

From the Office of  
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March 12, 1959

SENATOR HUMPHREY CALLS FOR "EDUCATION FOR PEACE" AS A KEY AMERICAN POLICY

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) called last night for a bold new "Education for Peace" program of world educational development and an expanded East-West exchange program -- largely financed out of the several billion dollars of "soft currencies" or "counterpart funds" being accumulated by the United States in exchange for American food shipments or due the U. S. as repayment for loans.

Senator Humphrey told a Rutgers University audience that he is drafting legislation -- to establish an international Educational Development Foundation, designed to:

1. Accelerate the development of adequate systems of schools and colleges in the underdeveloped countries of the non-communist world;
2. Expand and invigorate academic and research institutions in the developed countries;
3. Widen the educational opportunities within their own country for talented young people from poorer families in the free nations;
4. Stimulate scientific research and encourage the training of scientists and technicians in every free country;
5. Expand the East-West scientific and educational exchange program, possibly beginning with a Polish-American Foundation.

"We must broaden and intensify the existing programs for the wise use and distribution of our vast food abundance," Senator Humphrey declared. "This Food for Peace program can be the underpinning for a more vigorous and affirmative foreign policy based on Health for Peace, Science for Peace, and Education for Peace."

"Education," he said, "is a powerful personal ideal to people in the underdeveloped countries. It is also indispensable to their economic progress and national independence."

"The one resource most of the needy countries have in ample quantity is manpower -- but it is untrained, unskilled manpower," he said. "In fact, unless the have-not countries can develop the men needed to make effective use of the funds and knowledge provided by the more developed countries, much of the aid will inevitably be wasted."

Senator Humphrey, while applauding present efforts toward international education, both in Government and out, said, "They together fall far short of the need and the opportunity." He pointed out that they are too small in scale, that they are focused on only narrow details of the total problem of free world educational development, "and they have not yet been undertaken in a sufficiently cohesive, dramatic, impact-producing manner."

"In particular," he said, "the help to foreign educational institutions is especially limited; the emphasis is heavily on technical and vocational training; and responsibility is widely scattered among the Executive Departments."

"An international Educational Development Foundation could give leadership and focus to our international educational efforts," he said. "Such an agency

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should stand on its own feet -- not as a subordinate part of a propoganda program, nor of a military program, nor even of an economic development program."

Senator Humphrey said he is "immensely encouraged" by the recent official endorsement to his proposal for an international Educational Development Foundation by the Association for Higher Education -- a branch of the National Education Association.

Senator Humphrey suggested that such a Foundation might operate partly through the creation of a series of bi-national foundations. He pointed out that it is not only the new nations of the non-communist world that need massive assistance; some of the older nations of the Free World, he said, "are burdened with educational systems so traditionalist and stagnant as to be of little utility in the twentieth century."

"In the newly independent countries, the problem is different," he pointed out. "There, without a highly developed educational system and lacking in a scientific and academic tradition, they are often building from scratch. Where they do have universities, they are in too many cases poor imitations of the most antiquated models from Western Europe."

"There graduates are frequently mistrained in terms of the needs of the country -- the result being large numbers of unemployed and unemployable university graduates forming a core of disgruntled, resentful intellectuals."

Senator Humphrey noted that the Communist leadership has recognized the interrelationship between education and technological development. "Indeed," he said, "the achievements of Soviet science have a prodigious educational effort behind them."

One does not have to look at the tremendous educational developments in the Soviet Union to see what is happening in the Communist world, he said. "Greece, with some seven million people has a government program of some 350 scholarships a year for university work, but across the border in Yugoslavia, with roughly double the Greek population, the Tito government offers more than 30,000 scholarships each year."

"In both old and new free world countries, when it comes time to divide up the budget, the Ministry of Education is too frequently put at the end of the line," Senator Humphrey noted.

Senator Humphrey suggested the creation of a bi-national Polish-American Foundation, to supplement the program of non-Communist binational foundations, as a "hopeful means of lessening tensions and suspicions" and because "Poland is a country which is an ideal bridge between the Eastern and Western worlds."

He pointed out that as a result of the two economic agreements with Poland in 1957 and 1958, the United States is accumulating more than \$150 million in Polish zlotys in exchange for American agricultural products and export-import bank aid. "This money is useless unless it is put to work," Senator Humphrey said. "Certainly among other constructive uses, such as the construction of hospitals and clinics, these funds could be used to stimulate an exchange program with Polish intellectuals far in excess of the approximately 250 which have travelled each way between the U. S. and Poland under the East-West Program in 1959."

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*Mr Kennedy*  
*My Trip to Russia*

Address by  
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
~~Rutgers University~~  
March 11, 1959

*Rutgers*  
*Univ. of Virginia*

There is a striking dependence in American government today on short-run, makeshift solutions, an unwillingness to program boldly ahead.

In our foreign policy this has developed into a dangerously distorted pattern -- a general overemphasis on the importance of preserving the status quo, a habit of over-reaction to moves of the Soviet bloc, and in recent years, a failure to institute broad but flexible programs to deal with the infinitely complex problems of a world in the process of rapid and often violent change.

A "crisis mentality" has developed -- a pattern of drift, crisis and drift again. Each flareup is met by sudden, hasty, improvisation -- followed almost invariably by an almost total relapse into drift again.

*(M.E. Ferrero, Berlin)*

Berlin - Negotiations / Preparations } ask questions  
Summit Conference - yes

RT

*Asia Africa*

Throughout the vast emergent areas of Asia and Africa, we have too often sought only defensive military ~~alliances~~ <sup>rather than</sup> alliances. We have, thereby, missed sweeping opportunities to win the Cold War by taking the struggle to the higher plane on which we have <sup>the</sup> greatest chance of success - the battle ~~that~~ <sup>and</sup> against hunger and disease, the struggle for knowledge and human dignity.

We seem forever on the defensive, forever "standing firm", forever reacting to a new Soviet-created crisis.

Standing on the defensive, we have failed to come to grips with the underlying economic and social problems of the world on which communism feeds and grows.

While the emergent peoples of the world are vitally interested in the great East-West struggle, they are primarily engrossed in their own struggle to find a way up -- at almost any cost -- from the mire of famine and disease, from the

filth and rags of "native quarters", from degrading ignorance,  
from their outcaste, almost sub-human status assigned to them  
 by a civilization which stumbled into the industrial revolution  
 two or three centuries before they did.

Legal  
Progress  
to  
People!
{
There are three words -- "people, progress and peace" |
{
  
 -- that belong to the lexicon of democracy, and that uniquely  
 represent the Democratic tradition. They are powerful words  
 -- so important and so powerful that the enemies of freedom  
 have literally attempted to steal them away.

There is a plethora, for example, of Communist  
"Peoples Republics".

{
The Communists are determined to demonstrate to the
  
 new and rising nations that communism means economic and social  
 progress. (seven year plan)
}

{
And we have permitted the Communists very nearly to
  
 appropriate the word "peace" -- to pose as the peace-makers.

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↳ Like it or not, the Communists have been getting away with ideological piracy. They have been quicker than some of our own leaders to recognize the real battleground of the world -- the struggle for men's minds -- and swifter to understand the surging drives that are toppling kings and emperors and colonial powers throughout Asia and Africa.

↳ But we do not know our own strength! At least we have failed to mobilize it!

↳ We urgently need to design and launch a new broader-guaged, more affirmative foreign policy based on the natural strengths of our nation -- yes, to draw upon our tremendous industrial capacity, our capital, our technical knowledge, our agricultural abundance, our wealth of trained educators, agriculturalists, administrators, technicians, doctors, and students.

↳ The works of peace -- as well as the words of peace -- are imperatives in American foreign policy.

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Yes, we must broaden and intensify the existing programs for the use and distribution of our vast food abundance. The generous and planned use of food and fiber has already made an historic contribution to the social and economic well being of many nations. It should be greatly expanded. This is the national effort I call "Food for Peace". It can be the foundation for a series of works of peace.

A second and parallel effort is in preparation -- "Health for Peace". I have joined with Senator Lister Hill of Alabama in proposing an International Health and Medical Research Act. We are hoping to mobilize the medical and scientific resources of America behind a massive assault on disease, pestilence, malnutrition, and pain.

Health Year!

(X) Atoms in Peace

I propose yet a <sup>forth</sup> third major Work of Peace -- what I call <sup>an</sup> "Education for Peace" program.

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Capital for Peace (India)  
 - Develop Loan Fund  
 - 4-part support  
 World Bank

Put

↳ If education has been one of our cherished American ideals, it is also one of the deepest hopes and needs of people everywhere.

↳ In Sicily there are towns where the farmers after a long day in the fields will go to school for three hours a night, five nights a week, to try to learn to read and write.

↳ In India, young children, lacking even paper and pencils, squat for hours in a makeshift schoolroom and never take their eager eyes off the teachers. In Haiti parents have literally sold the fillings out of their teeth to get money for their children to go to school.

↳ Education is a powerful personal ideal to people in the underdeveloped countries. It is also indispensable to their economic progress and national independence. At one time, it was the rather simple belief that the reason some countries were poor and laggard was simply that they lacked

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necessary capital and know-how. But we are coming to understand that money and techniques are not enough.

↳ The one resource most of the needy countries have in ample quantity is manpower. But it is untrained, unskilled, manpower.

↳ In fact, unless the have-not countries can develop the men needed to make effective use of the funds and knowledge provided by the more developed countries, much of the *economic* aid will inevitably be wasted.

↳ The Communist leadership has recognized this inter-relationship very quickly and has taken vigorous steps accordingly. The achievements of Soviet science have a prodigious educational effort behind them. Throughout the Communist nations new universities are cropping up, new buildings, new laboratories, and very large scholarship programs for talented students.

It may be that the Communist leaders are creating a force of freedom which may some day tear apart the Communist system by educating masses of people. But, for the present they are winning the loyalty and deeply felt gratitude of students and parents.

In too many of the countries of the Free World educational systems are impoverished and stagnant. It was in the great countries of the West that the university idea was born and where a great university tradition has been built over the centuries. But some of these schools today are suffering from too much history. They are burdened with traditionalism. In some cases they are still living and thinking in the seventeenth or eighteenth century.

In the newly independent countries the problem is different. There, without a highly developed educational system and lacking in a scientific and academic tradition,

they are often building from scratch. Where they do have universities, they are in too many cases poor imitations of the most antiquated models from Western Europe. Their graduates are frequently mistrained in terms of the needs of the country -- the result, large numbers of unemployed and unemployable university graduates forming a core of disgruntled, resentful intellectuals.

In both old and new free world countries when it comes time to divide up the budget, the Ministry of Education is too frequently put at the end of the line.

To cite just one case in point. In Greece, a country with some seven million people, the government offers about 350 scholarships a year to excellent graduates of secondary schools to go on to the university. But across the border, in Communist Yugoslavia with roughly double the ~~Yugoslav~~ <sup>population of Greece</sup> population,

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that government offers more than 30,000 scholarships a year for students to go to the university!

It is only a question of time before that educational gap will begin to create an economic, military, and political power gap.

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✓ We are, of course, not completely ignoring this  
educational gap. As you know, on a limited scale the  
United States has been giving some help to education  
and educational exchanges internationally. The  
Fulbright program has been a great act of creative  
statesmanship. It has brought our academic community  
into closer contact with the world of foreign  
scholarship than ever before. Through our atomic  
energy program we are training foreign scientists  
in our research institutions. In our economic  
development programs we are bringing foreign  
technicians here every year for training. The State  
Department is bringing over leaders in many fields.

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And, of course, our great private foundations have been giving assistance to foreign educational institutions and have been assisting educational and scientific exchange for many years. All these efforts are to be applauded.

(1) But all these efforts together fall far short of the need and the opportunity. Their first defect is that they are too small in scale.

(2) Their second defect is that they are focused on only narrow details of the total problem of free world educational development -- namely, exchange activity, technical and vocational training. They have not emphasized the general strengthening and expansion of the foreign educational systems themselves -- the indigenous schools and universities.

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(3) The third defect is that what we have done has been undertaken in a spasmodic, left-handed, and half-hearted manner totally lacking in drama, and impact.

I propose that we launch a broad program of world educational development -- a plan of Education for Peace.

The first step would be for the Congress of the United States to declare to the free world that we share their beliefs in the values of education and that we are ready to work with them in building up their own educational systems <sup>in order</sup> to train their own people. We should declare our readiness to support a long-term effort for world-wide development of

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democratic education -- on condition only that our friends bring to us sound plans for self-help and mutual help.

This general effort would have the following specific objectives:

↳ To accelerate the development of adequate systems of schools and colleges in the underdeveloped countries;

↳ To expand the invigorate academic and research institutions in the developed countries;

↳ To widen the educational opportunities for

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talented young people from poorer families,  
particularly in the underdeveloped countries;

h To stimulate scientific research and to  
encourage the training of scientists and  
technicians in every free country.

h We do not propose to interfere in the control  
or direction of their educational systems; they should  
and must direct their own patterns of educational  
growth. act

h The second step should be for us to draw together  
the many loose ends and separate efforts we are now

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supporting into one agency in Washington. This body --

perhaps in the form of a quasi-independent International

Educational Development Foundation -- would be responsible

for leadership and focus in our international

educational efforts. It is important that such an

agency stand on its own feet -- not as a subordinate

part of a propaganda program, nor of a military

program, nor even of an economic development program.

In its long-term potentiality for American prosperity

and security, and for the strength and stability of

free nations everywhere, such an education effort would

~~not~~ be second <sup>to none</sup> ~~to any~~ of the other assistance programs

we are supporting. It should therefore be not only visible

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but prominent among our international agencies.

Out

Money

But what about the money! Where are funds of

this magnitude to be found? If it were necessary

to propose the appropriation of dollars to this

effort, I would still recommend this step, because

I am convinced of the importance of education for peace

and progress.

But this may not be necessary. As a result of the

major programs of assistance in food and materials

which the United States has given to friendly nations

in the past, we now own considerable balances of

foreign currencies abroad. The present total is in

the neighborhood of two billion dollars, and the total

is increasing as our food shipments and other kinds of

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help continue. By agreement with the recipient countries, these funds can be used only for mutually agreed upon development projects. My recommendation is that we earmark a significant portion of these funds specifically for educational development.

In addition, we now have made several billion dollars worth of loans to allied countries which are repayable in foreign currencies. I recommend that we also earmark a portion of these loan repayments for educational purposes. Such funds may not alone be enough -- for there are several countries, particularly in Africa, where such funds are not available. In those cases, consideration

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should be given to the appropriation of additional  
dollar funds.

I am pleased and deeply honored that this  
proposal for an International Educational Development  
Foundation has now been specifically endorsed by  
the Association for Higher Education, and I am  
proceeding to draft legislation to authorize its  
establishment. *Pause*

*JH* It is obvious that all the educational  
problems in the world cannot be shouldered by the  
United States. We have huge educational needs of  
our own, and these should and must come first.

The development of ~~educational~~ educational systems *in other countries* must

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be a primary responsibility of each country.

But think of the great gain to the United States  
and to all mankind if we were to become clearly  
identified in the eyes of the world with physical  
symbols of friendship and progress like school,s  
universities, libraries and laboratories.

The program I propose would involve grants for  
laboratories and facilities, for the endowment of  
professorships, institutes and research projects.

Scholarships and fellowships would be granted after  
annual competitions in every region, every locality

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of every recipient country. It is difficult to imagine  
a more penetrating and meaningful way to identify  
Americans with individual opportunity, social  
democracy and international fraternity.

(next Page)

~~March 11, 1959~~

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h We have been discussing a Free World educational development program. <sup>b</sup> But there is opportunity, too, for using education and science as a means to lessen East-West tension.

Recently I secured a report from the U. S. State Department as to the operation of our exchange programs with the USSR and Eastern European countries.

L As most of you may know, I felt on my trip to Moscow in December, 1958/a <sup>that there was</sup> genuine interest in expanding the exchange program.

L Included in the State Department report were specific figures describing our modest exchange program with the countries of Eastern Europe which are now under Soviet control. I refer specifically to the four countries of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Roumania and Hungary — the only Iron Curtain countries with which we have substantial contacts, aside from the USSR itself.

Rest

One sample Poland -2x -22-

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In 1959, under the East-West Program, there was a grand total of 29 projects involving visits by 228 Americans to Poland. This was exclusive of tourists, commercial travelers and diplomats. On the reverse side there were 50 projects involving visits by 250 Poles to the United States.

This is a small program -- far too limited.

I would like to see ten times that number of exchange moving visitors/in both directions.

I would like to see more Polish doctors, scientists, *farmers, businessmen,* educators, students and technicians, of all kinds coming to the United States - and a reverse flow abroad.

I would like to see them come here ~~to~~, for example -- to enjoy the opportunities and inspiration of your splendid academic tradition.

I would like, in particular, for East European scientists to come to visit with your great Professor Emeritus, of the

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Institute of Microbiology, Professor Selman A. Waksman.

↳ Here is the type of man who can thrill the hearts of men of good will everywhere. Here is the type of man who can inspire Poles, or Czechs, or individuals of any other nationality.

This great scientist - born in Russia - discoverer of streptomycin - spent, as you know, years and years in his search for an antibiotic agent effective against certain types of bacteria.

↳ At last in 1940 came his epoch discovery after nearly 10,000 cultures had been examined. Within less than a year, streptomycin was shown to be effective against certain forms of human tuberculosis. And so, for the first time in history, a drug was found which could be used for its treatment. Streptomycin, Professor Waksman and Rutgers are virtually synonymous in the mind of the world. This is the type of message which America should bring to more of mankind through the exchange program.

Pat

h Right now in Poland there are accumulating hundreds of millions of units of Polish currency, known as zlotys. These zlotys derive from the two Economic Agreements of 1957 and 1958 between the United States and Poland. As you recall, in 1957 we made available \$55,000,000 worth of agricultural surpluses under our Public Law 480 and \$30,000,000 worth of export-import bank aid. In 1959, we made available \$73,000,000 of agricultural products.

h Here is a sum of more than \$158 million in Polish zlotys credited to the account of the United States.

But this money is useless unless it is put to work.

h I would like to see this large sum constructively used to establish a Polish-American Foundation, jointly administered by Poles and Americans. This Foundation could be used to subsidize expanded exchange programs, as well as other constructive

Part

programs of use to the Polish people, and could tie closely  
in with the broader work of the International Education  
Development Foundation.

I would like to see other bi-national foundations, using  
portions of counterpart currencies, established in other  
countries of the world.

I cite Poland because it is a country which is an ideal  
bridge between the Eastern and Western worlds. It is a  
country deeply devoted to liberty and to independence - a  
country from <sup>which</sup> ~~whom~~ 6,000,000 Americans derive, including many  
of your own fine citizens here in New Jersey. It is a country  
of devout faith.

But it is also a country which, as you know, does not <sup>today</sup> have  
its <sup>true</sup> independence. And it is a country which could benefit  
tremendously from the expanded exchange programs I have suggested.

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The works of peace -- this phrase should become a dominant theme in American foreign policy!

We must maintain -- yes, and greatly strengthen -- the shield of our military defenses. But the nation cannot be secure simply by huddling behind such a shield.

Foreign policy demands intelligent, courageous, affirmative thinking. It demands concrete programs and definitive, consistent actions. Without these conditions, there is no foreign policy in the real sense of the word.

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