

HHH 15-MINUTE WASHINGTON TV REPORT -- GUEST SENATOR JOHN
SHERMAN COOPER
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SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AND SENATOR JOHN SHERMAN COOPER

This is Washington, and this is Senator Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota. Today the Assistant Majority Leader has a special guest to discuss some of the key issues now before the Congress. Now here is Senator Humphrey.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Thank you. Yes, ladies and gentlemen, I do have a very special guest today, and I know you want to hear from him. Just let me introduce him. He is Senator John Sherman Cooper, the very able and distinguished Senator from Kentucky, the Senior Senator from his State. Now, Senator Cooper and I are on what we call here in Washington on "opposite sides of the aisle"-- in other words, he is a Republican and I am a Democrat. But I think I can say in his presence without his denial that we are very good friends. And I know that I have a high regard for him which he knows about, too. Senator Cooper is in my mind one of the wisest men of the Senate and a very effective and courageous leader in this legislative party. His wisdom comes from a productive and distinguished career as a lawyer, judge, as a delegate to the United Nations, as an ambassador

to India, as an advisor and consultant for our government to UNESCO; and, of course, as a United States Senator and a host of other activities. Now he has effectively served his country and his State here in the Senate from 1946 to 1948 and then from 1952 to 1954 and from 1956 to the present. I believe, Senator Cooper, that you are a member of three committees here in the Senate -- the Committee on Agriculture, where we serve together; the Committee on Public Works; and we, also, serve together on the Senate Select Committee on Small Business. Now, with that as an introduction, I am going to put some questions to our good friend and let you take the burden of the program today, Senator Cooper.

First of all, we welcome you to Minnesota. I know you have been there; if you haven't, you've missed living. So we at least want you to be in our State through the means of television and radio. Might I get right down to one of your experiences as the United States Ambassador to India. What years did you serve there?

SENATOR COOPER: Senator Humphrey, I served there a relatively short time. Just about 18 months in 1955 and 1956, and then I did what people who have been in politics usually do -- I resigned, came home and ran for the Senate again.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: There's a strange attraction in this business of politics, isn't there?

SENATOR COOPER: I must say, though, and I don't want to take up all the time in personal things, but yet I must say this. I am very pleased to be on this program with Senator Humphrey. I haven't been in the Senate continuously. I've been in and out. He has been here continuously since his election. I have served with him on the Committee on Agriculture. I know the work you get there. And, although, we do belong to different parties -- I'm a Republican from a southern State; he's a Democrat from a northern State, yet we have been friends. I've admired his work. I've admired his initiative. I think of certain programs we have today -- Food for Peace program, the Peace Corps, Disarmament Agency. Whatever we may think about them -- personally I have been for these things -- but there are many others where Senator Humphrey has shown the initiative and the genius of thought to first suggest these programs. I don't think this is known as much as it ought to be over the country . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, Senator, I think I ought to tell our folks this is totally unrehearsed. . .

SENATOR COOPER: Yes . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I am very grateful to you for your words.

SENATOR COOPER: Senator, I am glad to say this to people of Minnesota. I like Senator Humphrey.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I like Senator Cooper. Now, Senator, your experience as Ambassador -- you stayed there for 18 months. You had an enviable record of service in India, and it was at a very crucial time, too. As I recall India was just beginning to develop its economic programs. How do you see our relationships with this country? You have heard, for example, that even some of our colleagues have suggested that we ought to cut off all foreign aid to India because comments have come from Indian leaders that are anything but complimentary to us on occasion. What do you think ought to be our policy to India, and what is the significance of this country of India in the world today?

SENATOR COOPER: Well, I think the ^{last} phrase of your sentences is probably the place to start. What is the significance of the country in the world today? I can remember when I first came to the Congress we were still talking about losing China -- the fact that we had not done enough to keep China. India is a country of 400 millions of people. It is situated in a very critical place in Southeast Asia. It is supported by both China -- Communist China and Russia. I think whatever happens in India will have very LITTLE effect upon that area. Now there are certain unfortunate things about India.

India, due to the direction of the British, there is a good core of Civil Service there. In India, English is the only unifying language. They have great resources. India has the opportunity to develop and to maintain a democratic country. Now, I can't predict that it will. No one can. But I would say that upon reasonable aid and good leadership India can maintain its freedom and be a democratic country. I will make one other statement. None of these countries have had the experience in democratic values and _____ as we have. We are very fortunate. We have had hundreds of years behind it. India does have a democratic idea and system developed through the British. I think it can make it. But, now, you want to get into more specific questions.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: You said that one of the good features of India was the Civil Servant, the trained political leaders.

SENATOR COOPER: Yes.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I believe this is very, very important, and as you know in many areas of the world today, one of the real tragic developments of colonialism was the fact that there was no trained Civil Service. So that when Nations did receive their independence, they were unable

literally to govern themselves. They had to train as they were fighting for their very existence. Now, you saw our AID program at work in India, Senator Cooper. Did you think it was producing results. What is your evaluation?

SENATOR COOPER: I'll be brief upon this. I did see our AID program at work -- a program which I have always supported. I think it was probably one of the best programs because you did have the score of Civil Service who knew how to plan and with ideas, and it did have good leadership. Whether we like Mr. Nehu or not -- some don't -- some of the other leaders. The leaders at the top are honest. There may be corruption down underneath. I don't think as much as many other countries. They are honest.

The third thing is that their program is directed to finally reaching their people. It seems almost impossible when you think 400 million, but at least that's their objective -- its not being drained off into high living upon the part of the officials. I think that, as I see it, is a good program. Out of that experience, though, Hubert, I came back here and said that if any a foreign aid program is going to be successful, you had to base it primarily first upon agriculture, food, administration, training, education, like you said; and then not too broad and too many programs. And finally, we have to have the continuity several years . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

SENATOR COOPER: To see whether it will work.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. In other words, you just can't depend on a quick shot and hope that it's going to work.

SENATOR COOPER: Yes. You can't do it. We've got to have programs which at least are tried out for three to five years. I don't know what people are worried about India. We had just soon get down to it.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. Well . . .

SENATOR COOPER: What people are worried about is -- some of it -- is support from the UN, also about Krishna Menon and about Nehru at times. We had just soon talk about it. I have known all of these men and have talked with them many times.

I think we make a mistake, well personally, if a country actually turns its policy against the United States, and we know that, and I think it's silly to continue aid to them; but if we are going to stop our programs for long-term interest because one individual speaks up against the United States, I think it would be rather foolish. I am sure the colonies can get somebody in every country . . .

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes. They generally do.

SENATOR COOPER: . . . to speak up against the United States. But again, I know it's a little different. A lot of people don't like Mr. Nehru, and they don't like Krishna Menon. Now, I can talk about those two if you want me to. It's a curious thing about Krishna Menon. I think it ought to be said.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: He's the Defense Minister now, isn't he.

SENATOR COOPER: Yes, the Defense Minister.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: . . . and used to be at the UN for India.

SENATOR COOPER: I know him well. I spoke to him while I was in India. I think that he has taken positions at the UN sometimes which I don't believe were the positions of India, and he has been at times from my view-
point, very harmful to ^{to us at} the UN. It is a curious thing that ^{he never said a...} until this last election, /in all his political career in India he has never made a statement against the United States, either privately or publicly. When I say privately, I mean at Party conventions. I used to talk to members of the Communist Party. They told me that members would try to provoke him in their private meetings to say something about the United States. He would not do it. Now, I thought

I ought to say that because everybody ought to hear both sides.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes, sir:

SENATOR COOPER: Further, while I was there, he went to China, he had never been to Russia. Before he left, he told me he was going to work for the release of the American prisoners there. He came back and told me the exact time, date, place they'd be released. I sent that to the State Department. When they made the release they gave credit to a great many people. They didn't give it to _____.

When I came back on my first visit I found out that my message got to the State Department before anybody else's message -- the first information came -- the first information came about these releases. American business and security stuff came through Krishma Menon. But I am not citing these personal things as a base for what our determination should be about India. But I think it does give a fuller picture.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: It surely does. And it comes from a man who's been there and knows these men.

Now, let me -- you were speaking again of your experience here in the Congress and overseas. You mentioned our Food for Peace program.

SENATOR COOPER: Yes.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Did you see this food program at work, and what do you think it has to offer in terms of our overall national interest?

SENATOR COOPER: When I was there, it was just getting underway. There were transfers of wheat, you remember.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

SENATOR COOPER: Large transfers to India. Although, they all were not relegated to India but to other countries. And again, I remember your initiative in this program, Hubert. I would like to tell you the fact that this program is being extended to school lunches.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Yes.

SENATOR COOPER: And in these programs of development as actual pay to some of the workers -- ^{we've got} /this food -- they use it to pay their workers on constructive projects. We've got this food -- no other country has it. Russia hasn't got it. I think it's a great possibility for America.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, I think it is too. And I want to say that we have had pleasure here in the Congress, Senator Cooper and myself, working together for what we call the Food for Peace program. It's a bipartisan program, and it has borrowed the support throughout the Congress. And this extension of the use of our food and fiber into our foreign economic policy, I think, has been one of the more important and helpful developments

Now, we are a little short of time here, and before we

close up this program, I want to ask you just one domestic question. You've seen programs like the SBA, the Small Business Administration and the Farmers Home Administration at work. Do you think that they can make a real contribution in our effort to combat unemployment and ^{to} give economic growth to this country.

SENATOR COOPER: Yes, I do. And I -- we know that the Farmers Home Administration has funds for such things as taxes on loan farms, houses, farm buildings, all that kind of thing. It could build up the economy on farms and also Small Business Administration. Unfortunately, we look to the large business, but in communities there must be a balanced economy, and these Small Business loans help these little businesses. I think we ought to do more on it, and I think you could see an expansion. I'd wish we would direct more attention in that field.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: I think we should. We are going to take up the Public Works program here very shortly, and there are many of us that feel that public works are still needed in our country to give our economy a proper understructure or basic structure. But ultimately, the jobs will be provided and the growth of this economy will be provided for by ^{our} private enterprise, by our people on the farms and in their businesses and shops, providing employment, expanding their work and their production and their markets. And that's what Small Business does for us -- Small Business Administration and Farmers Home Administration. I could visit with you for an hour on this

program.

SENATOR COOPER: Well, Senator, we are apt to get on some things that we might not agree upon.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: Well, there're a few.

SENATOR COOPER: But we've been talking about things that we have great agreement upon.

SENATOR HUMPHREY: And I thank you very much Senator Cooper for being our guest and visiting with our people in Minnesota.

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