

From the Office of  
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March 18, 1959

LACK OF CONCERN FOR PEOPLE HANDICAPS U. S. IN WORLD, SENATOR HUMPHREY SAYS

Weaknesses of the present Republican Administration in foreign policy stem from the same attitudes that have undermined the public's confidence on domestic issues, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) declared last night in an address before a Democratic Party dinner at East St. Louis, Illinois.

"What is lacking on the foreign front is exactly what is lacking at home -- a lack of interest in, understanding of, and concern for people," Senator Humphrey declared.

"The truth is that a Republican Administration -- a conservative government -- finds itself incapable of appreciating or understanding the full meaning of the political, economic, and social revolution that is underway today throughout the world, and indeed has been underway in many parts of the world for the past two generations.

"The Republican Administration has grudgingly, reluctantly, and hesitatingly accepted some of the reforms of the New Deal. But this very hesitancy, this reluctance, this dispirited acceptance of both domestic and foreign policies represents the weakness of the conservative government.

"On the domestic front, the form, the letter of the law in such great policies and programs as social security, unemployment compensation, public works, social welfare and others, has been accepted -- but the spirit of Administration that makes these laws and policies meaningful and effective is either absent or on a short leash.

"In the field of international relations, the Republican Administration -- the conservative government -- again embraces the forms and institutions of our foreign policy, but fails to breathe life and strength into them.

"The conservative government sees the problems but never comes up with the answers. It is more concerned about the traditions and institutions of government than it is about the people that the government is designed to serve.

"When it comes to the nation's economy, the conservative government -- the Republican administration -- becomes almost psychopathic about an inflation to which it has contributed most generously through its own fiscal and credit policies, while it literally ignores rising unemployment, a decline in national productivity, and the mounting problems that will come with automation and advanced technology.

"Even now it ignores the realities of our economic slowdown and drift.

"It fails to comprehend the true impact and meaning of the Soviet economic challenge. The tired, timid, and cautious old men who are responsible for the conduct of our domestic and foreign policies simply do not comprehend the totality of the attack which the Communists have launched against us. They prefer to deal with these problems one at a time -- area by area, problem by problem -- rather than recognizing that we are compelled to face up to all of these problems at once.

"The Communist attack is a totalitarian advance. It goes on the military, economic, political, ideological, and social fronts all at once. The emphasis may be slightly more on the military at one period and on the economic at another. But the attack goes on relentlessly in every area.

"Frankly, the Republican Administration has not equipped the nation to meet this attack. The Soviet forces are in the field, particularly on the economic and psychological fronts. We are still planning to meet this attack by the old

More

methods of armaments, conventional diplomacy, and limited economic aid.

"A conservative economic philosophy that inhibits progress and growth and cautious Republican conservatism that emphasizes economy at the expense of a positive program for peace is a repudiation of our role as a world leader.

"This Administration, as a conservative government, has demonstrated its utter incapacity and inability to identify with people -- the needs of people, the hopes and wants of people, here and abroad.

"In the Middle East, it is far more concerned with kings and oil than it is with people and water.

"Where the threat or reality of war has demanded our attention, we have permitted our foreign policy in the Far East and Africa to be primarily governed by the surge of events managed and directed by the Communists.

"We counter-attack -- we react -- rather than design a program that we know to be right and sound and worthy of our efforts and sacrifice.

"In Latin America, we have praised dictators and discredited economic institutions at the expense of sound public policy for ourselves and our neighbors.

"We have insisted upon allies, when it would have been better if we had sought to make friends. But the most depressing picture of all is how we have lost the mantle of the peace maker.

"We have talked ourselves out of the role of peacemaker, with such slogans as "More Bang for a Buck," "Massive Retaliation," and screaming headlines about our ability to destroy our enemies.

"Let us never forget that there are many more people in this world who want to live than want to die.

"What they seek is help, guidance, friendship, understanding. What this world needs today is not massive retaliation, but massive doses of health, education, and food.

"We need some guided missiles to the hearts and minds of men -- missiles of technology and science, missiles of schools and education. Yes, missiles of medicine and medical care -- of jobs and industry, of public works and public welfare.

"It is to the creation of these missiles that we must dedicate our talents and energies. This world will not be saved or spared by missiles of war with thermonuclear warheads. Important as they are for our national security and our defense against the aggressive, imperialist Communism, it will take more than defense to build a peaceful world.

"We must wage peace, while we defend ourselves against attack. We must move on the offensive, and declare war against mankind's most ancient and terrible enemies of hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance.

"It must be more than a war of words -- it must be a war of deeds," Senator Humphrey declared.

WE ARE FOR PEOPLE, PROGRESS AND PEACE

000493

Address prepared for delivery by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) before Jackson Day Dinner of East St. Louis Democratic City Central Committee, East St. Louis, Illinois, March 17, 1959, 7:00 p.m.

It is good to have this opportunity to gather with fellow Democrats, both to review the political scene, and to take a serious look at what is ~~going on in~~ <sup>going on in</sup> the world today.

We Democrats had a great year in 1958.

↳ We can have another in 1960 -- but it may require some soul searching to do. (Program - Performance)

↳ We Democrats can and do win, when we are imbued with a purpose -- a purpose beyond just the glory of winning.

*Serve People* ↳ Our purpose must always be to serve people, to be deeply concerned about the well-being of people -- all people, everywhere.

*Progress* ↳ Our purpose must always be for progress, a progress that can be shared by all.

*Peace*

But most importantly of all, our purpose must  
be peace with justice, in a world now jittery with fears  
and tensions.

*yes,* our most urgent purpose, in order to merit the  
country's confidence in 1960, must be a responsible,  
constructive approach to building a climate for world peace  
-- regardless of partisan divisions between the executive  
and legislative branches of our government.

*L* What is good for our country is good for the Demo-  
cratic Party -- and more concern about people, progress,  
and peace is good for both.

*Keep*

*L* I want to talk to you tonight about people, progress,  
and peace, because that is what we Democrats stand for -- and  
what our country should stand for in the world today.

*L* I have chosen this subject because it represents not  
only the scope and sweep of Democratic government, but also

the challenges and opportunities which face the United

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States and its allies in this decade and the years ahead.

These three words, people, progress, and peace, belong to the lexicon of democracy. It is democracy, ~~or~~ ~~should we say, government by the consent of the governed,~~ that truly represents people -- their hopes, their aspirations, their needs and their basic rights and privileges. It is democracy that should symbolize progress -- physical and material progress without sacrifice of spiritual values. And indeed in this, the 20th Century people insist on progress. They know that modern technology and science combined with capital and resources can

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produce progress. I mean progress that is symbolized by industrialization, better health, education, human welfare, a rising standard of living and freedom from want, freedom from fear.

It is democracy, ~~or government by the consent of the governed~~ which should and must champion the cause of peace. And by peace we do not mean merely the absence of war or violence, we mean a peace in which nations work together for common goals and people dedicate their energies to the improvement of the conditions which surround mankind.

Yes, these three important words of "people, progress, and peace" belong to the Democratic tradition. The words themselves are like powerful missiles directed to the hearts and minds of men. They are so important and so powerful in their meaning that the enemies of freedom have attempted to steal them away from us. This is their first act of ideological piracy.

It represents a frontal assault on the ramparts of democracy itself.

Take a look and see what has happened. In every totalitarian system or nation the spokesmen of the Communist ideology continues to refer to people, progress, and peace.

It is the "People's Republic of China". It is the "People's Republic of Korea". In the instance of East Germany, the Communists have even gone one step further in their use of the terminology of free institutions. They call the Communist puppet state, "The German Democratic Republic". It is neither Democratic in spirit nor a Republican form of government, and it is highly questionable whether or not the leaders of that Communist state are German. At least they have lost their dedication to the great history and tradition of Germany. They are Communist at heart, in spirit, and in political allegiance.

h But like it or not, the Communists have tried to steal our trademark and in many areas of the world are getting by with it. They have become, through their propaganda, the loudest voices using the words "people, progress, and peace."

To be sure we have accused them of stealing and using democratic terminology to dress up their Communist system. We have shouted thief, thief, and pointed an accusing finger at the guilty ones. But in our frenzied and emotional tirade against the totalitarians, I am afraid that we have failed to adequately proclaim our own dedication to "people, progress, and peace."

h The truth is that a Republican Administration -- a conservative government -- finds itself incapable of appreciating or understanding the full meaning of the political, economic, and social revolution that is underway today throughout

the world and indeed has been underway in many parts of the world for the past two generations.

↳ The Republican Administration has grudgingly, reluctantly, and hesitatingly accepted some of the reforms of the New Deal. After having denounced the foreign policy of both Roosevelt and Truman, it hesitatingly and out of sheer necessity, when in office, through an assessment of the facts, was compelled to accept the broad outlines and objectives of American foreign policy in the post-war period.

↳ But it is this very hesitancy, this reluctance, this dispirited acceptance of both domestic and foreign policies that represents the weakness of the conservative *Republican* government.

↳ On the domestic front, the form, the letter of the law in such great policies and programs as social security, unemployment compensation, public works, social welfare and

others, has been accepted, but the spirit of Administration  
that makes these laws and policies meaningful and effective  
is either absent or on a short leash.

Let us just take one domestic problem as an example,  
namely the crisis in education including both the lack of  
classroom space and facilities and the inadequacy of trained  
teachers and proper salaries for them. The Administration  
studies this problem to death. It worries about the problem.

But it mainly worries about the alleged dangers of Federal  
control in the field of education. It apparently can not  
see the danger both to individuals and the nation of an in-  
adequate and underfinanced school system.

While the nation cries out for more scientists, better  
teachers, higher educational standards, the Administration  
sings the budget blues and underscores the woes and worries

of Federal control.

↳ Republicans  
The ~~conservative government~~ sees the problems  
but never comes up with the answers. The Rep-Administration is more concerned

about the traditions and institutions of government than it

is about the people that the government is designed to serve.

↳ When it comes to the nation's economy, ~~the conservative government~~ -- the Republican Administration -- be-

comes almost psychopathic about an inflation to which it

has contributed most generously through its fiscal and credit

policies, while it literally ignores rising unemployment, a

decline in national productivity, and the mounting problems

that will come with automation and advanced technology.

↳ Even now it ignores the realities of our economic  
slowdown and drift.

↳ It fails to comprehend the true impact and meaning of

} Fear of  
inflation -  
but unworried  
about  
unemployment!

the Soviet economic challenge. The tired, timid, and cautious  
old men who are responsible for the conduct of our domestic and  
foreign policies simply do not comprehend the totality of the  
attack which the Communists have launched against us. They  
prefer to deal with these problems one at a time -- area by  
area, problem by problem -- rather than recognizing that we  
are compelled to face up to all of these problems at once.

L The Communist attack is a ~~totalitarian advance~~ <sup>Total Attack</sup>. It  
<sup>moved</sup> ~~ages~~ on the military, economic, political, ideological, and  
social fronts all at one time. The emphasis may be slightly  
more on the military at one period and on the economic at  
another. But the attack goes on relentlessly in every area.

L Frankly, the Republican Administration has not equipped  
the nation to meet this attack. The Soviet forces are in the  
field, particularly on the economic and psychological fronts.  
We are still planning to meet this attack by the old methods of

armaments, conventional diplomacy, and limited economic aid.

Yes, the real danger is on the foreign front, or in the field of international relations. Here again the Republican Administration -- the conservative government -- embraces the forms and institutions of our foreign policy, but fails to breathe life and strength into them.

The Seventh Fleet is still in the Pacific. The Sixth Fleet is in the Mediterranean. The NATO Alliance continues to have our support and Mutual Security and foreign aid are continuing American policies.

Yes, ~~the~~, too, there is technical assistance and Point Four and our adherence to and participation in the United Nations. All of these things were with us in 1950 and they continue to be with us in 1959.

We continue to extend economic aid and military assistance. All that is new in these past years is the Baghdad

Fact with all of its trouble and uncertain value, the SEATO  
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Organization which at best is an expression of American concern and interest in the Far East.

To be generous, one might add the so-called Eisenhower Doctrine in the Middle East which is but another name for what could have been done and was being done under the terms and authorizations of foreign aid and military assistance. It was new public relations for old public policy. It represents nothing new except a realization of the gravity of the situation in the Middle East.

(X) Then what is wrong? the policies and the objectives of our foreign policy seem very much the same now as in the past. Yet it is quite obvious to one and all that there is something lacking and something desperately needed.

What is lacking on the foreign front is exactly what is lacking at home. A lack of interest in, understanding of, or

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*Republican*

concern for people. A conservative economic philosophy that

inhibits progress and growth and cautious Republican conser-

*National Security Code*

vativism that emphasizes economy at the expense of a positive

program for peace is a repudiation of our role as a world

leader.

This Administration, a conservative government, has

demonstrated its utter incapacity and inability to identify

with people -- the needs of people, the hopes and wants of

people here and abroad.

In the Middle East it is far more concerned with kings

and oil than it is with people and water. Where the threat or

*act*

the reality of war has demanded our attention we have permitted

our foreign policy in the Far East and Africa to be primarily

governed by the surge of events managed and directed by the

Communists.

We counter-attack -- we react -- rather than design

a program that we know to be right and sound and worthy  
of our efforts and sacrifice.

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In Latin America we have praised dictators and  
discredited economic institutions at the expense of sound  
public policy for ourselves and our neighbors. <sup>Roosevelt</sup> The image  
of the Good Neighbor has been unnecessarily and shamefully  
forfeited.

We have insisted upon allies when it would have  
been better if we had sought to make friends. But the  
most depressing picture of all is how we have lost the  
mantle of the peace maker. The slogans of this Republican  
Administration are evidence enough to demonstrate to any  
person how we have played right into the hands of the Com-  
munist propagandist who accuses us of aggression and of war-  
like aims.

While the American citizen may understand these slogans

for what they are -- mainly political palaver or in more  
 sophisticated words, 'public relations' -- the people in  
 other parts of the world do not always comprehend our rather  
 shoddy colloquial expressions.

When you talk of a bigger "bang for a buck",  
 "massive retaliation", "massive deterrent" and you explain  
 in screaming headlines the terrible destructive power of the  
 new fantastic nuclear and thermo-nuclear weapons -- when day  
 after day you attempt to satisfy the American public's desire  
 for an adequate defense structure by headlines announcing  
 another new missile or plans for an even bigger and more  
 deadly missile and rocket, is it any wonder that millions and  
 millions of people throughout the world doubt our dedication  
 to peace.

We have talked ourselves out of the role of peacemaker.  
 And This Administration has done it without even providing the

nation with the defense that it requires.

What an ironical situation!

The "big talk" about big weapons that needlessly and foolishly frightens people in many areas of the world is the same big talk that has been used here at home in the United States to mislead the American people into thinking that our defenses are strong, and that our power is invincible.

Public relations has been used as a substitute for public policy.

Propaganda has been substituted for preparedness.

The political slogan of a balanced-budget has been substituted for the maintenance of a proper balance of power in the world.

Even massive deterrence has given way to a new kind of jargon called "minimum deterrence".

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Anything, any word, any scheme, any gimmick to satisfy the Republican hard-money, tight-credit, high interest, balance-the-budget, tax loophole, special privilege, economic royalist credo.

It might be tolerable to be accused of being aggressive, a warmonger, and even to have people believe it -- if we had such unmistakable and unchallengeable power that the Soviet Union and her satellites recognized the futility of attempting to either threaten or attack us.

But, as they used to say in college days, "we get the blame, but not the game."

We find ourselves with an Administration that is more concerned over inflation than it is with a world conflagration.

Its spokesmen say quite openly, inflation is our greatest danger -- even as Khrushchev threatens us again and again, and as the power of the Communist military and economic machine expands every day.

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~~The tragedy of all this, however, is that~~ the people of this country are truly dedicated to peace.

Ours is a tradition of peace and generosity, of compassion and humanitarianism.

What is more, there is nothing incompatible about having a strong defensive shield to give us the security and the sense of inner strength that makes possible the fulfillment of our mission as the peacemaker.

Let us never forget that there are many more people in this world who want to live, than want to die.

Let us not forget that millions of people have lived under conditions of tyranny and terror for so long that there is nothing more that can be done to frighten them.

What they seek is help, guidance, friendship, understanding.

*Indeed*

What this world needs today is not massive retaliation,

but massive doses of health, education, and food.

We need some guided missiles to the hearts and minds of men -- missiles of technology and science, missiles of schools and education; yes, missiles of medicine and medical care -- of jobs and industry, of public works and public welfare.

It is to the creation of these missiles that we must dedicate our talents and our energies.

This world will not be saved or spared by missiles of war with thermo-nuclear warheads.

Important as they are for our national security and our defense against the aggressive, imperialist communism, it will take more than defense to build a peaceful world.

We must wage peace, while we defend ourselves against attack.

*Wagstaff*

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*Declaration*

↳ We must move on the offensive, and declare war  
against mankind's most ancient and terrible enemies of  
hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance.

*and* This declaration of war must be more than a war  
of words.

↳ It must be a war of deeds -- the kind of deeds that  
we Americans have demonstrated our ability to accomplish  
and perform.

*Deeds*

↳ We need a bold, new "Food for Peace" program, dedi-  
cating our God-given abundance to serving the needs of  
humanity -- rather than complaining about it.

*Use your  
food!*

↳ We need a dramatic, worldwide "Health for Peace"  
program, with vastly expanded international medical re-  
search -- ~~and perhaps a "white fleet" of mercy ships carrying~~  
~~our medical know-how and wonder drugs to the disease-ridden~~  
~~and suffering in the far corners of the earth.~~

We need to 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 to train their own people.

We should declare our readiness to support a ten-year effort for world-wide development of democratic education ~~X~~ and I have just recently outlined a plan for financing it out of foreign currencies we receive from the sale of American farm commodities abroad.

cut?

These are truly the "Works of Peace".

These are the kinds of deeds that made America what it is today.

They are the kind of deeds that helped bind up the

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L wounds after World War II, through successful completion  
of the Marshall Plan.

L They are the kind of deeds by which our country's  
great voluntary, church, and non-sectarian groups have  
brought a message of kindness, compassion, and helpfulness  
to millions of people throughout the world.

L They need to be multiplied manyfold, to present the  
real image of America for all to see -- a country truly  
dedicated to people, progress, and, above all else, peace. (Peace)

L We need far less talk that portrays us as a  
bellicose and belligerent people, and much more emphasis  
on our programs and policies to help people live.

L Our program must be one that has as its objective  
better living for people everywhere!

L The world is weary of war, and threats of war.

L The people of this world want someone to help them on

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the path of helping themselves, rather than someone to  
frighten them.

What the world needs is hope and promise, not fear  
and tragedy.

That, to me, is victory's challenge to Democrats  
-- in 1958, 1959 -- and 1960.

*over*

March 16, 1959

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WE ARE FOR PEOPLE, PROGRESS AND PEACE

Address prepared for delivery by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) before Jackson Day Dinner of East St. Louis Democratic City Central Committee, East St. Louis, Illinois, March 17, 1959, 7:00 p.m.

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We can have another in 1960 -- but it may require some soul searching to do.

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Our purpose must always be to serve people, to be deeply concerned about the well-being of people -- all people, everywhere.

Our purpose must always be for progress, a progress that can be shared by all.

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But most importantly-of all, our purpose must be peace with justice, in a world now jittery with fears and tensions.

Our most urgent purpose, in order to merit the country's confidence in 1960, must be a responsible, constructive approach to building a climate for world peace -- regardless of partisan divisions between the executive and legislative branches of our government.

What is good for our country is good for the Democratic Party -- and more concern about people, progress, and peace is good for both.

I want to talk to you tonight about people, progress, and peace, because that is what we Democrats stand for -- and what our country should stand for in the world today.

I have chosen this subject because it represents not only the scope and sweep of Democratic government, but also

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the challenges and opportunities which face the United States and its allies in this decade and the years ahead.

These three words, people, progress, and peace, belong to the lexicon of democracy. It is democracy, or should we say, government by the consent of the governed, that truly represents people -- their hopes, their aspirations, their needs and their basic rights and privileges. It is democracy that should symbolize progress -- physical and material progress without sacrifice of spiritual values. And indeed in this, the 20th Century people insist on progress. They know that modern technology and science combined with capital and resources can

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pages 2 through 13

are from the redone copies of the Women's Democratic Club

speech on People, Progress, and Peace.

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nation with the defense that it requires.

What an ironical situation!

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Its spokesmen say quite openly, inflation is our greatest danger -- even as Khrushchev threatens us again and again, and as the power of the Communist military and economic machine expands every day.

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The tragedy of all this, however, is that the people

of this country are truly dedicated to peace.

Ours is a tradition of peace and generosity, of  
compassion and humanitarianism.

What is more, there is nothing incompatible about  
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We must move on the offensive, and declare war against mankind's most ancient and terrible enemies of hunger, disease, poverty, and ignorance.

This declaration of war must be more than a war of words.

It must be a war of deeds -- the kind of deeds that we Americans have demonstrated our ability to accomplish and perform.

We need a bold, new "Food for Peace" program, dedicating our God-given abundance to serving the needs of humanity -- rather than complaining about it.

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We need to 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 to train their own people.

We should declare our readiness to support a ten-year effort for world-wide development of democratic education -- and I have just recently outlined a plan for financing it out of foreign currencies we receive from the sale of American farm commodities abroad.

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They are the kind of deeds by which our country's great voluntary, church, and non-sectarian groups have brought a message of kindness, compassion, and helpfulness to millions of people throughout the world.

They need to be multiplied manyfold, to present the real image of America for all to see -- a country truly dedicated to people, progress, and, above all else, peace.

We need far less talk that portrays us as a bellicose and belligerent people, and much more emphasis on our programs and policies to help people live.

Our program must be one that has as its objective better living for people everywhere!

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