

From the Office of
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey
140 Senate Office Building
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Capitol 4-3121, Ext. 2424

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March 4, 1959

SENATOR HUMPHREY PROPOSES INTERNATIONAL EDUCATIONAL DEVELOPMENT AS
THIRD OF MAJOR "WORKS OF PEACE"

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) called last night for a third effort in what he terms American "works of peace," in the form of a ten year investment program in educational development in the Free World.

Addressing the National Conference on Higher Education in Chicago, Senator Humphrey said that such a program, under the auspices of an International Educational Development Foundation, would feed "some of the horsepower of the American educational system into the machinery of American foreign policy."

He termed the proposal an "Education for Peace" program to match two earlier proposed "Food for Peace" and "Health for Peace" programs now under study by the Congress.

Under the Humphrey proposal, a ten-year, \$3 billion program would be undertaken -- including grants for laboratories and facilities, the endowment of professorships, institutes and research projects, scholarships and fellowships would be largely financed through American-owned "soft currencies" paid to the United States in exchange for American food and fiber and in repayment of loans to allied countries.

Senator Humphrey charged that American policies in general -- domestic and foreign -- were based on "short-run, makeshift solutions, an unwillingness to program boldly ahead, and a fixed idea that while corporate planning is somehow 'good,' government programming is invariably 'bad.'" He declared that it is "time that we did away with this double standard of morality."

He charged that "we seem forever on the defensive, forever 'standing firm,' forever reacting to a new Soviet-created crisis. Standing on the defense, we have failed to come to grips with the underlying economic and social problems of the world on which communism feeds and burns."

While pointing to the "prodigies of constructive human effort which could be financed with the money the nations are spending on arms," Senator Humphrey said that, nevertheless, "the bitter truth is that until we can secure from the Soviets an enforceable arms control agreement, with international inspection, there is no way to avoid a staggering expenditure for national security. "In fact," he said, "we shall have to actually increase the rate of arms spending in order to regain a bargaining position with the Soviet leaders on disarmament."

More

"But the shield of military strength is not enough," Senator Humphrey said. "We must build a broader-gauged and more affirmative foreign policy on the natural strengths of our nation -- by harnessing our tremendous industrial capacity, our dominant capital, our technical knowledge, our agricultural abundance, our wealth of trained educators, agriculturists, administrators, and technicians to the plow of foreign policy."

"Education," he said, "is one of the deepest hopes and needs of people everywhere. It is indispensable to economic progress and national independence."

"The one resource most of the needy countries of the world have in ample quantity is manpower," Senator Humphrey pointed out. "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 aid will inevitably be wasted."

The Minnesotan pointed out that the several educational assistance programs now under way -- such as the Fulbright exchange program, the limited programs conducted by the Atomic Energy Commission, ICA, and the State Department, and the efforts of the great private foundations "are to be applauded," but "they fall far short of the need and the opportunity."

"Think of the great gain to the United States and to all mankind," Senator Humphrey said, "if we were to become clearly identified in the eyes of the world with physical symbols of friendship and progress like schools, universities, libraries and laboratories."

"Scholarships and fellowships would be granted after annual competitions in every region, every locality of every recipient country," Senator Humphrey said. "It is difficult to imagine a more penetrating and meaningful way to identify Americans with individual opportunity, social democracy and international fraternity."

President
Association for
Higher Education

Dean Russell Cooper + Mr. Cooper
Dr Brauer

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Address by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

National Conference on Higher Education
Chicago, Illinois
March 3, 1959

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Mr Stewart + Director
Purdue -
Varsity Blue Club

(Museum Exhibit)
Taping list

Mr. S. Symington

THE PRINCIPLE OF BALANCE

Clearly one of the main streams of Western
thought -- cradled in the life of the great Western colleges
and universities -- has been the principle of balance, of
equilibrium, of symmetry.

and / How vital it is today that this Aristotelian principle
should shape American planning and policy in all areas of our
Political, economic, + cultural life.
Yet, how far from balanced, how free from distortion
many of our national policies are today and practices are today.

There is, for example, a gross underemphasis on the need for expanded national productivity, particularly in the "public service" area.

Domestically, we are currently failing to assign a sufficiently high priority to housing, to school and hospital construction, to basic research, to education in general.

There is a striking dependence today on short-run, makeshift solutions, an unwillingness to program boldly ahead, and a fixed idea that, while corporate planning is somehow "good", government programming is invariably "bad".

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⤵ In our foreign policy we have developed 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.

⤵ ~~In domestic policies as well as in foreign policies,~~
~~it is time that we did away with the "double standard"~~ ⤵

~~A~~

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Throughout the vast emergent areas of Asia and Africa, we have too often sought only defensive military alliances. We have, thereby missed sweeping opportunities to win the Cold War by taking the struggle to the higher plane on which we have the greatest chance of success -- the fight against *poverty,* hunger and disease, the struggle for knowledge, *Security,* and human dignity.

~~Seemingly demoralized by the skillful crisis jumping of the Communists our own leadership for too long has been unable to shake itself loose to regain the initiative.~~

out

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 ~~is~~. 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

Actually many
 + under most
 of the problems
 that beset
 mankind
 today, would
 be solved
 & require
 attention
 solution
 even if there
 were no
 communist
 threat.

industrial revolution two or three centuries before they did.

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 attempted to take them to their bosoms -- literally to steal them away.

Communist
There is a plethora of "Peoples Republics." -- *that are*
nothing for the people nor republican in form
The Communists are ~~moving heaven and earth to~~ *determined to*
demonstrate to the ~~underdeveloped~~ *new & rising* nations that communism
means economic and social progress.

And we have permitted the Communists very nearly

yet, Democracy - or a society based on the Consent of the governed -
Should have as its trademark - its identification with
People - Progress - Peace.

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to appropriate the word "peace" -- to pose as the
peace-makers and to tag us with the ^{label} ~~effect~~ of

"war-mongers" (X)

Like it or not, the Communists have been

getting away with ideological piracy ~~because~~ ^T 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 ^{dictators} ~~emperors~~ and colonialist

powers throughout Asia and Africa + Latin America.

But, We do not know our own strength! — at least we
have refused to mobilize it!
~~What great folly, for example, that we are~~

~~desperately searching for ways of reducing the production~~

year for storage costs of grain and cotton in order
to make it economically and technically possible to
move the magnificent food production of the Western
Hemisphere into the food-deficit areas of the world?

We urgently need to design and
~~It would be more intelligent to build~~

launch

broad-gauged and affirmative foreign policy on the

natural strengths of our nation ^{yes,} to harness ~~our~~ ^{to the flow of foreign}

policy our

tremendous industrial capacity, our dominant capital,

our technical knowledge, our agricultural abundance,

our wealth of trained educators, agriculturists, Doctors, Scientists,

administrators and technicians to the ~~plow of foreign~~

~~policy~~

(Exchanges - Arts - Music Song - Art)

Be ourselves!

Defense shield - works of Peace

Why have we not done it *or more adequately*

I would suggest that the cause may be found
in part in the lack of status of the intellectual
in our midst, and in the habit which a nation of
producers has developed of judging the worth of a
man or of an idea in terms of annual salary or
dollar cost.

Kup!
National policies which spring rather
exclusively from one economic or social group of
the nation cannot accurately represent either the
national strength or the national needs. There appears
to be too narrow a circle from which the political

leadership of the country tends to draw its advice

~~and~~ counsel and ideas.

Valuable as may be the ^{counsel} ~~advice~~ of financiers ~~and~~

~~manufacturers~~ and military officers ~~and~~ the

experience of these groups of men is useful and

valuable -- the government's fundamental policy

decisions ^{need to} ~~must~~ be predicated upon a wider base.

I am convinced that the counsel of men and women

broadly representative of agriculture, ~~for example~~,

of labor, of the press, of the scientific community,

of the legal and medical professions, of the clergy,

of the teaching profession, -- yes, and of the arts --

should be sought out and given intense consideration by

the responsible political leaders of the nation.

and with too narrow a base of advice and counsel.

Firmer, stronger, more freely-flowing lines of

communication must be set up to channel the ideas

and enthusiasms of intellectual America into the ~~Executive Branch~~

halls of Congress and into the mind and heart of

each man who occupies the office of the Presidency.

I am not one of those who believes- nor do I

think that anyone in this audience believes -- that

all the problems of the world can be solved by education.

But I am deeply impressed with the value and

the power of education -- its value as an end in itself,

for its key role in the freeing of man's spirit
and the enrichment of his life -- and its power to
shape the destinies of nations.

There is increased public attention to education
today -- reflected in its most dramatic form in the
passage by the Congress of the National Defense
Education Act last year. Congress in this Act
explicitly recognized the worth and the importance
of a broad-based educational system -- and did not
plunge the country into a lop-sided effort in behalf
of scientific and technical training alone.

~~The lag in scientific and engineering training~~

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was emphasized, and programs were designed which I feel will clearly increase the flow of trained technical minds into industry and government. But we did not go overboard.

We specifically encouraged young people to go into teaching, through a provision permitting the writing off of a portion of the Federally-guaranteed college student loan. We singled out language training for special emphasis, because of the really appalling gaps in our language abilities. But we made a conscious effort to write legislation which would preserve the essentially balanced and symmetrical character of American education.

Because I am a former college teacher myself,
and because I have consciously made an effort to
keep open the lines of communication between the
community of scholars and the political leadership
of the nation, perhaps ~~it will be forgiven if I~~ *you will permit*
~~me to make one or two suggestions to my former colleagues~~ *me to make one or two simple*
~~suggestions to my present very respected friends in the colleges~~
~~and universities of America.~~

~~Then~~ *Brampower* I would like to put before the House a
few ideas for feeding some of the ~~newspaper~~ of the
American educational system into the machinery of
American foreign policy.

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One suggestion which I respectfully advance is

more for
that ~~our American~~ colleges and universities should

encourage the most searching
~~open a little wider to the currents of American~~

and frank discussion and debate of
current political, ~~and~~ economic and social ~~problems~~. I would like

to see the swirl and heat of controversy flowing

through our campuses of our nation much more freely than

they now do. I am a great believer in incentive. And

there is simply nothing more stimulating to young

men and women coming to intellectual maturity than

the exposure to the realities of politics and policies.

While there is a role for the colleges to play

as "islands of contemplation," there is a concurrent

responsibility to ~~train~~ ^{prepare} the individual
~~for the day to day citizenship~~
~~to develop in a more sheltered academic situation.~~
~~young minds than perhaps we are now permitting~~
participation that the Democratic process
requires.

Secondly, I would urge you to resist the demands

that we cut down on our efforts to provide liberal

education, in favor of more training of scientists

and engineers. ~~Not that we are not short of scientists~~

~~Scientists Engineers.~~ ^{To be sure, we need more}
~~and engineers!~~ But ~~I am of the opinion that~~ we can

afford an educational establishment great enough to

train all the scientists and engineers we can

conceivably use, without cutting back on the vital effort

toward liberal education. They are not mutually exclusive

at all.

And I think the educators of this nation
ought to say so in loud, ringing and persistent
tones!

I have only one suggestion to make insofar as
the college curriculum is concerned, ~~and that is~~
~~related to my plea to open the campus to greater~~
~~controversy.~~ There is a need, I feel as a man in
public life, for a much clearer understanding on
the part of college graduates of the mainsprings of
national power and the motivations of national
conduct. Too often a student can emerge from a series
of courses in economics ~~and~~ history and government

without a real understanding of their inter-relationship, ✓
without making the kind of synthesis that will prepare
him to face and help to solve the problems of his
society and his nation.

These are modest suggestions, and humbly put.

For I have profound respect for the character and the
achievements of American higher education. Americans
take great pride in the vigor, the stability, and the
integrity of our colleges and universities. I cannot
help but feel that once they understand the economic
problems which the colleges face with the oncoming waves
of students, the people and their Congress will take
those steps necessary to provide the necessary financial
support.

For it is not our American educational system that is distorted and out of balance. Thank God that it thrives and grows -- a splendid balance-wheel of the nation.

But My principal question tonight is not how we can improve our American educational system -- but rather

what we can do to more fully utilize the great

example and ~~the~~ strength of American education

in a more constructive and affirmative foreign policy.

I have always believed that the deed, and not the bare word, speaks the loudest. As the Bible says, "By their works ye shall know them."

The works of peace -- as well as the words of ~~peace~~ peace -- are imperative in American foreign policy.

First / Yes, we must broaden and intensify the

existing ~~use~~ programs for the ~~use~~ and distribution

of our vast food abundance. *The generous and planned*
~~They have already~~

use of food fiber has already
 made an historic contribution to the *social & economic*
well-being of many nations
~~of human life throughout the world.~~ This is the

national effort I call Food for Peace. It can be

the foundation for a series of works of peace.

(much more can be done)

/ A second and parallel effort is in preparation

-- Health for Peace. *I have joined work*
 with Senator Lister Hill of Alabama

~~have been working closely~~ in proposing an International

Health and Medical Research *program* ~~subcommittee on~~ *We are*

attempting to mobilize the
 Government Reorganization and International Organization

has been making an intensive study of the existing pattern

medical & scientific resources
of America - yes, the world
in an all out attack on

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disease, pestilence, malnutrition,
and ~~poison~~ ^{medical} International Health year,

of international medical research and public health

since last autumn, and will shortly prepare a report which

I believe will bolster the drive for the Health for

Peace bill. If the Administration will give its

support to this example of bi-partisan Congressional

leadership, we will be able to move dramatically and

effectively into the international struggle against

disease.

I invite your consideration ~~to~~ of a third

major work of peace -- what I shall call an "Education

for Peace" program.

~~Just as education has been one of our cherished~~

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✓ 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 ^{to school} go 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 teacher. ✓ 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 necessary capital and know-how. But we are coming to understand that money and techniques ^{are} ~~is~~ 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 ^{Technology} ~~knowledge~~ provided by

the more developed countries, much of the aid will

inevitably be wasted. *and so it is today.*

L ~~Unfortunately in a sense,~~ the Communist leadership

has recognized this interrelationship 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. In the student dormitories

throughout the Sino-Soviet bloc, thousands, in fact

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tens of thousands, of university students are

studying -- from families and ~~from~~ remote towns *4 village*

~~which~~ which until a few years ago no one had ever
attended
~~gone to~~ a university.

It may be that the Communist leaders are
a potent force of freedom
creating a ~~force~~ which may someday tear

apart the Communist system by educating masses of

people. But for the present they are winning *the*

loyalty and deeply felt gratitude on the part of

students and parents.

In too many of the countries of the Free World,

educational systems are impoverished and stagnant.

Latin America!

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.

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L 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 mis- trained 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.

L ^{the old to new} In both ~~developed and underdeveloped~~ 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.

h 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

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with roughly double the Greek population, that government offers
more than 30,000 scholarships a year for students to go to the
university!

I repeat - It is only a question of time before that educational gap

will begin to create an economic, military, and political power
gap.

*Fulbright - Educ. Exchange
aid to overseas Univ.*

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. And,

of course, our great private foundations have been giving assistance

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to foreign educational institutions and have been assisting

educational and scientific exchange for many years. All these efforts are to be applauded.

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.

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.

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

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development -- a plan of Education for Peace, ^{and} *Progress*

#1
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
three billion dollar effort for worldwide development of democratic
education -- on condition only that our friends bring to us sound
plans for self-help and mutual help.

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.

#2
The second step should be for us to draw together the many
loose ends and separate efforts we are now supporting ^{into one} ~~into one~~
agency in Washington. This body -- perhaps in the form of a
quasi-independent International Educational Development Foundation --

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└ 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 to ^{now} ~~any~~ of the
other assistance programs we are supporting. It should
therefore be not only visible but prominent among our
international agencies.

└ But what about the money? Where are funds of

this magnitude to be found? If it were necessary to

propose the ^{Additional} 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. ^a As ~~a~~ result of
the major programs of assistance in food and materials

which the United States has ^{gold} ~~given~~ to friendly nations

in the ~~past~~ ^{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 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} ~~fraction~~ 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 ^{and Dollars} 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 should be given to
the appropriation of additional dollar funds.

✓ Now 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 foreign educational systems must 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
schools, 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 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.

I ask you for your consideration of this proposal. If you will
give it your thoughtful criticism and your intelligent support,

we may be able to help our country take another long step

toward a more balanced and vital foreign policy and eventually

just
a stable and serene peace.

2/3/59

Address by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

National Conference on Higher Education
Chicago, Illinois
March 3, 1959

THE PRINCIPLE OF BALANCE

Clearly one of the main streams of Western thought -- cradled in the life of the great Western colleges and universities -- has been the principle of balance, of equilibrium, of symmetry.

How vital it is today that this Aristotelian principle should shape American planning and policy in all areas of our political, economic and cultural life.

Yet, how far from balanced how free from distortion many of our national policies and practices are today.

There is, for example, a gross underemphasis on the need for expanded national productivity, particularly in the "public service" area.

Domestically, we are currently failing to assign a sufficiently high priority to housing, to school and hospital construction, to basic research, to education in general.

There is a striking dependence today on short-run, makeshift solutions, an unwillingness to program boldly ahead, and a fixed idea that, while corporate planning is somehow "good", government programming is invariably "bad".

In our foreign policy we have developed 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.

Throughout the vast emergent areas of Asia and Africa, we have too often sought only defensive military alliances. We have, thereby missed sweeping opportunities to win the Cold War by taking the struggle to the higher plane on which we have the greatest chance of success -- the fight against poverty, hunger and disease, the struggle for knowledge, security, 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. Actually many and indeed most of the problems that beset mankind today would be with us and require attention and solution even if there were no communist threat. 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.

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 attempted to take them to their bosoms -- literally to steal them away.

There is a plethora of Communist "Peoples Republics"-- that are neither for the People nor republican in form.

The Communists are determined to demonstrate to the new and rising nations that communism means economic and social progress.

And we have permitted the Communists very nearly to appropriate the word "peace" -- to pose as the peace-makers and to tag us with the label of "war-mongers". Yet Democracy -- or a society based on the consent of the governed -- should have as its trademark -- its identification with People, Progress, and Peace.

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 dictators and colonialist powers throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

But, we do not know our own strength -- at least we have refused to mobilize it!

We urgently need to design and launch a broad-gauged and affirmative foreign policy on the natural strengths of our nation -- yes, to harness to the plow of foreign policy our tremendous industrial capacity, our dominant capital, our technical knowledge,

our agricultural abundance, our wealth of trained educators, agriculturists, doctors, scientists, administrators and technicians.

Why have we not done it?--or more adequately?

I would suggest that the cause may be found in part in the lack of status of the intellectual in our midst, and in the habit which a nation of producers has developed of judging the worth of a man or of an idea in terms of annual salary or dollar cost.

There appears to be too narrow a circle from which the political leadership of the country tends to draw its advice and ideas.

Valuable as may be the counsel of financiers, manufacturers and military officers -- and the experience of these groups of men is useful and valuable -- the government's fundamental policy decisions need to be predicated upon a wider base. I am convinced that the counsel of men and women broadly representative of agriculture, labor, the press, the scientific community, the legal and medical professions, the clergy, the teaching profession, -- yes, and of the arts -- should be sought out and given intense consideration by the responsible political leaders of the nation.

Firmer, stronger, more freely-flowing lines of communication must be set up to channel the ideas and enthusiasms of intellectual America into the halls of Congress and into the mind and heart of each man who occupies the office of the Presidency.

I am not one of those who believe -- nor do I think that anyone in this audience believes -- that all the problems of the world can be solved by education.

But, I am deeply impressed with the value and the power of education -- its value as an end in itself, for its key role in the freeing of man's spirit and the enrichment of his life -- and its power to shape the destinies of nations.

There is increased public attention to education today -- reflected in its most dramatic form in the passage by the Congress of the National Defense Education Act last year. Congress in this Act explicitly recognized the worth and the importance of a broad-based educational system -- and did not plunge the country into a lop-sided effort in behalf of scientific and technical training alone.

We specifically encouraged young people to go into teaching, through a provision permitting the writing off of a portion of the

Federally-guaranteed college student loan. We singled out language training for special emphasis, because of the really appalling gaps in our language abilities. But we made a conscious effort to write legislation which would preserve the essentially balanced and symmetrical character of American education.

Because I am a former college teacher myself, and because I have consciously made an effort to keep open the lines of communication between the community of scholars and the political leadership of the nation, perhaps you will permit me to make one or two simple suggestions.

I would like to put before the House a few ideas for feeding some of the brainpower of the American educational system into the machinery of American foreign policy.

One suggestion which I respectfully advance is that more of our colleges and universities should encourage the most searching and frank discussion and debate of current political, economic and social problems.

While there is a role for the colleges to play as "islands of contemplation", there is a concurrent responsibility to prepare the individual for the day-to-day citizenship participation that the democratic process requires.

Secondly, I would urge you to resist the demands that we cut down on our efforts to provide liberal education, in favor of more training of scientists and engineers. To be sure, we need more scientists and engineers. But we can afford an educational establishment great enough to train all the scientists and engineers we can conceivably use, without cutting back on the vital effort toward liberal education. They are not mutually exclusive at all.

I have only one suggestion to make insofar as the college curriculum is concerned. There is a need, I feel as a man in public life, for a much clearer understanding on the part of college graduates of the mainsprings of national power and the motivations of national conduct. Too often a student can emerge from a series of courses in economics, history and government without a real understanding of their inter-relationship, or without making the kind of synthesis that will prepare him to face and help to solve the problems of his society and his nation.

These are modest suggestions, and humbly put. For I have profound respect for the character and the achievements of American higher education. Americans take great pride in the vigor, the

stability, and the integrity of our colleges and universities.

But my principal question tonight is not how we can improve our American educational system -- but rather what we can do to more fully utilize the great example and strength of American education in a more constructive and affirmative foreign policy.

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

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. 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 program. We are attempting to mobilize the medical and scientific resources of America -- yes, the world-in an all out attack on disease, pestilence, malnutrition, and pain.

I invite your consideration tonight of a third major work of peace -- what I shall call an "Education for Peace" program.

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 teacher. 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 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 technology provided by the more developed countries, much of the aid will inevitably be wasted -- and so it is today.

The Communist leadership has recognized this interrelationship 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. In the student dormitories throughout the Sino-Soviet bloc, thousands, in fact tens of thousands, of university students are studying -- from families and remote towns and villages which until a few years ago no one had ever attended a university.

It may be that the Communist leaders are creating a patented 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 on the part of students and parents.

In too many of the countries of the Free World, educational systems are impoverished and stagnant -- Latin America!

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 the 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 Greek population, 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.

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. 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.

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.

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.

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 to train their own people. We should declare our readiness to support a ten-year three billion dollar effort for worldwide development of democratic education -- on condition only that our friends bring to us sound plans for self-help and mutual help.

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

The second step should be for us to draw together the many loose ends and separate efforts we are now 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 be second to none of the other assistance programs we are supporting. It should therefore be not only visible but prominent among our international agencies.

But what about the money? Where are funds of this magnitude to be found? If it were necessary to propose the appropriation of additional 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 sold 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 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 should be given to the appropriation of additional dollar funds.

Now 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 foreign educational systems must 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 schools, 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 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.

I ask you for your consideration of this proposal. If you will give it your thoughtful criticism and your intelligent support, we may be able to help our country take another long step toward a more balanced and vital foreign policy and eventually a stable, just and serene peace.

3/3/59

58 file: Chicago Ma 3, 1959
National Conf. on Higher Edu.

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Congressional Record Insert

by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

Mr. President, on Tuesday, March 3, 1959, I had the privilege of addressing the National Conference on Higher Education in Chicago -- a conference representing the top leadership of American colleges and universities in a four-day meeting.

At the conclusion of the meeting, the Conference adopted ten Conference resolutions, each of which commends itself to the attention of a broad audience.

I call particular attention to Resolution No. 2 which commends the Congress for its action in passing the National Defense Education Act and urgently recommends that the Congress appropriate the funds authorized by the Act.

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This Resolution also recommends that the forgiveness provisions of Title Two of the Act be extended to those recipients of loans who later teach in any institution of higher learning as defined in Section 103 of this Act. This Resolution goes on to oppose the requirement of an affidavit disclaiming belief or membership in subversive organizations on the part of individuals receiving payments or loans. In each of these recommendations, I strongly concur.

Resolution No. 5 calls attention to the continued need to provide financial assistance for talented students, and supports a program of additional scholarships, fellowships, grants-in-aid and loan

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page 3

assistance to those with ability but with limited financial means. I call attention to the fact that I have introduced legislation which would provide 46,000 scholarships for talented students, with the size of the stipend dependent on need.

I also commend Resolution No. 8 which urges that leaders in higher education do all in their power at the local, state and national levels to provide equality of educational opportunity without discrimination because of race, creed or sex. Such a vigorous statement of belief and intention by the distinguished conference cannot help but have far-reaching consequences in our educational institutions.

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page 4

I am very pleased indeed to note that Resolution No. 9 of the ten resolutions, specifically commends the idea of an International Educational Development Fund which I proposed for the first time at the conference on March 3. The Association urges that educators and other interested citizens give serious consideration and support to the objectives of this proposal.

I intend shortly to present to the Senate a specific legislative proposal for such a Foundation, and at the moment I am conferring with interested groups in higher education in the drafting of this important legislation.

Mr. President, I ask unanimous consent to have printed

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page 5

at this point in the Record the entire Preamble and
text of the Resolutions adopted by the participants
in the 14th National Conference on Higher Education
at Chicago, March 3, 1959.

March 7, 1959

While many companies have definite training programs for the young college men that join them, there is much a young man can do on his own initiative to contribute to his self-development by being alert and inquisitive and learning all he can about his employer's business.

The march of progress is constantly occurring and the young engineer must continue to advance his knowledge or be left behind. His college education is a firm foundation on which he can continue to build throughout his lifetime. In addition to advanced technical knowledge he will profit by a deeper understanding of human behavior and motivation; and from a broader appreciation of the business and social institutions of our environment.

It is equally important that the young engineer understand himself. Periodic self analysis can serve as a means of strengthening confidence by recognition of admitted shortcomings. This he can do within his own counsels.

Two of the most important attributes the successful man must possess are first, the ability to deal with men and affairs and second, the ability to read and absorb the written experience of others. A planned reading program of good books

business management fields. The new ideas concerning management now emerging are predicted upon the assumption that management is an identifiable, measurable, and transferable activity that can be mastered, as can any other skill.

In closing, let me leave one more thought with you that aside from these more or less materialistic points of view.

We are in an international technological race, because a formidable adversary has made it a race. We emphasize the need for technological speed-up, but on the need for a spirit of speed-up much less has been said.

We must not simply overwhelm ourselves with the physical sciences leading to the materialistic; rather we must gain for ourselves an understanding of man's spiritual and emotional progress as reflected in his literature, art, music, history, and philosophy. The man or woman who concentrates on "things" can hardly be trusted to use those "things" for the essential good of mankind.

Only those who have guided the development of the spirit as well as their mind are really educated and qualified to use wisely the things that man's reason has enabled him to fashion out of nature's raw materials.

I extend to you my heartiest congratulations and best wishes

FOR POLICY

College Teaching In Today's World

EDUCATION AND FOREIGN POLICY

By HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, *United States Senator from Minnesota*

Delivered at the Banquet Session of the Fourteenth National Conference on Higher Education, sponsored by the Association for Higher Education, Chicago, Illinois, March 3, 1959

Clearly one of the main streams of Western thought—cradled in the life of the great Western colleges and universities—has been the principle of balance, of equilibrium, of symmetry.

How vital it is today that this Aristotelian principle should shape American planning and policy.

Yet how far from balanced, how free from distortion many of our national policies are today!

There is, for example, a gross underemphasis on the need for expanded national productivity, particularly in the "public service" area.

Domestically, we are currently failing to assign a sufficiently high priority to housing, to school and hospital construction, to basic research, to education in general.

There is a striking dependence today on short-run, make-shift solutions, an unwillingness to program boldly ahead, and a fixed idea that, while corporate planning is somehow "good," government programming is invariably "bad."

In our foreign policy we have developed 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.

Throughout the vast emergent areas of Asia and Africa we have too often sought only defensive military alliances. We have, thereby, missed sweeping opportunities to win the Cold War by taking the struggle to the higher plane on which we have the greatest chance of success—the fight 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 subhuman status assigned to them by a civilization which stumbled into the industrial revolution two or three centuries before they did.

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 attempted to take them to their bosoms—literally to steal them away.

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 should be given to the appropriation of additional dollar funds.

Now 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 foreign educational systems must 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 schools, 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 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.

I ask you for your consideration of this proposal. If you will give it your thoughtful criticism and your intelligent support, we may be able to help our country take another long step toward a more balanced and vital foreign policy and eventually a stable, just and serene peace.

In Defense of American Education

LET US NEVER UNDEREDUCATE

By FREDERICK MAYER, *Author and Professor of Philosophy, University of Redlands, Redlands, California*

Delivered to the California Teachers Association, University of Southern California, Los Angeles, California, February 7, 1959

I ASKED my students recently to write an essay about the outstanding contributions of American civilization. One student wrote that he thought our most significant achievement was in the field of technology. Another class member said our greatest attainment was our high standard of living. A third maintained that our most formidable contribution was our system of democracy. And then one student remarked that our foremost contribution was our system of public education. He was right. Probably, when the time comes, when historians will survey our civilization, as we today survey Rome, Greece, and Alexandria, they will regard education as America's main distinction. This should not make us arrogant, because the basic spirit of education has to be one of humility. We become wise not as we imitate the past, but as we live for the future. Receptivity to new ideas which anticipate the future is one of the distinctive traits of American education.

We are living in a period of crisis in opportunity. The competition which we are facing internationally is extremely severe, especially with Russia, and eventually with China. We must be first rate because we are somewhat in the same position as George Bernard Shaw when, at seventy he was asked how he felt and he said, "Sir, at my age you either feel great or not at all."

To understand the importance of American education, let us look at its historical background for a moment. It is based upon the insights of men like Jefferson who was proud, not so much of his political achievements, but of having helped to establish the University of Virginia and for having fought for separation of state and church throughout the United States. Jefferson, even in his seventies, would ride horseback 10 miles a day so that he could fulfill his duties as rector of the University of Virginia. His office was always open to faculty members and even to freshmen. There was no stuffiness in him. He was a constant student. At the age of fifteen he had read more profound books than many leaders of American civilization are reading today. At that age already he had mastered Aristotle and Plato; he had read Voltaire, Erasmus, and he was imbued with the spirit of philosophy.

Jefferson had the faith which has become a part of our

heritage that man must live with insistent awareness of the present and that he must use the resources of reason. And in a letter he said that, if a democracy expects to live, it must cultivate education. And what did education mean to Jefferson? It meant a stress upon the humanities and the sciences, it meant the forward look. It meant a cultivation of freedom as an absolute good. Jefferson was attacked vigorously just as many leaders of education are being attacked today. He was called an atheist, perverter of morality because he believed that epicureanism was an excellent system of morality. He maintained that there are two main guides for mankind: Jesus and Epicurus. Jesus because he taught us how to live profoundly and Epicurus because he taught us that the most important pleasure is that of the mind.

Another man who was a pioneer in education was Horace Mann. He was a lawyer, who gave up law because as he said, "his client was humanity." When he started his labors, the schools were extremely inadequate. Pay was even worse than in our own period. Professional preparation was on a very low level. He traveled throughout New England and often spoke for \$5 a night; one time he even swept out the lecture hall. Wherever he went, he radiated this conviction that education was man's greatest good. He entered Congress in 1848, later became president of Antioch College. As president of Antioch, he tolerated no social or racial distinctions. He gave one speech which has become part of our educational history and in which he said to students and to teachers, "Be ashamed to die until you have won a victory for humanity." Should this not be the slogan for education in our own time?

Ours is a period of vigorous criticism of education. Suddenly we have a group of new experts; among them we find admirals, beauticians, even morticians. After having taught for some years, I still do not know very much about education. I think that it takes intimate acquaintance with education on every level to be able to develop tentative theories, tentative ideals and tentative goals. Part of the criticisms in our time is simply based on ignorance. There are some who feel that we can have cut-rate education. For example, near our community, we had a bond election and the opponents—some of them were conscientious objectors to the 20th century—

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 lagging was simply that they lacked 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 aid will inevitably be wasted.

The Communist leadership has recognized this interrelationship 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. In the student dormitories throughout the Sino-Soviet bloc, thousands, in fact tens of thousands, of university students are studying—from families and from remote towns from which until a few years ago no one had ever gone to a university.

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 the 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 Greek population, 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.

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. 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.

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.

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.

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 to train their own people. We should declare our readiness to support a ten-year, three billion dollar effort for world-wide development of democratic education—on condition only that our friends bring to us sound plans for self-help and mutual help.

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.

The second step should be for us to draw together the many loose ends and separate efforts we are now 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 to any of the other assistance programs we are supporting. It should therefore be not only visible but prominent among our international agencies. 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 help continue. By agreement with the recipient countries, these funds can be used only for mutually agreed upon

Communists are determined to demonstrate to the rising nations that communism means economic and progress.

and we have permitted the Communists very nearly to appropriate the word "peace"—to pose as the peace-makers—to tag us with the label of "war-mongers."

Not, the Communists have been getting away with ideological piracy. They have been quicker than some of our leaders to recognize the real battleground of the struggle for men's minds—and swifter to understand the surging drives that are toppling kings and emperors and colonialist 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 broad-gauged affirmative foreign policy on the natural strengths of our country—yes, to harness to the plow of foreign policy our tremendous industrial capacity, our dominant capital, our technical knowledge, our agricultural abundance, our wealth of trained educators, agriculturists, administrators, technicians, and students.

Why have we not done it?

I would suggest that the cause may be found in part in the status of the intellectual in our midst, and in the system which a nation of producers has developed of judging the worth of a man or of an idea in terms of annual salary and dollar cost.

There appears today to be too narrow a circle from which the political leadership of the country tends to draw its advice and ideas.

Valuable as may be the counsel of financiers and manufacturers and military officers—and the experience of these groups of men is useful and valuable—the government's fundamental policy decisions might well be predicated upon a wider base. I am convinced that the counsel of men and women—broadly representative of agriculture, of labor, of the scientific community, of the legal and medical professions, of the clergy, of the teaching profession,—yes, and of the arts—should be sought out and given intense consideration by the responsible political leaders of the nation.

Firmer, stronger, more freely-flowing lines of communication must be set up to channel the ideas and enthusiasms of intellectual America into the halls of Congress and into the mind and heart of each man who occupies the office of the presidency.

I am not one of those who believe—nor do I think that anyone in this audience believes—that all the problems of the world can be solved by education.

But I am deeply impressed with the value and the power of education—its value as an end in itself, for its key role in the freeing of man's spirit and the enrichment of his life—and its power to shape the destinies of nations.

There is increased public attention to education today—reflected in its most dramatic form in the passage by the Congress of the National Defense Education Act last year. Congress in this Act explicitly recognized the worth and the importance of a broad-based educational system—and did not plunge the country into a lop-sided effort in behalf of scientific and technical training alone.

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American education.

Because I am a former college teacher myself, and because I have consciously made an effort to keep open the lines of communication between the community of scholars and the political leadership of the nation, perhaps you will permit me to make one or two suggestions to you, my respected friends in the colleges and universities.

I would like to put before the House a few ideas for feeding some of the brain-power of the American educational system into the machinery of American foreign policy.

One suggestion which I respectfully advance is that more of our American colleges and universities should encourage searching and frankest discussion and debate of current political, economic and social problems.

While there is a role for the colleges to play as "islands of contemplation," there is a concurrent responsibility to prepare the individual for the day to day participation that the democratic process requires.

Secondly, I would urge you to resist the demands that we cut down on our efforts to provide liberal education, in favor of more training of scientists and engineers. To be sure, we need more scientists and engineers! But I am of the opinion that we can afford an educational establishment great enough to train all the scientists and engineers we can conceivably use, *without* cutting back on the vital effort toward liberal education. They are not mutually exclusive at all.

I have only one suggestion to make insofar as the college curriculum is concerned. There is a need, I feel as a man in public life, for a much clearer understanding on the part of college graduates of the mainsprings of national power and the motivations of national conduct. Too often a student can emerge from a series of courses in economics and history and government without a real understanding of their inter-relationship, without making the kind of synthesis that will prepare him to face and help to solve the problems of his society and his nation.

These are modest suggestions, and humbly put. For I have profound respect for the character and the achievements of American higher education. Americans take great pride in the vigor, the stability, and the integrity of our colleges and universities.

My principal question tonight is not how we can improve our American educational system—but rather what we can do to more fully utilize the great example and the great strength of American education in a more constructive and affirmative foreign policy.

The works of peace—as well as the words of peace—are imperative in American foreign policy.

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. 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.

I invite your consideration tonight of a third major work of peace—what I shall call an "Education for Peace" program.

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



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