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"Meet Me on the Terrace"

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*Wp. Chamber of Commerce. Speech
called soon Dec 1274*

Humphrey Text 1

~~I suppose the most difficult assignment in the world is for someone who has lived amongst you so long and that you know so well particularly his weaknesses to come back here ~~to~~ and to pretend that I know anything that would be worthy of your attention, and I don't say that to be ~~faciceous~~ faciceous I say it because it is indeed the truth. I, of course love these opportunities to visit with you I guess as was said here by Mrs Bassett I just plain love to visit, and ~~five~~ ~~live~~ given living proof of it.~~

Today I want to share with you a few ~~of~~ observations and I wish to make it quiet clear before I start that they are only my observations that I do not speak for the government of the United States, I do not speak for the Congress of the United States I can only speak for myself, and I must say that those observations ~~relating~~ relating to the Soviet Union are necessarily superficial limited because after all I only spent 8 days in Moscow. I did not travel throughout the Soviet Union, and don't believe one ought to generalize about a country or even about it's system until you are more versed with on the spot observations.

~~There are men and women in this room today, men and women from our great university, from our business community who have traveled much more extensively than have I in this area and I hope that they will give me the ~~max~~ benefit of their advice and counsel these next few weeks as I have sought it from others. so that the views and observations which one in public life frequently is compelled to share or to make will be more reason and ~~are~~ more considerate.~~

Let me tell you first of all about this rather unchartered and unplanned trip. I have been appointed by the Congress of the United States, the Senate I should say, through the Vice

President as one of two Senators to attend the Unesco Conference in Paris, France. Senator John Sherman Cooper of Kentucky and myself, to represent our country as members of Congress. I attended that conference. Mrs. Humphrey traveled with me on this trip and less any of you have any doubts she didn't travel at government expense, I want to assure you. As a matter of fact I can assure you she traveled at our expense and something has got to be done about it right quick.

The Unesco Conference was part of our official assignment. While in Paris as Senator elect McCarthy knows the parliamentary meeting of the Nato Countries was in ~~session~~ ^{session}. Senator McCarthy has been ~~participating~~ a participating member of that conference. I attended two or three ~~sessions~~ sessions of the ~~the~~ Nato Parliamentarians, Gene and then out to visit with our fellow Minnesotan General Norstad the head of the Nato Alliance and then with Anway Spock the chairman of the Nato Council on terms of the political and the economic aspect of the Nato Alliance. I have so much to tell you about that I only want to mention it, because my visit with Onway Spock in particular while interesting was ~~is~~ discouraging. in light of the competition that we face. Can I leave this one thought with you we must do much better on the Nato front politically and economically if we are going to realize all that this grand ~~alliance~~ alliance should offer. We are not doing nearly well enough. The agreements ~~of~~ of last December you may recall ~~was~~ our Presidents rather spectacular trip after his sickness going to Paris, those agreements on scientific cooperation, economic cooperation regretedly have not all be fulfilled.

Following the meetings in Paris, I proceeded to Geneva.

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~~Geneva, Switzerland where I had been appointed as you may know to be one of the delegates of the United States delegation to the conference between the USSR, the Soviet Union, The United Kingdom and The United States on ~~max~~ the subject of prohibition or sessation of nuclear bomb tests. Now this is an area in which I felt I had some expert knowledge. For three years I have been the chairman of ~~thaxxawwixx~~ a committee or sub-committee in the Senate ~~he~~ that has ~~na~~ studied ~~it~~ diligently if not very dramatically the subject matter of whether or not our great country could safely enter into an agreement with the Soviet Union on the proposition of stopping similar nuclear tests with effective inspection and control to see that there was no cheating or any evasion of the terms of the agreement. I believe that two Minnesotans have had a great deal to do in this area. One was the former governor of this state, Mr. Stassen, who I believe accredited himself very well as a disarmament director for our country and the ~~othaxxwax~~ other was just a United States Senator who was sub-committee chairman. Our committee consisted of 12 Senators, 6 Republicans and 6 ~~Democratx~~ Democrats. We published three reports in three years and all three were unanimous, and believe me that is something when you can get that done in the Senate of the United States.~~

(in Geneva)

I attended the nuclear test conference and came away from that conference which is still on by the way, ~~xxxxx~~ came away from the conference with the belief that there was an outside chance a possible hope of an agreement between the ~~xxxxx~~ three major powers. I met with the deputy minister of the Soviet Union in the foreign affairs, Mr. ~~Kix~~ Kusneckov, whom I have known from United Nations days, Walter Judd knows him well

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too. He is an able, competent, a bright man in the field on foreign affairs and believe me is a ~~not~~ potaganist second to none. I talked to him for an hour and a half at the Soviet Mission in Geneva and I can assure you that after that talked that I felt more convinced that we would make some progress in the conference on thermo nuclear weapons. I came away convinced that the conference on surprise attacks was not going to get any where this was subsequently confirmed in no uncertain mamerx in Moscow in the Kremlin in my visit with Mr. Khrushov, and you have been reading in our Minneapolis and St. Paul papers of the success or atleast of the apparant degree of success on minor items at least in the atomic test conference. We have made some progress and I think more will come.

Now in Geneva I also visited for two day with the World ~~Wxix~~ Health Organization people. We remember so well here Governor the World Health Conference in our city which was a great honor to to Minnesota, Minnesotans, Minneapolis and St. Paul. Dr. Candou, who is the executive director, or the director general of the World Health Organization brought together his entire staff and I spent as I said two days with them going over a tremendously expanded medical ~~research~~ research program on an international basis. Minneapolis, Minnesota was the seat of a great event, ~~The world Health meeting and you may recall that Milton Eisenhower, the President's brother delivered a message here in our auditorium wherein he stated that the President of the United States was making available \$300,000.00 of additional money to the World Health Organization for a new program of expanded medical research. to conquer disease, heart disease, cancer,~~

muscular dystrophy, multiple sclerosis and a host of other diseases, ~~This was~~ a great forward step. If you will permit me, if it doesn't seem ~~impeccable~~ inmodist, I believe I had something to do with that because it was a resolution that I was privileged to introduce in the Senate that sparked that offer and also it was the resolution in the Senate that directed me to go to European ~~xxxxxx~~ countries to see whether or not we ~~xxxxxx~~ couldn't do more to seek cooperation of the great western nations including the Soviet Union on the medical research front. Now I'm not going to bore you with this I'm going to speak later on in Minnesota as a first review of this entire program, I'll only say this here were our objectives: We want expanded medical exchanges; sick people everywhere ~~whom~~ want to be healed and I can tell you today as business men that trade follows the drug, not the flag but the drug. Trade follows the doctor, the nurse, the person of healing and if you want to look at it in almost what you might call materialistic manner I know of nothing that will help the United States of America more than to be known as the great healer. for God's sick children all over this world and there are plenty of them make no mistake about it. And we are making some dent on this, our great country is a leader in the field on international research and these expanded exchanges of our doctors and scientists and nurses and technicians into the Soviet Union, into Poland into Romania into all the countries behind the iron curtain I tell we have one greatest efforts that we are making in literally winning this so called cold war. Many of you have heard me say that the only way I think we can win the cold war is with warm hearts and I really believe it. I don't think you can win this struggle by vituperative language, I don't believe you can win it by threats and counter threats. I for

that you can't frighten people who have lived in fear and who have lived in misery and tragedy all of their life. Remember the Soviets have faced everything from the horrors ~~ex~~ out of Mongolia to ~~Napoleian~~ Napoleon and Hitler. They have faced famine and disease and disaster and revolution, and they are not about ready to be frightened again, and ~~mislike~~ neither are we. They can't frighten us ~~and~~ and threaten us and we can't frighten or threaten them and I have suggested that one of the best things that could happen to this world is a cessation not only of nuclear bombs, test but a cessation of vituperative belligerent and bellicous language, it just isn't worth while. Now don't misunderstand me that doesn't mean that you try to pretend you are in Utopia because we are not you know that I believe in strong defense, you know that I don't even believe that at a time like this of international crisis that it helps us any to talk about how we are going to cut the budget in defense I'm of the opinion that a little less talk about how many bombs we have or how many we don't have or how many rockets we have or how many we are going to get and getting on with the job with just having ~~enough~~ enough defensive strength to guarantee ~~us~~ our security would be a much better proposition. ~~There is nothing new about this old Teddy Roosevelt, one of the truly great men of our time, or of our country said "Speak softly and carry the big stick". He didn't say brandish the big stick and he didn't say yell and shout about things you may not have but only hope to have.~~

Of the medical research front is something that I can point to today to say that I think we are moving on. Here were my objectives and I discussed them with the Prime Ministers, the Foreign Minister and the Health Ministers of ten countries

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I talked to well over 75 of the worlds foremost doctors. ~~I was~~
~~in laboratory I saw children being treated for cancer, I saw~~
patients from Ugoslovia who were the victims of nuclear ~~accidents~~
reactor accidents. Seven of them, two are I believe are now dead
that were receiving ~~lethal~~ lethal doses of radio
activity. I saw children dying of diseases that man medicine sti ll
does not know to conquer. I met the foremost cancer expert of the
Soviet Union, Dr. Buckheim who has been in the United States and
who by the way was once denied a visa to come to our country because
they said they thought ~~that~~ he might be a communist. Well I
gathered he is. But I want to tell you something I told Dr. Bockheim
if he could discover the answer to Cancer we wouldn't care about
his politics and I trust if we could discover it here he wouldn't
mind if it was discovered by a capitalist. It just seems to me
that there is such a ~~thing~~ thing as growing up and quit ~~mak~~
acting like juvenile delinquents or misfits. So you know what the
Soviets did? Since we denied him a visa for a period of time they
had our Dr. ~~Shimkin~~ Shimkin of the National Institute of Health of
Bethesda, Maryland who was traveling with me as my expert a man
who speaks Russian ~~is~~ born in Russia years ago, they had Dr.
Shimkin ~~at~~ sit it out for four days in Helsingki waiting for him
to get a visa. You know I said about the Soviets that if they
break a leg we have to break a leg, if they have a show we have
to have one they believe in ~~the~~ fifty-fifty they are sensitive
people and since we denied Dr. Blockheim a visa they denied our
man a visa and how foolish. The only thing is I should quickly
tell you that I happen to ~~be the foreign minister~~ see the foreign
minister Mr. Gromeko ~~is~~ of the Soviet Union at the Ugoslav ~~i~~
Independence Day reception in Moscow and friend Dr. Shimkin was

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cooling his heels ~~xxxx~~ in Helsinki I was literally immobilized with out this fine distinguished scientist to be at my side and I went up to Mr. Gromeko and I said this is a fine way to ~~establish~~ build cordial relation. He understands English very well. He has been in our country for a long time. We knew him for one word. Neck And I talked to him I told him of my predicament I said that I hadn't come to the Soviet Union to argue I had come to study medicine, and medical research, would he help me. He said what is his name. I said Dr. Shimkin, of the Cancer Research Institute of NIH Bethesda Maryland. He said his name. I said Shimkin. And he said Shimkin, Shimkin and the next morning at 10 o'clock Dr. Shimkin had his visa, and he was on his way into Moscow.

We traveled in France, Switzerland, Germany, Denmark Norway, Sweden, Finland, Great Britain and the U.S.S.R. We proposed expanded exchanges, increased flow of scientific data and establishment of an international health and medical year. I am happy to report to you that we have received the cooperation of every government in these particular enterprises. ~~We also outlined specialized projects in~~ and to my doctor friends here in the audience one of the great projects that we worked on for throughout this entire trip was what we called Paranatal care. The care of the child before birth and after birth. Investigation into the disease of the fetus, investigation into disease of pre-mature babies. I was in several childrens hospitals, maternity hospitals. I saw tragedy that made me weep, and I know as I have the privilege to say to Mr. Khrushchev I said with all of your efficiency with all of your seven year plans not matter how efficient your commissars or your deputies, Mr. ~~Khrushchev~~,

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~~Premier, there is nothing that can compensate even economically for the loss of life, for the disabled, for the sick and if you really want to improve the productivity of ~~the~~ your country then improve the health of your people and I say that this is need in every country on the face of the earth. You see medicine is a common language. because there are so many that need care.~~

We outlined programs of physical ~~rehabilitation~~ ~~which is so close to our own great university and by the way~~ rehabilitation which is so close to our own great university and by the way fellow Minnesotans, the University of Minnesota its great schools of technology, science, its great medical school has a world wide reputation second to none as does our great Mayo Foundation and Mayo Clinic. We known, don't worry, and we are known for good things. for the goods things of life.

I want to urge you to travel. I want to ~~urge~~ urge you to travel into ~~the~~ the iron curtain country. Somebody once said to me in fact I said to ~~some of our friends~~ one of our friends out here in radio today I have a tape recording of my interview in Moscow if you want it I will give it to you and I have a tape recording of press interview in Helsinki. Two or three very sharp newspaper men said to me Senator Humphrey what ~~are~~ are you going to Moscow for? What do you think you can do there. I said not much but maybe I can learn, ~~it~~ I'll try to. I have heard a great deal about this city and this country maybe I should go ~~and~~ try to find ~~out~~ out something about it and I know it will be very little because I'll be such short time. They said don't you know Senator Humphrey that

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will use your presence there, don't you know that the Soviet propa-
ganda machine will ~~say~~ say see here comes a United States Senator
they come to M^uscow they want to see us. Don't you know that you
are opening yourself up for Soviet propaganda purposes. I said
I suppose so. I suppose that is the risk you have to ~~take~~ take.
But I said I wat to tell you something I don't think we are going
to get peace in this world by just talking to our ~~fix~~ friends
I said I am somewhat of a practical politician, if I can put it
that way you sometimes have to talk to people who haven't pledged
their vote to you. You know what I mean friends. You sometimes
have to face the opposition face to face as we do in the states.
I wasn't of the opinion that I was going to ~~convince~~ convince anybody
of anything and I didn't think that they were going to convince me
of much either in terms of what I knew to be wrong but are many
areas that I wasn't sure about. I wanted to find out more about
their economic system. How it worked. How it didn't work. I like
to ~~take~~ take a look at some of these ~~map~~ people ~~that~~ when I see their
pictures in the paper I want to know really what they are because
I been in politics long enough to know that the difference betwee n
the man ~~and~~ as he is and as the man that they describe him to
be. ~~Regretably there is a great difference sometimes. So we~~
went to Moscow. Perilous journey. It was the wrong time of the
year. Cold, it isn't half as pleasant as ~~Rhankex~~ Rome. I wanted
very much to go to Rome and I promised Mrs. Humphrey that I woul
take her there sometime but she didn't make ~~it~~ it this time. It's
a beautiful city. I would have loved to have gone to Vienna. I
didn't get a chance to go there I would have loved to have stayed
a few more days and gone to Brussels and stayed a few more days
in Paris what's more wonderful but the truth is that you learn a
little bit more ~~from~~ some other places or you at least you

fortify and are ~~xxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxxx~~ privileged to ~~xxxx~~back on what you may have already learned. check

On the way going to Moscow, without any premeditation or preplanning I ~~xxxxxxxx~~ should say, I ~~stopped~~ stopped off at West Berlin. Now you may ask what did you go to West Berlin ~~xxxxxx~~ Senator Humphrey only there one day what ~~xxxx~~ can you do in one day. I went to West Berlin because we had just had an election in this country and I was the first United States Senator of the majority party in the Congress to appear behind the Iron Curtain. ~~West Berlin is 100 miles deep into Soviet Satellite territory encircled by the shadows and the darkness of ~~totalit~~ totalitarianism. West Berlin is an ~~oasis~~ oasis in a ~~desert~~ desert of despair. It is a kind of a beacon light and West Berlin was having pressure brought to bear upon it by the Soviets and by the East Germany Democratic Republic as they call it. There have been statements flying from London and Washington and Bonn but ^{no} one had come and I wanted the people of West Berlin and I wanted the Soviet Union to know and everybody else to know ^{it} ~~that~~ I could be a spokesman at once for my party in this instance and by the way I communicated with Mr. Dulles prior to this entree to Berlin. You don't do these things on your own that is without at least asking for the council and advice. I went to West Berlin so that everyone would know that on the issue of the freedom and the security and the safety of the people of West Berlin that we stood 100% with the President of the United States in our policy not a a bit of deviation whatsoever. and wanted to be able to extend the hand of American fellowship and friendship to a courageous young man ~~Willie Brandt~~ Willie Brandt, Mayor of West Berlin, a wonderful man who by the way was just re-elected and Willie ~~xx~~ Brandt was there at th-~~

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of that plane when we walked off and literally the tears came down his face and were together all day. We walked from section of Berlin to the other. We were at Brandenburg Gate looking off into the East Berlin Communist sector. I was asked not to go into that sector that day because they were afraid that they might be some minor incident and people were a bit jittery and they didn't want any difficulty. I was at Temple Off Air Fort and we place a wreath at the base of a memorial for the some 38 Americans and British who have lost their lives as they brought in the supplies in the Berlin airlift, and my fellow Minnesotans let me tell you something its a wonderful experience to see hundreds and thousands of people who literally are standing there super-charged and when you have said a few words that this was not merely a a memorial service but that it was a further confirmation of our willingness to do again what we had done once before. They broke out in song and in almost thunderous applause. I never had such goose pimples in my life.

Well, when I got to Moscow the Soviets knew ~~we~~ we had been to Berlin. and I wanted them to. I didn't want any doubt about my ~~convictions~~ convictions in your minds in their minds or in anybody elses. In Moscow we were under the guidance of the intourist, I did not work through our Embassy. they have enough problems so what is more you get to see more if you come on you own ~~share~~ as a tourist. ~~I said I urged you to travel~~
~~I think you should go behind the Iron Curtain. These people want to see you. They want to see Americans. Americans are popular You are more popular behind the Iron Curtain than any place else in the world. Make no mistake about it. And we have many friends in these areas. They remember Americans and this is particularly~~

~~in the Satilite Countries that were once free that haven't been u
under forty years of Communist Yolk. So go to Poland if you go
go to Romania, go to to Albania, go to ~~xxxx~~ East Germany, go
wherever you can go where their freedom once lived and go respect-
fully with dignity. ~~xxxx~~ Don't go to critize, don't go to get
into trouble, don't go to ~~ix~~ play. ~~If you want to play go some
place else. ~~ix~~~~ Go well dressed not gaudy but well dressed there
is such drabness . A little color and go with, if you mind my
saying so maybe with just a few little trinkets. ~~Maybe a little
pin about the Statue of Liberty or a Liberty Bell and maybe
just a postcard about your home town or maybe some little memento
about the United States and maybe for the children just ~~ix~~ even
a package of chewing gum. you'll be surprised what it can do for
you it's better than a pot of gold. This is true in the Soviet
Union. The first couple of days that we were there we did mostly
site seeing we were waiting for things to sort of jell. ~~After all
I wasn't at all sure that anything was going to jell. And I
asked myself the first day I was there was this trip really
necessary.~~~~~~

We arrived ~~to~~ on a Thursday night. It was cold but
I saw something that night at that massive air port that stood
with me ever since ~~ix~~ in my mind vividly. I saw hundreds and
hundreds and hundreds of Asians, Arabs, and Africans. You
don't have to be very bright to know whats going on. Literally
hundreds of them, Bob Aldrich is here today in the Air port
Commission. Let me tell you something Bob, the air terminal
in Moscow is a tremendous building. ~~ix~~ It's loaded with people
coming from the Asian, African and middle Eastern areas. I
was told that the tremendous number language students in Arabic

~~languages in dialects for African teaching the languages of the~~
~~Asians and when these come from these far off and distant places~~
where poverty is the common lot of man where the latched roof
and the mud hut is the common housing accommodation and they see
big brick apartment buildings in Moscows that our contractors will
say are not very good and not built well. Let me assure you that
those buildings looked very good to a man that has been living in
a huvvel. And let me assure that when they see ~~Rox Gorcey Street~~
well illuminated as a big modern ~~aa~~ American city would be they
think that they are seeing a new world and they are being told
about it every minute of the day by the hour. They don't just
invite the so called big men of these countries but the labor
people, the twenty-one year old man that is organizing a labor
movement in ~~Nigeria~~ Nigáarria, French Equatorial Africa or in
Iraq or Iran or any other place. They're inviting the students.

I was at Moscow University. Moscow University is not just got
a ~~building its not~~ a tremendous physical plant. By the way
again on construction it's only I think three years old and already
the walls some of them are in bad shape, the floors are not too
good. They have a good faculty according to our educators and
I must take their expert knowledge on this but I am willing to say
that at least 40% of the students in Moscow University are
foreign students there with a government start with the Soviet
Union paying all of their expenses. The sending country doesn't
have to put up a nickel unless they want to.

Well I asked to see the Minister of Health, the
Minister of Agriculture, the Minister of Education, the Minister
of Foreign Affairs, the Minister of Foreign Trade, I asked for
the book. and I asked to see the first minister, the chairman

of the Council of Ministers Nikita Khrushchev. I didn't expect to see many people at all, very few if any of these but I said why not ask that was the first day. I asked to see the President of Soviet Society of Medical Academies of Medical Science, I asked to see the Director of Moscow Cancer Institute, I asked to see the particular factory that very few foreigners see, I asked to see schools, hospitals and the only thing that I can tell you is that every single request ultimately was granted.

~~The bureaucracy of the Soviet Union is very slow and~~
~~to think you think we have red tape all I can say to my friends~~
~~at Minnesota Mining that if you can get the tape account there~~
~~you sure will have it made. That would be something. Not~~
~~that you don't already have.~~

~~I not going to take much of your time except to tell~~
~~you on this matter of the Ministers except to tell you that I~~
~~saw them all and had long talks with them. We had a voluminous~~
~~notes, we received many publications. I asked every kind of a~~
~~question I could think of. Do you get our journals? Where are~~
~~our journals? Do people have a chance to read them? Are they~~
~~in the library? Do you have Encyclopedia Britannica? Do you~~
~~have the World Books? Do you have our top literary pieces, some~~
~~of our new literature? Some they had some obviously they didn't~~
~~have. I didn't try to get into a political argument. I thought~~
~~that was one sure way of having stay made anything but pleasant~~
~~and most likely getting a sudden exit visa from the area for~~
~~refugees or at least having information closed off.~~

~~I had a long talk as some of you heard last night with~~
~~the Minister of Agriculture and I just want to say to this audience~~

~~that the Soviet Union is ~~is~~ determined to catch up in agriculture. This is one area where they feel that we are far ahead. They are determined to catch up and they are making tremendous plans to catch up.~~

Can I give one little word of suggestion here. The forgotten man of the Soviet Union is the Russian Peasant. Every good word that we can say to wish this peasant well is going to help us. He is 55% of the total population or more. He lives a very poor life from everything that people have told me. I saw hundreds of these peasants at the railroad stations. I went to the railroad stations I spent two hours one evening from 11 p.m. 1 a.m. at the Cazon station with an interpreter, my interpreter. And I talked to dozens of people where they were going, what was your work, where do you live, what about your family and they talked. And I told them that I was an American, I didn't say that I was An American Public official I told them I was an American. And I can tell you that they were friendly at least they were not hostile despite the propaganda that's poured to them. Now the top news in the USSR is the seven year plan for heavy industry. Seven year plan for economic developmente emphasising heavy industry, chemicals. ~~The Petro chemical industry of the Soviet Union has been set aside, forgotten they are trying to catch up in a hurry, ~~with~~ synthetic, agriculture, rural ~~with~~ electrification, highways, transportation, buses, ~~and~~ trucks less on rails even though 80 some per cent of all commerce and persons in The Soviet moves by rail and they have I understand some fairly good roads. I went over this plan before I went to the Soviet Union and I talked to every minister about the goals of~~

~~the plan and what they were going to do about it. I didn't receive one word from anybody of course that indicated that weren't going to fulfill it. I would warn ~~xxx~~ you that while they may not fulfill all of it but I think that they will fulfill most of it.~~

You see there is something happening there that you and I ought to take notice ~~xxx~~ of. What is really happening such as this seven year plan ~~is~~ not just a economic blue print its a ~~physi~~psychological document, and it is a very fundamental part of the cold war. ~~These Soviets know that there are more poor people in the world than there are rich people. They know that there are more sick than there are well and they know that there are more people that want things than people who have things. They know their own people cannot be satisfied with what they have. They can only be held in line and really be made to cooperate by hopes and expectations of what they will have. So an ~~economic~~ doctrine or economic document such as this seven year document which I discussed with four ministers, two deputy prime ministers and one Premier this economic document is in fact a political document. It is a ~~psychological~~ document, it is a promise of a better life. It's the kind of a document worded not only in statistical of economic terms but interms that inspire those people to make more sacrifices or at least entice their people to make more sacrifices. They intend for example to move well over a million young people into Syberia to plow virgin land. Now how they are going to get them there I think will be most be some degree of ^{coercian} ~~economic~~, but don't fool yourself they don't all go there by ^{coercian} ~~economic~~, any more than the pioneers went from the eastern seaboard to the west by coercion. Some economical coercion to be sure but they offered these young people going into Syberia much better compensation. I had the~~

leaders of the Soviets tell me about the Chinese communes, you know these Agreian Cities, I asked him about them. He said they are old fashion. They are reactionary. And I said what do you mean and he said why they are based on that principal from each according to his own ability to each according to his need. He said you can't get things done that way Senator. He said you must have incentive. I said Pardon me. Seems to me that this is Capitolist doctrine. He said call it what you will Senator I know what works. This Nikita Khrushchev is not only a tyrant and a dictator, not only the man that mercilessly put down the Hungarian patriots and you know what I think about that, he is not only a communist in all that that means but he as cunning as a fox. He has the native intuition, the intelligence of a Russian peasant and the same virility and the same vigor and ~~added on top of that~~ added on top of that a very, very clever politician that knows how to manipulate and use things and people -- a dangerous type of individual in one sense. ~~These~~ to atleast the institutions in which you and I believe. ~~Now/Russian plans, these Soviet plans~~ are more designed are designed not only for their own people but for the world. ~~Remember~~ Remember there not trying to impress you one bit. The leaders of the Kremlin are not so stupid as to think that they can convince you that their Soviet System has produced a better standard of living than ours. No they are not that dumb. Now we may have some people that think they are but they are not but they are trying to project their methods into the dark recesses of the earth into Asia and Africa yes even into Latin America and they are saying to these people look in 40 years we have done this much we came from nothing and look where we are in 40 years. Second largest and

greatest power on the face of the earth. Look at our steel capacity and by the way their goal is a 100 million tons in 1965. Their going to increase the productivity ~~of their~~ they ~~trucking farms~~ say of their trucking farms 100% and at their state farms 65% and their goal is to increase the income of their peasant 150%. ~~Their~~ They're going to build roads they say. I can only tell you what they say I doubt that they will fulfill all but every bit that they fulfill will make them that much stronger. And who are they talking to. They are talking to people in India, they are talking to the people in Chili, Peru, ~~there~~ they're talking to people in North Africa, in the Middle East who have lived in many of them in squaller, ~~rich~~ filth and misery and ill health all of their life. I happen to believe my fellow Americans most of these people that I'm talking about don't know what communism is at all. The only ism they know is the ism of colonialism, of hungerism, of sickness, of frustration and hopelessness. And the Soviets ~~cleverly~~ cleverly beam their propoganda to these people every living day and when they ~~specifically~~ get specific goals that you ~~see~~ see statistical figures that say that we are going to do this it has an impact. Now what does this mean to us.

I think it is about time we had some goals. I don't mean to have the goals the way that they get them. But let me ask this great fine audience today what is our goal for 1965? Can you tell me. What are you telling the people of the world that we want for them in 1965. The good life, they have heard this from Czars and Dictators and Tyrants and the ~~worst~~ worst of people. How many schools do you really intend to help other people build in South American between now and 1965? What are

going to do about the organization of a American States in the Pan-American Union in Washington, D. C. of which we are a very important member. When is the O A S going to lay down for Latin America for example and this is close to home. A program of credit of economic industrial agricultural development, of health development of education and spell it out. When are we going to be able to pay in concert with our friends from Brazil for example that we the United States in cooperation with our neighbors and our allies, ^{of} the Latin American South American Republic had as our goal agreed to on this date 1959 that by 1965 steel production in the Latin American areas will be so many tons. Food production will go up so much %. Housing unit will be increased so and so. Until we get down to that my friends we are going to be wandering around in ~~an~~ a sea of confusion and ⁱⁿ biguity. People want specifics. It isn't enough to know how much money the export import bank was able to loan for whom and for what. Let me give you amore clear demonstration of what I mean and I want to compliment the people in this community that thought about this and talked about it The editor and publisher of our Minneapolis Paper, Mr. Cowles I want to talk to you about India. The Soviet Union ~~isn't~~ trying to take India by frontal attack it is waiting for it to collapse. It is surrounding it. On the ~~gulf~~ north its working on ~~in~~ Afganistan. Already Burma has had to sacrifice some of its democracy to achieve a military. Our own government said the other day how sorry they were that so many of our ~~fir~~ friends were haveing to fall into military dictatorships. The great land mass of communist China like it or not its there. And here is India Now we have a ~~stake~~ stake in India and

we need some planning about ~~India~~ India with Indians. We need ~~assurable~~ ^{assurable} ~~assurable~~ goals that you and I understand that our children understand that they understand ~~and~~ and we need ~~it~~ to assure those people that if it is within our power those goals will be fulfilled. Without any if and buts or ors because/India is not a captolistic society as you and I know it it is a society that still has democratic ~~constitutions~~ ^{institutions} and it has a democratic leader and a democratic small ~~government~~ ^{league} government. And if India fails you can write off Asia as gone into the Communistic orbit without a shadow of a doubt. And the only way that I know how to balance the power of Red China is by having India a great political and economic success.

This will be contagious to the nations around it ~~still~~ ~~in~~ Sylon, Malaya, Tialand, Burma, Indonesia. Plans is what I'M talking about. ~~say~~ ~~Yes there is a headline in your Minneapolis Star today that says West 5 year plan urged by Humphrey. I don't care whether it 5, 3 or 7 but I know that speakes are not enough I know we need specifics.~~ As I said last night we need a food plan. A food plan that will ~~give~~ guarantee to every one of the rising nations that if they use their limited capital resources to purchase machinery, rails, rolling stocks, pipes whatever is needed ~~is~~ for heavy industry that their food needs will ~~not~~ ^{current} be met by their ~~own~~ agricultural production plus our help and we can bring in our Canadian neighbors to the North ~~is~~ that we don't seem to ~~get~~ into a box about this. Instead of paying farmer to not to produce I suggest most respectfully that we ~~start to pay people to produce.~~ And then use it. I discussed some of these things with Mr. Khrushchev. Now let me be very frank with you again. I hope that you don't think that I'm

foolish enough to believe that I convinced him of anything in particular, but I'll tell you something ~~you're~~ you're not going to convince him by the voice of America that he can jam. He didn't jam me . And you're not going to convince him by dropping pamphlets ~~which~~ which his police can pick up. There is one way that I know to convince him , if not to convince him at least to condition him . ~~Not only one~~ two ways I should say. First it is to keep the people of the Soviet Union working on peaceful pursuits. I want to compliment the Vice President of United States Mr. Nixon for what I consider an excellent speak that he delivered recently in Great Britain. When he said that ~~we~~ we are not out to destroy communism as such but we are out to help people have a better standard of living, a better life. ~~You know that there are biblical expressions that are much better and you will forgive me if I just happen to think of one for a moment He who be first let him be last. It is better to minister than to be ministered unto.~~ And I suggest for the American People that we start acting like ourselves And what is it/ Believe in Producation, believe in education, believe in a better life, believe in health, believe in opportunity and by the way the only word that was censured in two broadcasts that I made in the Soviet Union at my their request not at their invitation was one word. I wanted the Soviets to join with me in pledging their effort and their policies towards peace, opportunity, and security. And the interperature said SenatorHe looked it over a long time he said I don't know quite how to put this ~~you~~ because you have been told that there would be no interference with your broadcasts and there will be none but frankly we just don't have a word in the Russian

language for opportunity. ~~I thought that was very revealing, very revealing~~ and I said Well we do have many words and I can drop the word opportunity and still get my message across. So I talked about the spiritual and the physical well being of people everywhere, not just Soviets. I wished their tillers of the soil well, complimented them upon their determination to improve their lot. Said that they were the forgotten people regrettably. Paid my tribute to their young. And said that our President and our country had but one desire. I said that we had fought along side of you in war for a victory on the battle field and this man this same President who was once a general and these same people want to work along side of you and cooperate along side of you in the paths of peace. if you will give us the chance. That went out to over 400,000 television set in the Moscow area on their news program. We had ~~27~~ 27 minutes on Moscow uncensored and after I got that I want to write an article for Progda or -----, and I did. And I didn't condemn them. I ~~didn't~~ just pointed out that we had 95% of our farms electrified, ~~3000000~~ Three and one half million of our young people in higher education. We had to double it as our Governor said here. I used our own state Governor telling about the needs of our own educational programs in the years to ~~come because of our desire for a better living. Not survival but better living.~~ And I said to them this is why America wants peace with justice because we see in war the loss of all of ~~this~~ this that we have worked for. And we see in peace the solution or at least the possibility of a ~~this~~ solution for every problem. I told this to Nikita Khrushchev. I had an argument with him about ideology. I discussed with him religion. I talked

to him about Berlin. He told me plenty about it. ~~And of course there has been a lot of newspaper headlines about so called secrets.~~ Well now just let me clarify this for you. He did ask me to convey two or three things to the President. This isn't unusual this has happened on other occasions to other people. He knew I was going to report to the President anyway. He knew very well that I would report to our central intelligence agency. He knew that I would go to the State department. Of course I owe this to our country you don't go running around you know in some sort of planned operation I'M an American and I came back and I said I wanted to report to the President and you know I saw our President and I reported to the State Department, the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Central Intelligence Agency. And I brought back two or three bits of information and I can tell you this that while I was of the opinion that most likely our government did have ~~inf~~ this information already I wasn't about ready to tell the people what Mr. Khrushchev had said ~~wh~~ about his big bomb. Its now in the news here what he told me. The President has confirmed it today he confirmed a new story I understand that Mr. Khrushchev had said that they had perfected a thermo nuclear weapon of 5 million tons to use one ~~xxxx~~ tenth the amount of fissionable materials that other weapons had used. He said that they had perfected a rocket that would travel 14,000 kilometers and he said our only problem is that we don't have space enough to test it. And my reply was we are agreeable we are a cooperative people let us have it and we will test it for you. That we have the space.

~~And may I say in conclusion that this conference lasted some eight hours remember there was an interperature. It means~~

~~2½ hours of real discussion actually. I was treated cordially respectfully and I conducted myself on exactly the same way.~~

~~I was given the opportunity to ask many questions. I took~~

~~24 or 5 I have forgotten but I think it is 25 pages of notes~~

~~I asked the Premier if I could do that he said yes. I told~~

~~him that I intended to use those notes he didn't object. ON~~

~~certain points that I thought were a little bit sensitive~~

~~I said here is what I have written to his interpreture in I said~~

~~is this agreeable that they are used. He showed them to Mr.~~

~~Khrushchev. Khrushchev said Ya. Let me warn you, don't believe~~

~~all you read about Vodka, drunkenness, etc. This man is on~~

~~the wagon as they say. and while/^{he}exhibited some indication~~

~~of kidney trouble he said he had a bad kidney I can assure~~

~~you he looks quite well. Surprisingly well. (I am of the~~

~~opinion that the path of peace is an arduous one and a long one.~~

~~I don't see in the immediate future any major political settlements~~

~~between ourselves and the Soviets. But I know this that they are~~

~~knapping here and whether we want to wish them away or not we~~

~~sre not going to be able to do it. I know that we are going to~~

~~have to learn to live in the same world until we can get~~

~~way out in outer space and that seems to be some time off. And~~

~~if thats the case then we had ~~gatter~~ better start to find out~~

~~how can we penetrate this system. How can we learn to live not~~

~~~~xxx~~ this co existance but competitively. He says that hes~~

~~declare economic ~~comepe~~ competition or he puts it economic war.~~

~~I say lets have economic liberation for mank nd. Lets not get~~

~~caught up in his language of economic war . People don't want~~

~~any kind of war. ~~What they want is liberation and we Americans~~~~

~~~~ought to pledge ourselves to economic liberation, liberation~~~~

~~of disease, from disease and liberation from poverty and hunger~~

~~And let us remember that ~~there are~~ there are friends.~~

Mrs. Humphrey and I attended two churches last Sunday week ago Sunday. We attended one church the Russian Orthodox church at 9 a.m. in the morning. Jammed packed. Standing out in the cold and they were not all grandfathers and grandmothers there were hundreds of young people and they have five services every Sunday and many during the week. We attended the Baptist church at 6 o'clock Sunday night. 1,600 people. My Reverend clergy friend in a church that ~~xxxx~~ seats 700. Standing room only. Literally jammed packed for 2 hours the service. I never heard singing in my life like I heard in that church. I never heard people pray like I heard them pray in that church. And I heard a sermon too. And it was a sermon out of the chapter of Exodus in which the story is about Moses leading his people from bondage in Egypt into the Promised Land. And you know that story is about that there are many trials and tribulations and much suffering for people. And that you have to have faith Faith in you God and that was the sermon. To these people who were going through much suffering. I saw about 15 members, I tried to count them I couldn't see all the people in the back 15 members of the Red Army with the red star on their cap I saw young people I estimated that from 40 to 45 % of the audience was young people under 25 years of age. I found out from the members that there were five hundred thousand approximately communicants at that one church. They have 6 services a week and every one of them are jammed packed and the only reason that there aren't more is because people can't stand the cold in the winters and stand out. Religion is not dead I taught about this

to this Dictator, and he was quite clever. When I asked him about religious freedom I hadn't told him I had been to church he said you were to church what are you complaining about. I said I'm not complaining I merely saying that if you really want better relationship with the United States, if you really want friendship then respect our religious convictions. I'M not going to tell what his answer was I'm going to write about it. There is lots of hope but we have got to be strong we have to unite our forces. When I say forces ~~XXXXXXXX~~ our economic, our social forces of the free world and we American must give them leadership. I want conclude with this note the World is hungry for leadership. There isn't a ~~things~~ thing that we lack my friends except will Not a single thing When you come out of Moscow and I only was there its like when you come out it that you came out of a canyon or the shadows into the bright light of sunlight. Or as I said when we went to Moscow it seemed like the lights went out. We can win. We can win not in the sense of destroying others but we can win for humanity, we can win for ourselves we can win by hoping that everybody has a better life and working for it. And I think we can do that. But we are going to have to make up our minds as to the programs and as to the processes. We are going to have to do more my dear friends than just dream about and think about it we are going to have to put it on paper. We are going to have to ask you, we are going to have to ask everybody to concentrate, to sacrifice and to get on with the job. and I suggest to you most respectfully that on e of the ~~xxx~~ places that we do this is to have national goals for our selves and our neighbors and fulfill them. and believe in our traditions. And believe in the inevitability of our ~~xxxxxy~~

Humphrey Text 28

victory to our performance in our faith. Thank you very very
much.



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