

[Aug. 8, 1957]

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Statement by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

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Mr. President, the unfortunate nomination of Mr. Maxwell Gluck as Ambassador to Ceylon has once again highlighted the sorry record of this Administration's diplomatic appointments. <sup>Probably</sup> ~~Probably~~ there has been no single session of Congress where more unqualified nominees have been presented for Senate confirmation to important posts abroad.

As Joseph Alsop said in a column earlier this year, on March 21, "The Eisenhower Administration's traffic in diplomatic appointments has now reached a state which calls for public comment. This year most of the diplomatic posts in Europe have been crudely placed on the auction block and sold for cash on the barrel head....There is no use continuing the sorry tale. Its point is all too simple. We are not living any longer in the nineteenth century, when the traffic in ambassadorships did no great harm. America now has incalculably great interests abroad, and America's Ambassadors are the necessary guardians of those interests. It does not matter whether they are rich or poor, Foreign Service officers or outside recruits. What matters is whether they are well qualified."

The situation had reached such a pass~~e~~ last April that the distinguished Chairman of the Foreign Relations Committee wrote to the Secretary of State about his "deep concern" about ambassadorial appointments. Senator Green stated in his letter of April 3:

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"It is generally known that Presidents and Secretaries of State of both political parties have been under pressure from those who feel that an ambassadorship is a reward for past service or help. In my opinion, we can no longer afford to give way to such pressure in appointment-making."

The Secretary of State replied to Senator Green's letter on April 25, 1957, and admitted that it was now essential that we have "first-rate" chiefs of mission in our diplomatic posts abroad."

Secretary Dulles added: "This requirement has been consistently borne in mind in selecting from Government service or from private life persons to serve as chiefs of our diplomatic missions....It is my understanding that at the present time approximately 68% of our ambassadors and ministers are career Foreign Service officers. This proportion is higher than at any time in the past."

Unfortunately, Mr. President, it is now clear that the requirement for "first-rate chiefs" has not been borne in mind. The public reaction to the Gluck nomination both at home and abroad has already severely handicapped Mr. Gluck's prospective career in Ceylon.

Since I myself have been deeply concerned about the problem of ambassadorial qualifications for many years, I noted with interest that the Secretary of State claimed that the present proportion of career ambassadors and ministers was higher than at any time in the past. Because it was my initial impression that this statement was not strictly accurate, I asked my office to contact the State Department to check its 1952 statistics to discover what the proportion of career ambassadors and ministers was then.

I ask unanimous consent that a letter from my office to the Department of State requesting this information on May 10, 1957 be printed at this point in my remarks.

(Exhibit A)

On May 23, the Deputy Under Secretary of State for the Administration replied, and among other things said:

"A very careful study has been made of the statistics for the year 1952 and separate calculations have been made so as to reflect the situation as it existed on the first day of each quarter of that year. On none of these dates did the percentage of career Chiefs of Mission exceed 67% of the total number of Chief of Mission posts. In fact, the figures varied between 64% and 67%."

I ask unanimous consent that the full text of Mr. Henderson's letter be printed at this point in my remarks.

(Insert B)

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On June 3, 1957, I wrote ~~Mr.~~ Mr. Henderson seeking additional information, and I ask unanimous consent that the text of this letter be printed at this point in my remarks.

(Insert C)

On July 9, 1957, Mr. Henderson again replied and accompanying his letter was a detailed tabulation concerning the career and non-career heads of diplomatic missions beginning at each quarter in 1952. I ask unanimous consent that his letter and the accompanying tabulation be printed at this point in my remarks.

(Insert D and E)

I note for the record <sup>that</sup> in the beginning of at least one quarter in 1952 -- on April 1, 1952, the proportion of career heads of missions compared to the total number of heads of missions was 70.4%. This figure seems to cast some doubt on the accuracy of Secretary Dulles' statement in his letter to Senator Green on April 15, 1957.

Mr. President, I have no intention of engaging in a partisan squabble on this or any other question related to the problem of ambassadorial appointments because I feel that the main point is whether appointments today meet the requirements of the critical international situation. I agree completely with President Eisenhower when he said on April 10, 1957: "Now I happen to believe that in this day we cannot limit ourselves

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to the governmental processes that were applicable in 1890."

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My criticism is that the President in his appointments is not even doing credit to the standards of 1890. He has demonstrated again and again that he has forgotten his campaign pledge of 1952. At that time he was saying "We will call to the high offices of government the best men and women, the ablest and most reliable in the land." Unfortunately, what the President means by the "best of the land" continues to have a significant relevance to campaign contributions.

I ask unanimous consent that an article which appeared in the New York Times of August 7, 1957, entitled "19 Envoys Gave \$218,740 to G.O.P." be printed at this point in the Record.

(Insert F)

I note in passing, Mr. President, that the figures in the article I just mentioned are only figures of their contributions to the 1956 National Republican campaign. Many of these same individuals have contributed to the party for years, and at least some of their contributions have been publicly disclosed in articles in such authoritative magazines as the Congressional Quarterly.

*the Gluck appointment* Under Secretary of State Herter's ex post facto appearance *to explain* before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on August 1, which hearings have now been printed, ~~have~~ indicated once more the serious interest of many ~~and~~ members of the Foreign Relations Committee in the deteriorating quality of <sup>our</sup> ambassadorial nominees.

As is often the case, Mr. James Reston of the New York Times has summarized our current predicament in a succinct and ~~concise~~ *forthright* manner. In the ~~New York Times~~ of August 6, 1957. He contributed an article entitled "The Envoy and His Gifts". I ask unanimous consent that the text of his article be printed at this point in the Record.

(Insert G)

Mr. Reston concludes his article by saying:

(The Administration) "has differed from the tradition of the past by denying that campaign contributions are an important factor in choosing Ambassadors.

"If it had not denied this last practice, the Gluck appointment would have been merely an amusing one-day story about an honest man getting caught in an ancient political game. But because the Administration has pronounced such noble principles, and then departed from them while proclaiming its innocence, the argument is prolonged to nobody's advantage."

It is highttime, Mr. President, that this official hypocrisy came to an end, and the best way to end it would be not to make these appointments in the first place, ~~and~~ then no apologies or hypocrisy would be needed.

We must stop treating our ambassadorial appointments as though they were casual or relatively unimportant. The whole life of the nation may at some point depend on the calibre of our foreign

service reporting. We have only to study the latest volume of published German diplomatic documents to appreciate the full mediocrities. danger of staffing our embassies with ~~mediocrities~~. I direct the Senate's attention ~~from~~ to an excellent editorial from the London Daily Telegraph of August 1, entitled "Failure of Their Missions". I ask unanimous consent that the text of that editorial be printed here at the conclusion of my remarks.

(Insert H)

8/8/57

Radio Recording  
Hubert H. Humphrey

August 15, 1957

Ladies and gentlemen and fellow-Minnesotans, this is Senator Hubert H. Humphrey speaking to you from my office here in Washington, D.C.

Not long ago, the papers were full of stories about a young Minnesota student -- Richard Medalie -- from St. Louis Park, Minnesota, and Chisholm. You remember how he was reported as taking on all comers in the middle of Red Square in Moscow -- debating with hundreds of Russian students about American and Russian life, foreign policy, economics -- all in Russian. He made quite an impact in Moscow, and his story illustrates a point I have been stressing for a long time -- that we ought to be taking positive steps to bring our bright young Americans into direct contact with the young people behind the Iron Curtain.

~~We are willing, it seems, to permit our young athletes to compete with Soviet athletes, but the State Department frowns heavily on the~~

~~sending of American students out into the intellectual arena -- where  
the competition is in ideas!~~

~~Take~~<sup>4</sup> young Medalie, for instance, ~~■~~ went over to Moscow with a delegation of American students to the World Youth Festival -- despite the labelling of the whole Festival as a propaganda device. Well it was a propaganda device. The Russians hoped to make a great impression on the world with that festival. But why should we let the Kremlin score all the points? Of course the Russians go into an event to win. So should we! If we see an opening in the Iron Curtain, I think we ought to exploit it. Young Richard Medalie did -- with no help from our State Department. We ought to learn from him.

You see, I am not one of those people who fear and distrust American young people, just because they like to challenge the ideas

of their elders. Questioning young people help to keep a community from solidifying, from crusting over with old habits, from turning into a stifling mass of conformity. ~~That goes for our own society, and it goes for the Soviet Union -- where the institutions and forms of social life have solidified under the baking effect of two generations of absolute dictatorship.~~

Frankly, I think we ought to take the bull by the horns, and hold our own World Youth Festival. Let's invite the Russians and Chinese and Poles and Czechs, as well as the young people from more friendly nations. Let them come and see us as we are -- faults and all. Let them come and circulate freely with our people.

~~It will be a hundred times more good than our present policy of discouraging even a handful of American students from cracking through the Iron Curtain.~~

We have fine information programs -- our Voice of America

broadcasts, for instance -- that are doing a very necessary job.

But to make a real impact -- to break through the Iron Curtain and create impressions and understanding in depth -- we must turn to our people themselves. Here is where we can score. Here is our strong point: our native vigor, our unconventionality, freshness, and open-mindedness.

~~A great part of our danger from the Soviet bloc, you see, is just in that blind, unreasoning fear of us that the Soviet leaders have instilled in their people, year after year. That's the way they've been able to drive their people into almost super-human production efforts. And, of course, this campaign of hatred against us would have come to nothing unless they were ~~able~~ able to shut out the truth. That's why there is an Iron Curtain.~~

Now when the curtain begins to crack, let us act firmly, resolutely, affirmatively, to break through to the Soviet people -- in any way we can, in any form. Let us compete in the international

trade fairs, for instance. Let us send out our best scientists and engineers, architects, artists, musicians -- the cream of our own society -- to meet their opposite numbers from behind the Iron Curtain.

When we have a chance to go on the Russian television, as Khrushchev came on our own television -- we ought to take it! We should be proud and confident. ~~We don't have to apologize for much. We have some injustice and some difficulties -- like any other nation. But basically, fundamentally, we are a strong, free society, and we can hold our heads up in any company.~~

As you know, I have always been a strong supporter of the programs of educational and cultural exchange -- like the Fulbright program of exchanging scholars, like the "Ifly" program of exchanging young farm people, the SPAN program, and the many other projects sponsored by Church groups and voluntary agencies. These people-to-people programs have been wonderfully successful. But they need to be

stepped up, and to be expanded to include an exchange with the young people of the Soviet bloc. It may be that the Soviet leaders would not permit such an exchange. They may seal up the cracks in the Iron Curtain. But I think we ought to try to *break through* -

~~And I think~~ We ought to seek out the brightest of our young people -- particularly those who cannot go on to college because of financial handicaps -- and encourage them to learn foreign languages, to study the cultures of those people of the Soviet bloc. *Richard* Medalie -- for a good example of how effective such a program would be -- is a student of Slavonic and Russian culture. He speaks Russian. He can get right in with the Russian man on the street and talk business, talk American ideas and concepts in language the Russian can understand. This is very important. For this reason, I am continuing to press for a Federal scholarship program designed to develop scores of thousands of such grass-roots ~~ambassadors~~ ambassadors. How much more effective it would be if we were to send overseas a few thousand of such young people -- and do away with the practice of selling our important ambassadorial posts to big political campaign contributors!

Outline for tape recording  
August 21, 1957

*W. W. W.*

*Coyne - 7 ASEP*  
*Palky, Ottertail*  
*St. Louis*

**Yikes**

Several events of importance have taken place in Congress this week which are of particular interest to Minnesotans.

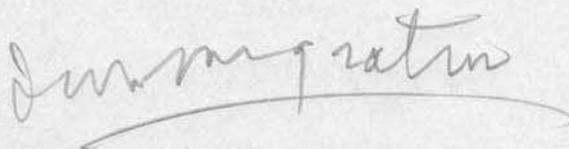
\$20 million special ACP program for helping put flooded-out farmers' land back into condition. We joined with five other states with similar problem to request \$32 million. Minnesota needs estimated by State Dept. of Ag at \$5 million, but State USDA Disaster Committee has sent on to Dept. of Ag. a partial estimate of needs at \$1.5 million. House-Senate conference finally gave us \$20 million, but has to be added to \$2.6 million now in hands of Department of Ag to be spread over 12 states. Believe Minnesota should have about \$3 million available. Problem is that Secretary of Agriculture is now saying he doesn't think this money should be disbursed to farmers until July of next year. If can free up this money, would give possible 5- ~~six~~ 6 dollars per acre for green cover, summer fallow, repair of waterways, etc.

Elk River cooperative power reactor -- We succeeded in pressing through an Atomic Energy Commission authorization bill to move us faster into the power reactor program. Provides important new protections to rural cooperatives who want to participate in the experimental power reactor program. Puts all the risk on the

Federal Government, giving the Rural Cooperative Power Association the opportunity to expand its electrical generating capacity at no more cost than if it were to use coal or oil. Now that authority is provided, pressing the Atomic Energy Commission to conclude a contract with a manufacturer of nuclear equipment which the Elk River Coop has been negotiating with full approval of the AEC for 18 months. Hope that such a contract can be signed, and construction begun shortly for Minnesota's first power reactor.

Poultry Inspection

(SEE ATTACHED)



Much yet to be done in next few days before we adjourn -- Mutual security appropriation, postal pay and postal rates, an immigration bill, the civil rights bill. Very busy time...still have some faint hopes of getting out to Minnesota for a few days with the family before they have to return to Washington to put the children back in school.



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