001141

CONSTRUCTIVE ACTION, NOT BLUFF AND REACTION

Remarks prepared for delivery by Sentor Hubert H. Humphrey (D.,Minn.) at Sixth Congressional District Democratic Dinner, Fond du Lac, Wisconsin, Saturday night, June 13, 1959.

My state of Minnesota, and our neighbor, (Wisconsin, lie

in the heart of one of the great farming areas of the world.

Now farmers tend, by and large, to be a frugal lot.

They live close to the soil -- and close to the knuckle as well.

So all this Republican talk about "sound dollars" and

Well, nobody should be fooled by this line of talk be-

cause it is strictly phony.

The truth is that this Republican Administration that

brags so much about "economy" has racked up a total deficit

of \$19 billion.

The truth is that on June 30, 1959, this country is going

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to end up with the largest peacetime deficit in our history.

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The truth is that this Republican Administration has been

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the biggest peacetime spender in history.

The trouble is, they spend on the wrong things. And then they turn around and use the "economy" argument as a phony excuse for inaction on the right things.

Let megive you a couple of examples.

As a result of the Republican tight money, high interest rate policy, the American taxpayers will pay \$2½ billion more in interest on the debt this year than they did when the Democrats left office. And the outlook is for even higher interest costs, since the Administration wants to lift the lid entirely on interest rates. The sky would be the limit!

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with an extra $\$2\frac{1}{2}$ billion annually in interest payments. But

The Republicans see no problem in saddling the taxpayers

Surplu

tight

when some of us propose a program to give surplus food to the

jobless, the aged, and the needy, these same Republicans tell

us the country can not afford it.

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The fact is that we could provide food, through a food

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stamp plan, to every unemployed family, everyperson under

social security, everywidow and orphan -- for far less than

the rise in interest costs under this Republican Administration.

Yet this Administration wants to lift the lid on interest rates while keeping the lid on food for the needy.

Another example: I have proposed the establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps, patterned after the CCC of the 1930's, to put our young men to work preserving our precious natural resources. This is a program designed to add to

America's natural wealth.

But the Republicans say we can not afford it. It will cost only about 1/10 of the Republican rise in the interest

rates have cost -- but still they say we can not afford it.

There is another field in which spending has sky rocketed

under the Republicans -- and that is on our farm program.

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Today the farm program costs 4 times as much as it did

-4-

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when the Democrats left office.

Now if the Republican farm program were doing its job keeping farm income and farm prices up -- it would be well

worth the cost.

But what do the Republicans have to show for spending

4 times as much on the farm program?

This is what they have to show: Lower farm prices -- down 20% since the Republicans took

office

Lower farm income -- down \$3 billion a year since the

Republicans took office. Techer Farms + Fecuer farmers,

The people ought to know the truth about this Republican

talk about "economy".

It is poor propaganda -- and it is the strictly Republican

excuse for a do-nothing, caretaker administration.

By now, the bluff and reaction of the GOP should not be a surprise to anyone.

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Ever since the day Republicans took over the Administration in Washington, some of us have been repeatedly warning that they were going to wreck our farm programs -- and ultimately wreck the farm economy in the process.

That is one thing in which they have succeeded.

Earlier today, it was my privilege to address a non-partisan gathering of Wisconsin farmers at the annual meeting of a rural electric cooperative in Ellsworth. At that time, I outlined the alternatives we face in mational farm policy -- and offered some guidelines for action in building a new and better farm

program.

We Democrats want to accentuate the positive. We want constructive action, as our answer to Republican bluff and

reaction.

We refuse to rest our case on complaints about abundance --

or surpluses, as the Republicans prefer to say.

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We prefer to use our brains to develop ideas for using that abundance -- and seeing that farmers are properly rewarded for producing it.

When the American public buys an automobile, they expect and know that the price they pay for it will cover all costs of production plus quite adequate profits.

The price of that car has been **constructed** by the huge corporations in the industry, by tailoring output to demand at a profitable price.

American citzens accept this as proper and just. We think the price of a car should be mnough to provide an American standard of living to those who produce the car, and we know that managers and vice presidents are necessary. We honorand accept the profit system in the automobile industry.

But what about agriculture? Why do we have a double standard? Why, for example, shouldn't we honor that same system

-6-

on Wisconsin's dairy farms?

We Democrats certainly aren't against auto manufacturers making a profit.

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We would just like to see that same privilege extended to our farmers, who make up the bulk of the economy in the

midwest. And we are determined to do something about it,

whether Ezra Benson and the GOP likes it or not.

As we are meeting here in the agricultural heart of American in these lush days of June, there is every prospect

of a bumper crop of farm production.

In most parts of the world, this prospect would be rejoicing, and thanksgiving that the Lord had endowed the earth with richness and had brought forth the fruits of the earth in such abundance.

But not in America, I am sorry to say -- no, <u>ashamed</u> to say.

Here in America, the advent of summer and the prospect of

abundant farm production is the occasion not of rejoicing, but of hand-wringing by the leaders of government, and of groaning complaints that this abundance should be inflicted upon us.

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WWW Wouldn't it be far better for all of us to be concentrating on ways of seeing that everyone has an opportunity to share in that abundance?

We can not talk unceasingly of prosperity, and turn our backs on those who, through no fault of their own, do not share in that prosperity.

In the past week, I have been conducting and participating in hearings on legislation of my own and of other Democratic Senators designed to assure more adequate diets for the nation's unemployed, for the recipients of Social Security and Old Age and Survivors Insurance benefits, the people on

welfare of various kinds, the blind, the indigent, the dependent

children.

-9-Inall good conscience we must expand the distribution of our surplus commodities to these unfortunate people. But I favor even more strongly a food stamp plan which would supplement the purchasing power of these low income groups and enable them to get a more balanced diet than any direct relief distribution of surplus commodities can provide. Such a food stamp plan could boost consumption of eggs, butter, Chiese will and similar perishables so necessary to build better milk, health -- and so important to our agricultural economy Just as we have still-untapped opportunities for wiser use of our abundance at home, we have even greater potential in using this great blessing as a vital force for peace throughout the world. It is difficult to believe that with over half of mankind hungry tonight, the leaders of the richest nation on earth should regard its abundance of food and fiber as an affliction -a problem.

For several/years, some of us have been advocating a more imaginative use of our farm abundance. It has seemed to me that piling up vast quantities of food in a world of misery and hunger is morally wrong, economically wasteful and politically dangerous.

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Economically, we are paying hundreds of millions of

dollars a year in storage costs for commodities which are already beginning to deteriorate.

Politically, we are creating an unfavorable image of Uncle Sam abroad when we wring our hands over our surplus food problem in full view of the world's hungry inhabitants.

I wonder if we fully realize the power of food in our relations with other countries. Is it possible that many of the underdeveloped nations now receiving expensive military shipments from the U.S. would be more impressed and better strengthened by less costly shipments of food?

Personally, I become more convinced each day that our most powerful material asset in building a world of peace and freedom is our food abundance. It seems probable to me that the remarkable productivity of the American farmer, if properly used, can be a more decisive factor in the struggle between

freedom and Communism than the Sputnik. The hungry multitidues of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East are far more interested in bread, medical care, and schools than in any number of jets and Sputniks. Does anyone wonder what the crafty Khrushchev would do if he had America's surplus food to use in his international operations?

The Senate will soon be considering the President's request of \$3.9 billion for next year's foreign assistance program. Of the \$3.9 billion the President has requested, \$2.6 billion is for military aid, including defense support and the contingency fund. \$1.3 billion is requested for

economic and technical assistance.

Many of us in the Senate are becoming more concerned

each month with the heavy emphasis of the foreign aid program

on the side of military hardware. A sizeable amount of such/

aid is going to undemocratic governments that rule over people

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suffering from poverty, hunger and disease. It seems

doubtful such people would make very good fighters for

freedom.

After pouring millions of dollars in military equipment into Iraq to bolster this country against Communism, we saw our military aid used by Iraqi military leaders to destroy the local government and then engineer a working alliance with the Russians.

American military supplies, poured into Pakistan, have so frightened her neighbors that Afghanistan has made a deal with Russia for arms and India has taken a hundred million dollars out of her economic development program and placed

it in orders for military equipment with the British and

French.

U.S.A. have been used by unpopular dictators, not to fight

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Communism, but to resist local reform movements demanded

by the people.

For these reasons, I have supported amendments in the Foreign Relations Committee which will cut millions of dollars from our military shipments to underdeveloped nationer At the same time, I will continue to push legislation that I have introduced calling for an expanded use of our farm

surpluses overseas as well as in the United States.

Geo As you may know, I have introduced a comprehensive 1

"Food for Peace" Act for that purpose.

Highlights of the Food for Peace Act are as follows:

1. The sale of surplus farm commodities for foreign currencies to the extent of \$2 billion a year for the next five years.

2. Outright grants of food surpluses to countries experiencing famine or chronic hunger.

3. Continued encouragement to church groups and other voluntary private agencies that wish to distribute surplus commodities overseas on a direct people-to-people basis. This section of the bill also includes grants of surplus farm stocks to public and private agencies for use in the United States in the school lunch program, non-profit summer children's camps, charitable institutions including hospitals, and needy citizens.

4. Agreements with friendly countries to establish foundations to promote education, health, research, and other projects from foreign currencies accruing to the U.S. through the sale of farm surpluses. We could literally convert surplus farm commodities into education and health.

5. A Peace Food Administration under the President to direct the various operations provided for in the legislation.

Under Public Law 480 we have already made a start on moving surpluses to other countries. But much more needs to be done.

Included in this program is a truly fine section which permits the churches and other private institutions to distribute sur-

plus commodities overseas. The church world service groups

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have done a magnificent job with this most valuable program.

In my view, this particular activity is the finest single

example of the kind of people-to-people relationships that

the world desperately needs. It needs to be encouraged, and

expanded many-fold.

For

"Food for Peace" is more than a slogan. It offers a

partial solution to our agricultural problem, and will at the

same time relieve much of the suffering of a world that looks

to America for leadership in this crucial hour.

The Food for Peace Act, if put into operation, would

offer us a dramatic way to show the world we care more about

people living, than about people dying.

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And let us never forget that there are many more people in

this world who want to live, than want to die.

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I have enlisted on the side of the living.

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

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

What this world needs today is not massive retaliation,

but massive doses of health, education, and food.

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

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

This world will not be saved or spared by missiles of war with thermonuclear warheads.

Important as they are for our national security and our

defense against the aggressive, imperialist communism, it will take more than defense to build a peaceful world.

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

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

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

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

We need our bold, new "Food for Peace" program, dedicating our God-given abundance to serving the needs of humanity --

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perform.

We need a dramatic, worldwide "Health for Peace" program, with vastly expanded international medical research -- and perhaps

a "white fleet" of mercy ships carrying our medical knowhow and wonder drugs to the disease-ridden and suffering in the far corners of the earth.

We need to launch a broad program of world educational

development -- a plan of "Education for Peace".

The first step would be for the Congress of the United States to declare to the free world that we share their beliefs in the values of education, and that we are ready to work with them in building up their own educational systems to train their own people.

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

farm commodities abroad.

These are truly the "Works of Peace".

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

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They are the kind of deeds that helped bind up the wounds after World War II, through successful completion of the Marshall Plan.

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

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

This is our Democratic answer to Republican bluff and reaction -- an answer of constructive action.

June 11, 1959

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For Release: Sunday AM June 14, 1959

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My state of Minnesota, and our neighbor, Wisconsin, lie in the heart of one of the great farming areas of the world.

Now farmers tend, by and large, to be a frugal lot. They live close to the soil -- and close to the knuckle as well.

So all this Republican talk about "sound dollars" and "budget balancing" is aimed right at the farmers of America.

Well, nobody should be fooled by this line of talk because it is strictly phony.

The truth is that this Republican Administration that brags so much about "economy" has racked up a total deficit of \$19 billion.

The truth is that on June 30, 1959, this country is going to end up with the largest peacetime deficit in our history.

The truth is that this Republican Administration has been the biggest peacetime spender in history.

The trouble is, they spend on the wrong things. And then they turn around and use the "economy" argument as a phony excuse for inaction on the right things. Let me give you a couple of examples.

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As a result of the Republican tight money, high interest rate policy, the American taxpayers will pay \$2½ billion more in interest on the debt this year than they did when the Democrats left office. And the outlook is for even higher interest costs, since the Administration wants to lift the lid entirely on interest rates. The sky would be the limit!

The Republicans see no problem in saddling the taxpayers with an extra $2\frac{1}{2}$ billion annually in interest payments. But when some of us propose a program to give surplus food to the jobless, the aged, and the needy, these same Republicans tell us the country cannot afford it.

The fact is that we could provide food, through a food stamp plan, to every unemployed family, every person under social security, every widow and orphan -- <u>for far less</u> than the rise in interest costs under this Republican Administration.

Yet this Administration wants to lift the lid on interest rates while keeping the lid on food for the needy.

Another example: I have proposed the establishment of a Youth Conservation Corps, patterned after the CCC of the 1930's, to put our young men to work preserving our precious natural resources. This is a program designed to add to America's natural wealth.

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But the Republicans say we cannot afford it. It will cost only about 1/10 of the Republican rise in the interest rates have cost -- but still they say we cannot afford it.

There is another field in which spending has sky rocketed under the Republicans -- and that is on our farm program.

Today the farm program costs 4 times as much as it did when the Democrats left office.

Now if the Republican farm program were doing its job keeping farm income and farm prices up -- it would be well worth the cost.

But what do the Republicans have to show for spending 4 times as much on the farm program?

This is what they have to show:

Lower farm prices -- down 20% since the Republicans took office.

Lower farm income -- down \$3 billion a year since the Republicans took office. Fewer farms and fewer farmers.

The people ought to know the truth about this Republican talk about "economy".

It is poor propaganda -- and it is the strictly Republican excuse for a do-nothing, caretaker administration.

By now, the bluff and reaction of the GOP should not be a surprise to anyone.

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American citizens accept this as proper and just. We think the price of a car should be enough to provide an American standard

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of living to those who produce the car, and we know that managers and vice presidents are necessary. We honor and accept the profit system in the automobile industry.

But what about agriculture? Why do we have a double standard? Why, for example, shouldn't we honor that same system on Wisconsin's dairy farms?

We Democrats certainly aren't against auto manufacturers making a profit.

We would just like to see that same privilege extended to our farmers, who make up the bulk of the economy in the midwest. And we are determined to do something about it, whether Ezra Benson and the GOP likes it or not.

As we are meeting here in the agricultural heart of America in these lush days of June, there is every prospect of a bumper crop of farm production.

In most parts of the world, this prospect would be rejoicing and thanksgiving that the Lord had endowed the earth with richness and had brought forth the fruits of the earth in such abundance.

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Now wouldn't it be far better for all of us to be concentrating on ways of seeing that everyone has an opportunity to share in that abundance?

We cannot talk unceasingly of prosperity, and turn our backs on those who, through no fault of their own, do not share in that prosperity.

In the past week, I have been conducting and participating in hearings on legislation of my own and of other Democratic Senators designed to assure more adequate diets for the nation's unemployed, for the recipients of Social Security and Old Age and Survivors Insurance benefits, the people on welfare of various kinds, the blind, the indigent, the dependent children.

In all good conscience we must expand the distribution of our surplus commodities to these unfortunate people. But I favor even more strongly a food stamp plan which would supplement the purchasing power of these low income groups and enable them to get a more balanced diet than any direct relief distribution of surplus commodities can provide. Such a food stamp plan could boost consumption of eggs, butter, cheese, poultry, milk, and similar perishables so necessary to build better health -- and so important to our agricultural economy.

Just as we have still-untapped opportunities for wiser use of our abundance at home, we have even greater potential in

- 6 -

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using this great blessing as a vital force for peace throughout the world.

It is difficult to believe that with over half of mankind hungry tonight, the leaders of the richest nation on earth should regard its abundance of food and fiber as an affliction -- a problem.

"Give us this day our daily bread" is still the prayer of human beings in the far corners of the earth.

It is the cry of hunger -- the feeble plea of the old man begging on the streets of Cairo, the child whimpering for milk in Bombay, the weary African mother trying to convert a few scraps into an evening meal for her family.

For several years, some of us have been advocating a more imaginative use of our farm abundance. It has seemed to me that piling up vast quantities of food in a world of misery and hunger is morally wrong, economically wasteful, and politically dangerous.

Morally, we are losing sight of the Great Teacher's admonition to feed the hungry and clothe the naked.

Economically, we are paying hundreds of millions of dollars a year in storage costs for commodities which are already beginning to deteriorate.

Politically, we are creating an unfavorable image of Uncle Sam abroad when we wring our hands over our surplus food problem in full view of the world's hungry inhabitants.

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I wonder if we fully realize the power of food in our relations with other countries. Is it possible that many of the underdeveloped nations now receiving expensive military shipments from the U.S. would be more impressed and better strengthened by less costly shipments of food?

Personally, I become more convinced each day that our most powerful material asset in building a world of peace and freedom is our food abundance. It seems probable to me that the remarkable productivity of the American farmer, if properly used, can be a more decisive factor in the struggle between freedom and Communism than the Sputnik. The hungry multitudes of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East are far more interested in bread, medical care, and schools than in any number of jets and Sputniks. Does anyone wonder what the crafty Khrushchev would do if he had America's surplus food to use in his international operations?

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Many of us in the Senate are becoming more concerned each month with the heavy emphasis of the foreign aid program on the side of military hardware. A sizeable amount of such aid is going

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to undemocratic governments that rule over people suffering from poverty, hunger and disease. It seems doubtful such people would make very good fighters for freedom.

After pouring millions of dollars in military equipment into Iraq to bolster this country against Communism, we saw our military aid used by Iraqi military leaders to destroy the local government and then engineer a working alliance with the Russians.

American military supplies, poured into Pakistan, have so frightened her neighbors that Afghanistan has made a deal with Russia for arms and India has taken a hundred million dollars out of her economic development program and placed it in orders for military equipment with the British and French.

In still other instances, guns and tanks sent by the U.S.A. have been used by unpopular dictators, not to fight Communism, but to resist local reform movements demanded by the people.

For these reasons, I have supported amendments in the Foreign Relations Committee which will cut millions of dollars from our military shipments to underdeveloped nations. At the same time, I will continue to push legislation that I have introduced calling for an expanded use of our farm surpluses overseas as well as in the United States.

As you may know, I have introduced a comprehensive "Food for Peace" Act for that purpose.

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Highlights of the Food for Peace Act are as follows:

 The sale of surplus farm commodities for foreign currencies to the extent of \$2 billion a year for the next five years.

2. Outright grants of food surpluses to countries experiencing famine or chronic hunger.

3. Continued encouragement to church groups and other voluntary private agencies that wish to distribute surplus commodities overseas on a direct people-to-people basis. This section of the bill also includes grants of surplus farm stocks to public and private agencies for use in the United States in the school lunch program, non-profit summer children's camps, charitable institutions including hospitals, and needy citizens.

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- 10 -

commodities overseas. The church world service groups have done a magnificent job with this most valuable program. In my view, this particular activity is the finest single example of the kind of people-to-people relationships that the world desperately needs. It needs to be encouraged, and expanded many-fold.

"Food for Peace" is more than a slogan. It offers a partial solution to our agricultural problem, and will at the same time relieve much of the suffering of a world that looks to America for leadership in this crucial hour.

The Food for Peace Act, if put into operation, would offer us a dramatic way to show the world we care more about people living, than about people dying.

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

I have enlisted on the side of the living.

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

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What this world needs today is not massive retaliation, but massive doses of health, education, and food.

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and education; yes, missiles of medicine and medical care -- of jobs and industry, of public works and public welfare.

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

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

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

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

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

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

They are the kind of deeds that helped bind up the wounds after World War II, through successful completion of the Marshall Plan.

They are the kind of deeds by which our country's great voluntary, church, and non-sectarian groups have brought a message of kindness, compassion, and helpfulness to millions of people throughout the world. They need to be multiplied manyfold, to present the real image of America for all to see -- a country truly dedicated to people, progress, and, above all else, peace.

This is our Democratic answer to Republican bluff and reaction -- an answer of constructive action.

June 11, 1959

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