It isn't something you plan for or long for, it sometimes is necessary.

I was told, for example, in Greece, that without our food program and particularly without our CARE program, that Greece would be fighting for her life despite all the military assistance we poured in, despite the hundreds of millions of

dollars in grants we gave to Greece, I was told by the prime minister, the foreign minister and the present American ambassador to Greece, that our food program was the difference between success and failure in Greece.

I have gone home to Minnesota to tell a few of our farm people about this because they have been beaten down -- I want to say to my friends from the metropolitan press, they have been beaten down daily for being almost traitors, because they produce food. Any country or government that doesn't know what to do with food is intellectually sterile and hopelessly lost.

Can you imagine what Bulganin and Khrushchev would be doing if they had the surpluses of food and fiber that we have. Can you imagine what those Gold Dust Twins of disaster and despair would be doing? Why, they would be out here tying up one country after another, and we go around with our food surpluses as if it was the worst thing that ever happened to a free country.

Finally at long last, in the last year and a half to two years, it's beginning to penetrate to the American mind, and I'm not complaining only about public officials, I'm talking about the whole American mind, it's beginning to penetrate that possibly food may have something to do with American acceptance abroad. Possibly food might be the vehicle through which you can bring about the agreement upon other

policies. I say here today to you, fellow Americans, that if it were not for American food, helping India, that India would be fast on her way to a Communist society at this hour.

I say to you that American food is doing more to save India as a part of the free world than all the arms of the United States put together. Without food India today would be hopelessly lost and that I thank God for the CARE program and the work that it is doing. Thank God for the village help program. Thank God for the Ford Foundation Program. Thanks for all of these wonderful things that are being done, and I say to you that had it not been for the wheat in Pakistan the government could never have lasted and you would never have had her in the Baghdad Pact and it's about time Americans were told these things. It isn't tanks or planes at all that keeps Pakistan alive, not at all. And it wasn't in a crucial hour when Pakistan was in dire trouble politically, it was food.

I say to you that our chance in Egypt for a period of time was made possible through CARE. CARE has made it possible for little Egyptians to go to school and the number of school children in Egypt is directly related today, my friends, to the number of CARE feedings that take place in schools in Egypt. And I'm not one of these people that's been deluded by Colonel Nasser one bit. I didn't like him in the beginning and I have had less faith in him since. Nasser will

come and go, but the thirty million Egyptians, and there will be thirty-five million of them in another ten years, the thirty-five million Egyptians will be there just like the Nile River.

The question before you, fellow Americans, is what do you want the thirty-five million Egyptians to think about the United States?

They are a force in the world and one of the most powerful forces in the world as Chester Bowles said not long ago is the force of people, not H bombs, because, fellow Americans, you don't dare to use an H bomb and you know it, only if it's used upon you. You know that the official policy of our Government is not to use these terrible weapons of destruction unless we are forced against the wall as a last moment of survival.

In the meantime what happens when the forces of politican attrition nibble away one country after another? What do you do? Did you ever figure that out?

I say to you that there is no political policy that we can design today that will make an appeal to Egypt because of the attitude of her leaders, but there is a social policy that you can design that will appeal to the people back in the villages where they will know that the food that comes into the mouth of their child is food from America and where the message of good will is brought every hour of the day.

You don't destroy that in Egypt any more than you destroyed it in Poland, as the Secretary said, when the people at the Posnan Fair came on up and said Thank God for America. That is the reservoir of good will.

I submit they didn't say thank God for America because you are going to put a stockpile of atom weapons in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. I may think this is necessary but I don't go around and praise the privilege of paying taxes; I know it's something you have to do.

I want to tell you it's mighty nice to have some of the comforts of living and people remember us for some of the little things that we do. It's like politics. I can say to you at home very seldom does a constituent get after you because of a vote you make in a major decision; they get angry because you don't answer their letter, you snub them at the county fair, you didn't see them. That is what destroys their faith in you. These are the little things but they are really not little, they have something to do with your attitude about people.

I witnessed many an intellectual who is brilliant in terms of liberal idealism and they don't like people and he demonstrates it occasionally, and when you don't like people and have no faith in people and thereby permit your actions to reveal that because you can't cover that up, it will come out some time, that's the day that you start to get into

trouble, and that's the beginning of the trouble that will destroy you.

Now, we Americans like people and we like them all over the world and we have a vehicle to demonstrate this likeness, not by word but precept and, I hope that our government will reinstitute a feeding program; I say here as I have said before that they will continue to feed the people in Egypt as in other parts of the world. I hope that our government will recognize that what was said before today, the sale of your surplus commodities under Title I is still needed. The Title III has a unique role to play and maybe a better role than Title I. I have heard people say what are we going to do with all this foreign currency? If you are worried with the foreign currency being piled up, don't, it works. I used some of it on a recent trip myself. It bought things, I ate well with it, had no trouble at all. I know some Americans are lazy and won't look around to see how they can use foreign currency. I say that right respectfully. If they are worrying about that, don't. Why don't we divert this food into these great feeding programs. You not only get the food you get the kindly attitude. You not only deliver the package, the spirit of America is in that, the warm smile, the helpful hand, Maybe a little piece of literature, but most of all it's just that you are interested, that you care.

You know, these people are lonesome. Most people

want somebody to care for them. And this is why a program such as CARE is so symbolic. It not only provides the material thing that you need but it provides a little personal interest with it.

I saw this in Greece. There is a picture over on that table of where I was taking a package to a family in Greece. I didn't know them, nobody else knew them. It wasn't hand selected. It was pulled right out of the file. There was no fix.

We went down to a neighborhood, I was told that this neighborhood was one of the heavy Communist districts of Athens. It so happens that a lady in Indianapolis had sent that package, that money was used for me to deliver a CARE package for a family, four children, husband and wife, I believe, and the grandma.

When I came into that house with the CARE representative of the embassy mission, I will never forget the look on that family. First of all, here was the gentleman, he had lost a leg, I believe he had lost his leg in the civil war. He told me that his total wages income was 60 cents a day. Now, these two little rooms were clean and there were some clean-hearted people in them. I have been in homes -- houses, I won't call them homes -- I have been in houses that were immaculate except for the people involved. Here I found two little rooms that were reasonably clean and some immaculately clean people

of spirit.

When I presented this little package of food to the head of that household he started to weep, not in shame, but in gratitude, and I'll tell you it was tough to take. I asked "Who is this little lady behind me?" He said, "That's grandma." She came up here and I talked to her and told her about the fine Greek people in Minnesota, Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, and I visited with her so I could gain my composure, really. All she could do was go around and pet me. She was so grateful.

This man told me if it wasn't for the American food package that they received about once every seven or eight weeks that he didn't know how they would be able to live.

Then I think of the Americans, I have read in American newspapers about the waste of food and I say to you that every American ought to be ashamed that it ever happened, and if I'm shouting at you we deserve to be shouted at. Any American that is willing to permit even as much as one bushel of our wheat to be wasted is committing a sin and whenever I hear an official of government talk about how much it costs to store this stuff I say, "Why don't you give it away, then it won't cost so much." It doesn't cost a bit to store it right inside here. It works out very well.

Somebody says, "Well, look how much it costs." I have found out it costs you no matter what you do. It costs

not to do something and it costs to do something. If you are interested in saving only money take your children out of school. Of course it will cost because they are going to stay ignorant. I'll tell you something else. If you are interested in only saving money don't go see the doctor. You may not live long but you'll save money.

I repeat, there is not a single thing that won't cost you money. The amount that we spend on the total food program is insignificant related to the total foreign policy and defense expenditures of our government, insignificant when I think of how much we are given free in service from your people in CARE, for example, and other voluntary organizations, and what an impact this makes upon people, and I say to you that it is the best spent money that we'll ever spend.

Have you ever figured out how long we'd have gotten along in Yugoslavia without food? Why, listen, military assistance for Yugoslavia, that may cause you trouble. That may cause you trouble. I'm not sure. I have to rely on the President's judgment, he knows more about these things, he has the agencies of government. I vote in the Senate not to give Tito arms because I think he's a great fellow, I don't, but I have been told that this is the way that we operate our foreign policy so I reconciled my doubts in that line but I want to tell you something. I talked to a man from Yugoslavia last week. He came here to visit his brother who lives at

Harrisburg, Pennsylvania. His brother had been in Yugoslavia several years ago. I went with his brother to the Yugoslavian ambassador, I heard what his brother said about Yugoslavia to the ambassador, the number of people that were in jail and did he stand up and really talk. I asked this brother that came over from Yugoslavia -- I said "what is it that Americans have done that you people in Yugoslavia know the most about and like the most?" I just asked him that without any briefing, he didn't know what I was after at all, and do you know what he said? "CARE." Period. CARE. That's the greatest thing. He said, "That's America."

Why, I found out, for example, in Greece, that what they called CARE was America. Little fellows, the little ones the pictures that you see over there, and Alec, was I ever proud when I found the butter and the dried powdered milk. We had taken a lot of razzing from some people. I want to tell you something right now, that a pound of powdered milk will do you more good than a pound of uranium. Put that down if you wish to for any kind of talk that you like to. It's true. People are afraid of uranium, and the fear of people can destroy the world. They love a glass of powdered milk that your children won't drink because we want that whole milk. But they will take a pound of powdered milk and I watched in Spain where the National Catholic Welfare was administering the food relief program. I watched where they were mixing it in

little washing machines and when I saw those children lined up and those mothers with those liter jars and when I heard what they had to say I had two feelings: First, one that I was so proud to be an American; and second, that I was so ashamed that we had sold millions of pounds of that powdered milk to feed hogs. And I ask any person in this room, do you think you have a right to feed pigs wholesome, clean powdered milk when you are unwilling to give it to children? You better go over and ask the agencies of government whether we are going to have very much powdered milk for this program to come. We have dairy farmers in my state that are having to sell their dairy herds that they worked twenty-five years to build. There is no market for their goods. Can you imagine that we are closing down part of America's agricultural plant at the very time that we say we are in a life and death struggle. At the very time we say we have to have more missiles, more this and more that. I have a sneaking suspicion that the man Khrushchev wasn't kidding on the TV not long ago when he said it will only be a short time before the Soviet Union will produce more products, more dairy products and cereal grains, and then, he said, watch out. They know what to do with it.

I saw in Cairo, when we refused to sell wheat to the Egyptians, I saw the Soviet Wheat. I saw in Port Said the little Russian flags on refugee's tents. I happen to think food ought to be utilized to help people, not dictators, but

people.

I remember in Israel the prime minister told me the desperate need of food. What are we going to do to feed these people? Fortunately the Government of the United States gave them half of the requisition. Half. I submit there's been a statement made here today that a national policy is needed so that CARE can plan its program years in advance. You can't afford to set up missions and utilize your energies unless you know there is something; therefore, Public Law 480 ought to be extended not one year, but a minimum of three years. I have asked every reasonable man that I can find in America, do you think the surplus agricultural problem will be over in one year? No, they say. Then I ask why do you want a one year extension? How come the Administration can ask for three years for a loan fund to loan our money to give away and sell our food stuff? What makes you think that it isn't tied into foreign policy?

Of course, it is -- and I hope that you will get behind a program for a longer extension than just one year and part of that year is already gone.

Well, I guess that's about as much as I wanted to say to you except to commend you for all that you are doing.

May I just add one other thing. That I think the gentlemen of the Congress should join with CARE and have our Government handle this ocean freight matter rather than having

the CARE organization or any other voluntary organization over there arguing like diplomats with the government of a recipient country how that ocean freight ought to be paid. We have got people in every one of our embassies, some of them too many. They have the time to go ahead and negotiate these matters that relate to ocean freight costs so that our CARE people will not be involved in that kind of activity and so that they will be able to set up their figures.

I want to commend you for your objective of about two American CARE officials in each country. I think that is about right. The more of the native population that you can use, with some good American guidance, the better off we are going to be. This will prevent Formosa incidents.

I'll tell you something else. You have yet to find a country where people that have been administering the good things of life, to the health needs, to the food needs, the nutritional or the educational needs; where they confine themselves to that they have riots and tear down your flags and go in and tear up your files and want to beat you up and drive you out of the country. If you find one it will be a unique incident.

I can say that in my brief examination wherever CARE has gone or wherever our great voluntary agencies have been at work, you find a reservoir of good will that is far beyond even the mistakes we make in policy. I have had heads of

governments say to me, "You Americans can make an abysmal and abominable situation clear up, if you will just help us with the food we will forgive you of almost everything."

I found ministers of commerce, agriculture, prime ministers, that knew more about Public^{Law}/480, the Surplus Disposal law, that is not the correct name of it, the official name is the Agricultural Trade Development Act. I found prime ministers, foreign ministers, ministers of commerce and ministers of economics that knew more about Public Law 480 than any living soul in the confines of the United States. They knew much more than those people in embassies and I'm not being cruel, unkind, I went into office after office, in Italy, Spain, Greece, Israel, and in Lebanon, even in Lebanon where we have had no program. I went into those other countries and every person I have talked to had all the hearings, had all the legislative debates, had everything laid out before them and knew more about Public Law 480 than I ever dreamed of knowing. I'm on the Committee on Agriculture where we passed the bill. When I compared their knowledge of what our knowledge was in embassies, these boys are graduates and ours are just in kindergarten. They knew. It was the difference between life and death.

I had, for example, in Spain, the minister of commerce tell me that never again as long as there was a Spain would the people of Spain ever be on such a low diet as they were

before American food came. No government, dictatorial or what kind could stand.

I heard the top military commander of our Southern NATO forces, Admiral Briscoe, tell me that our food program is as vital to the success of NATO in Southern Europe as military supplies.

I want to tell you something else. I can't give you the exact date, believe me, I presented this to the President in all due respect and consideration, the top military commander of NATO told me how little food supplies we had available in Southern Europe, that it was nothing short of a military debacle if there had been any hostilities. Yet we have food stored all over the United States. I can say less than three weeks, surely less than a month, and while Napoleon didn't know about rocket warfare and things of that kind, he did know enough about armies when he said the army traveled on its stomach. He apparently didn't know of NATO. We were short of armaments, short of forces, short of food and why? We haven't done enough about it.

I had members of government tell me that food was the one thing that gave them a chance to have enough people to work out some of their policies. Well, I can go on and on. This is my crusade. I want you to know that. I'm more interested in this subject matter than almost anything that has ever touched my life, because I happen to believe that in

this food program that goes beyond what you do in CARE alone, that there is an opportunity here for the redesigning of a foreign policy and a domestic policy that has great potentialities because in the sale of our food we provide economic means for other countries. We momentarily ease the tension and the suffering. We develop new markets and habits. We carry with it a message of American generosity, kindness, and democracy, particularly when you tie in your voluntary agencies. You build new contacts. You touch the lives of people and you get to the little one, not these cantankerous ones, but the little ones, those whose minds are still open, those whose spirits have yet to be fully discovered.

So, it is on that basis that I commend you. I appeal to the Advertising Council, which nobody has asked me to do this, I appeal to them to really put this program at the top of the list. I know there are many important programs, there always are, but there is no program more important in the world than what happens in the world. There is no program more important than a realization that there is such great human suffering in the world that it has to be answered. Toynbee called this the revolution of expectancy. He said people today just expect more and no longer can the old timers of the victorian age say they are not going to get it because they are going to get it. People refuse to die quietly, fellow Americans, they just won't cooperate. That's all. They

just refuse to lie down and play dead just because we said "Don't make any noise."

We haven't had time to help you. People all over the world are today demanding a place in the sun; people are demanding recognition and some of the people feel that the only way they can get it is through the totalitarian method simply because we refuse to expedite our methods, continue to rely upon the tardiness, the stickiness and the timidity of Government. Regrettably in a free country governments are timid, they lack most of the time, unless under duress and emergency, courage. Where is there no timidity? In the people. Why there isn't a member in Congress that isn't twice as frightened of the people. There isn't a member of Congress that isn't any more timid of the people. There are some of us that aren't timid, I guess I qualify on occasion, but timidity is a characteristic of government. Courage and emergency is a characteristic of a voluntary agency. We must have that or I'm afraid we might lose that one game world series I spoke about.

Congratulations to you all, to you, Wally, and to every group that is affiliated with CARE, and my best wishes to the fraternal order of Eagles, I'm a life member of that organization. My congratulations to the Lions. What we need is a few more tail twisters around and by that I think we will even get more done.

Thank you very much.

(Standing ovation.)

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