

From the Office of  
Citizens for Humphrey Committee  
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SENATOR HUMPHREY: "THERE WILL BE NO PEACE WITHOUT  
COURAGE AND AMERICAN INITIATIVE"

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (DFL, Minn.) opened his campaign for re-election to a third-term in the United States Senate Monday with a major foreign policy address on "Regaining the American Initiative."

Speaking to a crowd of over 20,000 at New Ulm, Minnesota, gathered for the annual Polka Day Celebration, Senator Humphrey declared that our nation this year has been "humiliated, cast down and degraded in a way that has not happened since the early days of the Republic."

"The great and powerful American people, this proud and sensitive American nation, has been let down by its political leadership," he stated.

Senator Humphrey noted that "in a few short weeks the American people will have an opportunity to put America back on the track "by voting for the Democratic Party in November.

"The national ticket of the Democratic Party," he said, "is a team of two tough, brilliant, experienced men -- men who are dedicated to the preservation of a free America, and who are equipped by nature and training to lead America back to national greatness."

"Senator John Kennedy and Senator Lyndon Johnson are two men who -- as I am -- are burning with shame that our country has been permitted by the absent leadership of the past eight years to appear as a stumbling, inept and incapable giant."

"Senator Kennedy," the Minnesotan said, "is determined, as I am determined, to do everything in his power to demonstrate to the world -- and especially to those power-hungry groups within the walls of the Kremlin and the older walls of Peking -- that the real America is an America that stands upright."

"We will not permit our nation to take a back seat to any nation."

"We will not permit it to be said that our nation has grown old and tired."

"We will not permit our nation to be humiliated and defeated."

"We will work tirelessly, and earnestly, and perseveringly, for peace in the world," Senator Humphrey said. "But there will be no peace without courage. There will be no peace without American initiative, without American leadership."

Senator Humphrey outlined the dimensions of the challenge laid down by the Soviets and the Communist Chinese, and presented a comprehensive series of proposals that would, he predicted "get our nation off dead center," with emphasis on the "works of peace."

While crediting the Democrats in Congress for having pressed through the financing for the newly-successful Polaris-missile nuclear submarines and other efforts to upgrade our military preparedness, Senator Humphrey noted that "peace and security for America -- even with the finest military weapons in the world -- are not possible for us in a world of the hungry, the sick, and the illiterate."

"The principal task of those who would keep this nation of ours free and secure," he said, "is to build the kind of world in which poverty and ignorance are not forcing men to violence, mob action, revolution, and war."

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## REGAINING THE AMERICAN INITIATIVE

New Ulm, Minnesota

My fellow-Minnesotans and fellow-Americans --

In the bright sunshine of a brilliant Minnesota summer, it is hard to realize what a cold and dark path our nation is treading this year.

Yet it is true that in this year of 1960, our nation has been humiliated, cast down and degraded in a way that has not happened since the early days of the Republic, when we were a tiny new nation huddled between the mountains and the Atlantic.

The great and powerful American people, this proud and sensitive American nation, has been let down by its political leadership.

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It has not been just the driving thrust of the Communists.

It has not been the continuing struggle of the downtrodden peoples of the world to find a new life that has overthrown American power and prestige in the world.

It has been the abdication of American leadership.

It has been the failure to apply even a small measure of intelligence to deal with the great problems that thrust themselves before us.

It has been the total abandonment of the initiative to the surly and arrogant overlords in the Kremlin, the total dependence of our political leadership on reacting -- instead of acting.

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And it has been, finally, the fruit of a basic misunderstanding in the White House about the nature of our own people, of our resources, and the forces at work in the world about us.

Negative thinking caused the national policies which have reduced our Armed Services and lessened our ability to defend ourselves and the Free World.

Blindness to reality permitted the disastrous situations in Korea and Cuba to fester and deteriorate -- despite the repeated warnings of some of us that something would have to be done to prevent utter collapse.

Narrowness and lack of imagination has

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prevented the Administration from planning our military and foreign policies as an integrated, coherent unit. And the results are the chaos that culminated in the great diplomatic disasters of the year -- the U-2 incident, the collapse at the summit, and the humiliation of Tokyo.

We need some hard-headed thinking about the caliber and the determination of our adversaries -- and a searching out of our own spiritual and economic resources.

We must recognize some facts of life -- and then design new policies which are based not on myth and slogans, but on reality.

Here are some hard facts:

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Russia's present and planned annual rate of economic growth is estimated at nine to ten percent. Over the last half decade, the overall U. S. rate of economic growth has been less than two percent. They already claim to match us in some areas of industrial activity -- in tool production, for instance.

By 1965, the Soviet Union will be producing the equivalent of 85 to 90 percent of America's 1957 output of steel, about 70 percent of our 1957 output of electrical power and fuel energy and about half again as much cement as we produced two years ago.

Soviet coal output is about 70 percent of ours. Their steel production is about half

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what we produce, but for a short time in 1958 the combined steel production of Soviet Russia and Communist China exceeded the steel output of the U.S.!

The U. S. Central Intelligence Agency reports that Russia last year produced only one automobile to every 10 produced by the U.S., but in the same year she produced four machine tools for every one produced here. In the long run, of course, machine tools contribute far more to the growth of an economy than automobiles.

Since our administration changed in 1953, Soviet economic growth has been at a rate roughly three times that of the United States.

It was an experience to sit across the table from Mr. Khurshchev -- as I did two years ago --

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and to listen to him tell of the future plans of the Soviet Union. He says he will "bury us" and says it with almost arrogant confidence.

I do not share the pessimistic view that Khrushchev will bury us. Yet it is discouraging to see in this country an administration which shrinks from the Soviet challenge instead of rising to meet it -- a government so obsessed with balancing the budget at whatever price that it tells us we cannot afford to build schools or decent houses or dams to harness the energy of our great rivers.

We must learn again to know the real sources of our national strength, restore our sense of

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balance and direction, regain the understanding of what it takes to be a free and secure nation in a world in which savage forces are loose.

We have only to look eighty miles from the Florida coast to see how close the tides of Communism are washing. For in Cuba today we are seeing a savage political and economic battle emerging -- a ruthless attempt being made to establish a Communist political beachhead in Latin America.

This great struggle with Communism must be understood for what it is -- a total struggle, involving not only military planning, but economic, political and ideological planning and programming.

If Russia ~~beats us~~ **COPY** in some scientific field

-- Russia's ideological and political prospects are bolstered.

If Russia shows a rapid increase in her standard of living -- as she has already done -- she strengthens her hand in dealing with the uncommitted peoples of the world.

We can match and over-match the Communists in every field of effort.

We will do it by having an ever-expanding standard of living, by bringing us closer to the goal of eliminating poverty.

And we will do it by helping the under-developed peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America to move toward these same goals -- and far more rapidly than they are now doing.

We must recapture the mantle of the peace-maker, restore to the people of the

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world the vision of an America of intelligent compassion, of wise generosity, the vision of an America which feels deeply for people in trouble, an America ready to help from the fullness of our resources.

With our magnificent food and fiber production we can make war on hunger. In a world filled with disease and suffering we can muster our tremendous resources to heal the sick.

We could build -- as I have proposed -- a White Fleet of mercy ships -- demothballed Navy ships which could be formed into groups that would be able to rush massive assistance in cases of natural disaster such as the recent Chilean earthquakes and floods. And these ships could be used between

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disaster assignments as teaching and training units, to teach the peoples of Asia, Africa and South America how to raise their health standards.

We could form -- as I have also proposed in the Congress this year -- a Peace Corps of young men who would go into the villages and rural areas of the developing nations of the world to work with the peasants and the villagers in projects to help themselves.

We could invest much of the great sore of so-called "soft currencies" which we have received from the sale of our food and fiber overseas under Public Law 480, in long-term loans and grants for schools, scholarships, libraries, hospitals, ~~clinics~~ <sup>hospitals</sup> to help stabilize the newly-independent

societies in the continents and islands of Africa and Asia.

Above all, we must remember that the principal task of those who would keep this nation of ours free and secure is to build the kind of world in which poverty and ignorance are not forcing men to violence.

As Aristotle commented, "Poverty is the parent of revolution and crime."

The more desperate the poverty, the more violent is the inevitable reaction -- mob action, revolution, and war are the results.

Peace and security for America -- even with the finest military weapons in the world -- are not possible for us in a world of the hungry, the sick and the illiterate!

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Those of us in the Congress who have been insisting for four years -- over the objections of the Administration -- on a far greater investment in Polaris-missile nuclear submarines have been justified by the first successful firing of the Polaris from a submerged submarine last week.

We have been insisting that our deterrent force against attack by enemy missiles must be one that cannot be knocked out by a sudden surprise attack. This is only common sense. Yet again this year we had to jam through Congress, against the opposition of the Administration, funds for new Polaris-type submarines -- to insist that we must put a priority on this major defense weapon.

We have not been content simply to

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to criticize our military lack of preparedness. We in the Democratic majority in the Congress have acted, in the absence of any leadership or initiative from the White House.

Similarly, we have acted to provide additional funds for the study of the problems of disarmament and arms control -- when the Administration has sat back and done virtually nothing to seek the answers to the enormously complicated technical problems of a safeguarded agreement to reduce weapons and armed services.

We in the Congress have been doing all in our power to get our nation off dead center. There is a constitutional limitation, of course, on what the Congress can undertake in matter of foreign policy.

But in a few short weeks the American  
people will have an opportunity to put  
America back on the track.

For the national ticket of the Democratic  
Party is a team of two tough, brilliant,  
experienced men -- men who are dedicated  
to the preservation of a free America, and who  
are equipped by nature and training to lead  
America back to national greatness.

Senator John Kennedy and Senator Lyndon  
Johnson are two men who -- as I am -- are  
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inept and incapable giant.

Senator Kennedy is determined, as I am  
determined, to do everything in his power to

demonstrate to the world -- and especially to those power-hungry groups within the walls of the Kremlin and the older walls of Peking -- that the real America is an America that stands upright.

The real America is a proud America, a strong America, a people of courage, determination, and imagination.

We will not permit our nation to take a back seat to any nation.

We will not permit it to be said that our nation has grown old and tired.

We will not permit our nation to be humiliated and defeated.

We will work tirelessly, and earnestly, and perseveringly . . . for peace in the world.

But there will be no peace without courage.

There will be no peace without American  
initiative, without American leadership.

This is what the American people long  
for and pray for.

This is the leadership that we will have  
in January, 1961.



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