

From Volunteers for Humphrey
Citizens' Committee
1722 Hennepin Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE
Monday, September 13, 1954

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey will carry his campaign for re-election to Congress into south-central Minnesota late this week with appearances in Cottonwood, Lincoln, Blue Earth and Le Sueur counties.

Friday Senator Humphrey will speak at Windom's Flax Day celebration. That evening, he'll attend an area-wide DFL dinner in his honor.

The Senator's Saturday schedule will take him to Lincoln County in the morning where he will speak at Plowville '54, Minnesota's annual soil conservation field days and plowing matches, south of Lake Benton. The Senator will speak at 11:30 a.m. and will be guest at a dinner given at the home of Mr. and Mrs. Walter Cyriacks at 2:30 p.m.

Saturday evening, the Senator will be in Mankato where Democrats are planning a district-wide testimonial dinner for the Senator and Harry Sieben. Sieben is DFL candidate for Congress from the second district. Joseph Halpern and Forrest Talbott are in charge of arrangements for the dinner which will begin at 6:30 p.m. in St. Peter and Paul's Church, Mankato.

The Senator again will be on the speakers' platform at a Farmers' Union picnic in Le Center Sunday. The event, which will be open to the public, is sponsored jointly by the Le Sueur and Scott counties Farmers' Union. The Senator will speak at 12:30 p.m.

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Office of
Volunteers for Humphrey
1722 Hennepin Avenue
Minneapolis, Minnesota
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FOR RELEASE
A. M. PAPERS
SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1954

SOVIET SEIZING ECONOMIC INITIATIVE IN WORLD, HUMPHREY WARNS

Soviet Russia has wrested away the economic initiative from America at a time when world peace hinges upon realistic world trade, Senator Humphrey warned last night in an address before a Second District Democratic-Farmer-Labor banquet rally at Mankato.

"International relations are not some distant policy mystery that only affects you and I when they bog down and lead to military conflict", Senator Humphrey said. "Our relations with the rest of the world affect our every-day life here at home -- our jobs, our incomes, our opportunities to go ahead with the job of building a better America for Americans -- and the lives of our sons.

"What is happening in the world today?" Senator Humphrey asked. "Where is America's bold initiative, that we have heard so much about?"

"We do not today hold the initiative -- militarily, diplomatically, or economically. We have taken humiliating defeats at the world's conference tables. We are taking even more dangerous defeats in the realm of world trade and economic relations. As we fumble and fail on the diplomatic and economic fronts, we are being slowly but surely forced to turn more to dependence on military security -- in an era of the H-Bomb when there is no military security.

"Make no mistake about it -- America's entire future hinges upon its ability to work out realistic trade policies with the rest of the world."

Deploring failure of the Congress to enact a real trade program during the past year, Senator Humphrey called attention to the fact that the "Russians are taking a determined economic offensive, and the free world economies will have to meet it to survive.

"Right now, during September and October of this year, delegates from nearly all of the Asian nations are visiting the Soviet Union to study industrial and agricultural development -- at the expense of the Soviet Government", Senator Humphrey revealed.

"One real irony of the current visits of Asian delegates to Russia is that it will be highlighted by a giant Soviet agricultural exhibition -- yet, it is no secret that Russia's agriculture has been in terrible shape while ours is the world's most advanced. Why isn't the United States making such a bid for future world trade?"

Senator Humphrey declared that the Soviet Union had negotiated at least ten new trade agreements in Asia and Latin America for over \$100,000,000 worth of trade annually during the last year, while our country negotiated none.

"Let us not put our sole reliance in military security at a time when economic relations largely have supplanted diplomatic relations in shaping the pattern of the world's future", Senator Humphrey declared, calling for America to "assert our leadership" with a positive program of a long-range trade policy under which "we can bid vigorously for world trade"; making use of our food abundance "as a humanitarian diplomatic weapon"; pressing vigorously for technological assistance to underdeveloped areas, and "expanding rather than restricting our student and teacher exchange programs to stimulate world understanding".

"Only in such constructive ways can we achieve the peace we seek", Senator Humphrey declared.

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SENATOR HUMPHREY'S PRE-SPEECH RECORDING

Mankato Dinner

September 18, 1954

Thank you, friends ...

What a thrill it is for me to get such a reception, and see such enthusiasm among our Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party leaders and workers in the Second Congressional District!

You have a right to such enthusiasm.

You have a great Congressional candidate, in my good friend, Harry Sieben of Hastings.

You have a great candidate for Governor, in my vigorous co-worker for liberal democracy, Orville Freeman.

Victory is in the air...a DFL victory...a victory for the people of Minnesota, over the forces of reaction and inaction!

All of us face a great challenge and a great opportunity in the election this Fall.

We face the challenge of protecting the great economic and social gains of the past few decades from being further wiped out by the forces of special privilege now at the helm of our government nationally...

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We face the challenge of cleaning out the inefficiency and abuse of public trust in our State Administration.

And we face the opportunity of meeting both challenges with an overwhelming victory by carrying the facts to the people of Minnesota, and putting our faith in the people.

There's a new awakening among the people of Minnesota.

They are stirring in protest at revelation after revelation of inefficiency and laziness and outright corruption in our state government.

And they are revolting against the giveaways and discrimination of the brazen special privilege rule in Washington since the money changers have moved back into the temple in control of our Government...government intended to be by and for the people, instead of by and for the favored few.

It's a sure sign that America's restless citizens are realizing once again that the Preamble to the Declaration of Independence set forth our objectives in the name of "We, the People...", not "We, the Wall Street bankers"....or "We, the monarchs of industry."

There is serious need for such an awakening, for it is only the mass voice of the great body of American citizens that can make democracy effective. And democracy MUST be kept effective, at a time when it

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is on trial for its very survival in this troubled world.

We have many vital domestic problems, that are of deep concern to all of us. Farm income is still falling, too many Americans are jobless, too many Americans are being penalized by tax inequalities, too little attention is being given America's needs for more and better schools.

But tonight I want to talk for a moment about other problems perhaps a little further from our own pocket-books, yet equally important to all of us.

I refer to America's failures in the international "cold war" -- our diplomatic and economic defeats, that bring us closer and closer to military peril.

Above all else today, peace must be our objective -- peace with honor, peace with justice. But we cannot hope to achieve such a secure and lasting peace without a shield of strength to preserve it, and conditions throughout the world conducive to maintaining peace.

International relations are not some distant policy mystery that only affects you and me when they

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bog down and lead to military conflict.

Our relations with the rest of the world affect our every-day life here at home --- our jobs, our incomes, our opportunities to go ahead with the job of building a better America for Americans --- and the lives of our sons.

What's happening in the world today?

Where is America's bold initiative, that we have heard so much about?

Despite all the slogans and catch-phrases of the happy hucksters employed by the Republican leadership to becloud the facts from the American people, those facts remain to stare us coldly in the face:

We do not today hold the initiative --- militarily, diplomatically, or economically.

We have taken humiliating defeats at the world's conference tables.

We are taking even more dangerous defeats in the realm of world trade and economic relations.

As we fumble and fail on the diplomatic and economic fronts, we are being slowly but surely forced to turn more to dependence on military security --- in an era of the H-Bomb when there is no military security.

Make no mistake about it --- America's entire future

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hinges upon its ability to work out realistic trade policies with the rest of the world.

Ever since the Republicans came into power we have heard popular slogans about "Trade, not Aid" -- but we have just had the slogans, not the trade. We have still failed to enact a real trade program, because of the failure of the Administration to even back up the recommendations of the President's own Randall Commission on trade policies.

As we fumble and stall, what is the Soviet Union doing?

The Russians are taking a determined economic offensive, and the free world economies will have to meet it to survive.

Right now, during September and October of this year, delegates from nearly all the Asian nations -- nations so critical to survival of democracy -- are visiting the Soviet Union to study industrial and agricultural development, at the expense of the Soviet Government.

One real irony of the current visits of Asian delegates to Russia is that it will be highlighted by a giant Soviet agricultural exhibition -- yet, it

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is no secret that Russia's agriculture has been in terrible shape while ours is the world's most advanced. Why isn't the United States making such a bid for future world peace?

This year the Soviet Union has negotiated at least ten new trade agreements in Asia and Latin America -- agreements for over \$100,000,000 worth of trade for one year. These agreements concentrate on vital raw materials that Russia urgently needs. Underdeveloped areas of the world have long been worried about unstable raw materials prices, and now the Russians have stepped in to help stabilize prices -- for their own benefit -- while the United States still refuses to enact a long-term trade program opening the way for our leadership in the world's economy so necessary for democracy's survival.

Let us not overlook the lessons of the past two years. Let us awaken to the realization that we are losing the economic initiative in the cold war. And let us not put our sole reliance in military security, at a time when economic relations have largely supplanted diplomatic relations in shaping the pattern of the world's future.

These are sobering thoughts upon which we should

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all reflect. They are challenges not partisan in nature, yet becoming more and more partisan because of the refusal of the party in power to face them squarely -- and to accept bi-partisan cooperation in solving them.

They are reasons, sound reasons, for the American people to speak out in this election and send a Democratic Congress to Washington pledged to assert America's leadership in the world once more -- assert a humanitarian leadership, an economic leadership -- not just a leadership of bluster and bluff and threat, lacking the force or the will to back such bluffs with action.

We can and must adopt a long-range trade policy, and bid vigorously for world trade.

We must make use of our food abundance as a humanitarian diplomatic weapon in a world where so much of the population is hungry and underfed.

We must press vigorously with technological assistance to underdeveloped areas of the world, and expand rather than restrict our student and teacher exchange programs to stimulate world understanding.

Only in such constructive ways can we achieve the peace we seek.

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Victory is in the air... a DFL victory... a victory for the people of Minnesota, a victory for progress. Yes, there's a new awakening among the people of Minnesota.

There is a serious need for such an awakening, for it is only the determined voice of the great body of American citizens that can make democracy effective. And democracy MUST be

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kept effective, at a time when it is on trial for its very survival in this troubled world.

We have many vital domestic problems, that are of concern to all of us. Farm income is still falling. It has fallen over 10% since the present administration began its work. Yet the administration calls it a necessary adjustment and enacts legislation to push farm income still lower.

Too many Americans are jobless. Nearly 5 million willing workers are unemployed or on part-time. The administration has done nothing, though this economic complacency will cost the American economy \$20 billion of lost production this year.

Too many Americans are penalized by tax inequalities. Yet the Republican leadership gave tax relief to those who needed it least and rejected our efforts to enact a fair tax law which would have given a \$20 tax reduction for every man, woman and child and pumped \$1½ billion of purchasing power into the economy.

Too little attention is being paid to the crying need for more and better schools. Yet the Republican leadership refused

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to enact a measure for Federal aid to school construction.

Millions of Americans need decent low-cost housing. Yet the administration scuttled the public housing program enacted by past Democratic administrations.

But tonight I want to talk for a moment about other problems perhaps a little further from our own pocket-books, yet equally important to all of us.

I refer to America's failures in the international "cold War"--- our diplomatic and economic defeats, that bring us closer and closer to military peril.

Above all else today, peace must be our objective-- peace with honor, peace with justice. But we cannot hope to achieve such a secure and lasting peace without a shield of strength to preserve it, and conditions throughout the world conducive to maintaining peace.

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What's happening in the world today?

Where is America's bold initiative, that we have heard so much about?

Despite all the slogans and catch-phrases of the happy hucksters employed by the Republican leadership to becloud the facts from the American people, those facts remain to stare us coldly in the face:

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As we fumble and fail on the diplomatic and economic fronts, we are being slowly but surely forced to turn more to dependence on military security --- in an era of the H-Bomb when there is no military security.

The fact that the administration has been big on slogans, but small on creative ideas, betrays a lack of understanding of what foreign policy is all about. There is one fundamental they have forgotten--- that foreign policy is just what the term means. It is directed toward other nations, and that is the important part of it.

It shouldn't be necessary to spend most of your effort doing a selling job on the American people. And it wouldn't have been necessary to do that if Republican orators hadn't spent so much time running down a sound policy in the years before 1953.

What can the Democratic Party do for our foreign policy this fall? Just this--- it can help restore to our foreign policy some good democratic philosophy. We can - and we should -

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help this Nation to develop a foreign policy that will be consistent with the way of life which we lead here at home.

The great programs of the Democratic Party have always stressed grass roots initiative, rather than government publicity and control. This is the democratic philosophy and the democratic method. The TVA is an example of this way of life; so is the system of democratic, farmer-run farm programs which we used to have in this country --- and will again, with the next Democratic administration.

This same approach is also sound in the difficult area of foreign policy. During the past year we have heard a lot of talk about our government siezing the 'initiative' in foreign policy. This is fine talk -- while Republicans have been talking, 12 million Indochinese have drifted behind the bamboo curtain, and the European Army plan has died a lingering death.

The fact is, 'initiative' doesn't spring from press releases. It has to be based on solid and dependable attitudes

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and policies. Initiative doesn't come from governments alone; it has to be based on popular support. If people are going to support foreign policies, they have to know what they are supporting. That is why foreign policies have to be solid and dependable.

Our greatest advantage over communism is simply this: that the foreign policies of the free nations of the West have to be founded on popular support. This means that these policies are solidly based and durable - we know they can be depended upon.

We ought to remember this advantage. And we therefore ought to be far more careful than we have been about engaging in psychological warfare and high-pressure salesmanship in American foreign policy -- both at home and abroad.

Let's take a concrete case to illustrate this problem. Perhaps the greatest problem we face today concerns the rebirth of a new Germany, and the restoration of the free

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German people to a free and equal place among nations. As everyone knows, this is a critical problem today because the proposed European Defense Community failed. The reasons for this failure are complex, but one of them, I believe, lies in high-pressure tactics by our own government.

The outlook, however, is not so black as it may seem. German rearmament and full German sovereignty should spring from the desire of the German people themselves. There is a need for German initiative, rather than just American pressure, if a real European defense system is to be created.

This is so because a durable policy must rest firmly upon the desires of free people. It is so because this approach will put the question of a unified European defense squarely up to Europeans themselves -- they will have to face the question because the German people ask that it be faced.

Surely we do not want to get ourselves in the position of pushing for something which the German people themselves do

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not want. For this reason, I believe that both the present and past administrations made mistakes in pushing too hard and too soon for German rearmament. We should remember the great desire of the German people for the unification of their country.

Germany today is divided because of a cynical violation of postwar agreements by Soviet Russia. Germany has become more and more divided as the Russians have remilitarized East Germany. Everyone in Germany can read the signs -- and everyone knows that the so-called 'Volkspolizei' mean the rebirth of militarism in East Germany. This remilitarization was imposed from above, by an autocratic communist dictatorship. It was imposed despite the sincere desire of thoughtful, serious Germans to live in peace and in an atmosphere of freedom.

Today, the leaders of West Germany have realized that the division of Germany is a fact. Because of the fact of a divided Germany and a remilitarized East Germany, we have

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to face the fact which follows. The proper course, and the only course, for our policy is a sovereign West Germany, within a free system of the common defense of Europe.

Freedom is a strong incentive. Today it is clear that the greatest incentive we can offer to East Germany is a free and sovereign West Germany, committed to defend the Western traditions of Christian Democracy for which the leaders of West Germany stand.

The leadership of Western Germany has recognized these facts. A European defense system will be achieved. And, in fact, today the Germans themselves - under one of the great Europeans of modern times, Chancellor Konrad Adenauer - are taking the initiative in seeking a new way to achieve a common defense of European freedoms.

Chancellor Adenauer is a man who represents the best traditions of Germany; traditions which have culminated in the Christian Democratic movement. Today - and especially since the tragic death of Alcide De Gasperi - Chancellor Adenauer has been the

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chief spokesman for a political philosophy which has been the most creative force in Europe since the War - precisely because it is based upon the traditions which all Europeans share. The Christian Democratic movement has spurred all Europeans, in partnership, to recreate a free and stable Europe after the devastation of War.

Today it is Chancellor Adenauer who is pressing for consultations, seeking new ways to provide for the common defense and well-being of Europe. Today we have to recognize that the German people have again become the leading potential power on the European continent. The Western world is fortunate that German leadership is accepting the responsibilities that go with power, and is seeking a way to serve the democratic aims of Europe.

The real point of this is that today we have the German initiative we need in order to create a European defense system. Because of this fact, I believe the future is now promising for

a European defense system. And please note, the future is bright because the initiative is now in European hands.

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The point of this example is that in foreign policy, no more than in domestic policy, can all initiative come from above. The object of American foreign policy should not be to produce ballyhoo about siezing the initiative. The object of American foreign policy should be to create the conditions that will produce a common, and therefore a strong policy, on the part of the free world.

The foreign policy of this administration represents a good idea gone wrong. The idea, formulated by Democratic administrations in 1947 and 1948, was a collective policy of defense against communism -- defense on many fronts; the economic, the ideological and the military. Since 1953 that idea has been perverted into the false belief that our Nation can assume full leadership of the free world through slogans.

There slogans have led to sloppy thinking. As near as I can

make it out, this seems to be the philosophy of the administration:

1) We will not only contain communism; we will also liberate the enslaved peoples;

2) We will do this by abandoning military power at the points where communism borders the free world, and instead emphasize massive retaliation against Moscow.

3) Massive retaliation can best be achieved by cutting the defense budget.

This is diplomacy by propaganda. Our talk of 'massive retaliation' has frightened our allies, who are much more vulnerable to Soviet atomic attack than we are. Yet we are depending upon these allies for the common defense of Europe and Southeast Asia.

We have cut our military budget, following the slogan, "a bigger bang for a buck." We have, therefore, brought our military policy and our diplomacy close to a parting of the ways.

One thing Americans should always bear in mind is that diplomacy cannot be reduced to purely military calculations without eventual resort of military measures. Sole reliance on nuclear warfare will

lead, in the end, to military warfare.

I am afraid we have forgotten the real foundations of our past foreign policy. We have tried to live in the same house, and we have put a new facade on the house so we can pretend it is a new one. But we have forgotten the foundation.

Let's inspect the foundation. Ever since the War our foreign policy rested on two propositions:

1) America and the free world must become and remain strong enough to resist communist aggression;

2) America should take the lead in creating the conditions under which freedom can thrive and prosper.

Both of these foundations are being undermined. We have cut the military budget and weakened the structure on one side.

On the other side, while we have talked a good game, we have progressively cut down the programs aimed at strengthening freedom and self-reliance in the free world. Far from being on the initiative, we have failed to even meet the Russians in economic and social policy.

Make no mistake about it -- America's entire future hinges upon its ability to work out realistic trade policies with the rest of the world.

Ever since the Republicans came into power we have heard popular slogans about "Trade, not Aid" -- but we have just had the slogans, not the trade.

Our farm exports have declined - in terms of acreage, by 45% - and farm income continues to fall. Despite legislation on the books, the administration has made no move as yet to use our farm surpluses to supplement the Mutual Security Program. They have spent all their time so far trying to settle administrative cat- and- doge fights.

Right now, Yugoslavia-- which has had a bad crop year-- is negotiating with Russia for large shipments of wheat, and our administration is moaning about surpluses.

As we fumble and stall, what is the Soviet Union doing?

The Russians are taking a determined economic offensive,

and the free world economics will have to meet it to survive.

Right now, during September and October of this year, delegates from nearly all the Asian nations -- nations so critical to survival of democracy -- are visiting the Soviet Union to study industrial and agricultural development, at the expense of the Soviet Government.

One really irony of the current visits of Asian delegates to Russia is that it will be highlighted by a giant Soviet agricultural exhibition -- yet, it is no secret that Russia's agriculture has been in terrible shape while ours is the world's most advanced. Why isn't the United States making such a bid for future world trade?

This year the Soviet Union has negotiated at least ten new trade agreements in Asia and Latin America -- agreements for over \$100,000,000 worth of trade for one year. These agreements concentrate on vital raw materials that Russia urgently needs. Underdeveloped areas of the world have long been worried about unstable raw materials prices, and now the Russians have stepped in to help stabilize prices -- for their own benefit -- while

the United States still refuses to enact a long-term trade program opening the way for our leadership in the world's economy so necessary for democracy's survival.

Let us not overlook the lessons of the past two years.

Let us awaken to the realization that we are losing the economic initiative in the cold war. And let us not put our sole reliance in military security, at a time when economic relations have largely supplanted diplomatic relations in shaping the pattern of the world's future.

Remember, trade is a powerful force in tying nations together. We can't afford to let communism take the initiative from the free economies of the world in world trade.

These are sobering thoughts upon which we should all reflect. They are challenges not partisan in nature, yet becoming more and more partisan because of the refusal of the party in power to face them squarely -- and to accept bi-partisan cooperation in solving them.

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We must make use of our food abundance as a humanitarian diplomatic weapon in a world where so much of the population is hungry and underfed.

We must press vigorously with technological assistance to underdeveloped areas of the world, and expand rather than restrict our student and teacher exchange programs to stimulate world understanding.

Only in such constructive ways can we achieve the peace we seek.



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