

TRIBUTE TO SWEDISH BIOCHEMICAL RESEARCH:
"WITH U.S. AID, STOCKHOLM SCIENTISTS MAY UNLOCK THE SECRETS OF LIFE".

I want to digress for a moment to tell you about one particular phase of Swedish-American cooperation. It represents one of the most inspiring subjects in all the annals of the warm cooperation between our two peoples.

Last Thanksgiving - November 1959 - I spent in Stockholm, as part of my official Western European tour. My purpose there, as in other European cities, was as Chairman of a Special Senate Study to gather information on a subject which concerns every one of you in this audience today - and your loved ones - and mine.

I refer to the challenge of healthier, fuller, longer liver for the Family of Man.

Our host at a Thanksgiving luncheon of the Swedish-American Society was a great man of science - RECTOR STEN FRIBERG of the world-famous Karolinska Institute. He delivered a glowing tribute to Swedish-American cooperation.

Present at the luncheon were Swedish businessmen, trade unionists and scientists. They included an outstanding woman doctor, named: DR. NANNA SVARTZ, of the King Gustav V Research Institute in Stockholm. Dr. Svartz is a leading specialist in arthritis and in ulcerative colitis.

During my stay in Sweden I met with: Prime Minister, TAGE ERLANDER, Minister of Commerce Lange; Secretary General of the Social Democratic Party Aspling; the Director of the White Collar Federation - Mr. Valter Aman; and others.

We discussed many matters of interest to our two peoples. But I must say, in all frankness, there was no single subject which was of greater interest to me than this matter of our scientific cooperation.

For with Rector Friberg I had visited his institution - the ~~one~~ Karolinska Institute, one of the great research centers of the entire world.

The Institute comprises the medical faculty of the University of Stockholm. It is universally regarded as one of the greatest centers of PURE RESEARCH to be found in the world. By "pure research", we mean research in which the scientists are given the fullest, freest opportunity to explore any scientific problem, irrespective of whether it may affect any particular disease or any other specific need.

Pure research is the very heart of scientific research. For out of it comes the fundamental - applied - knowledge which we use in attacking specific disease problems.

In all Europe, I met no abler or more dedicated group of men than I saw at the Karolinska Institute. Fortunately, these men have at their disposal superb modern facilities. Not only is their equipment some of the best in the world, but it is characterized by the well-known Swedish qualities of orderliness, cleanliness, ample space, closeness to the outdoors, etc.

The buildings of the Karolinska Institute are not erected like skyscrapers. Instead each structure is ^{relatively} low in height, horizontal in sweep, compact, but built close enough to other buildings for maximum efficiency. The whole atmosphere of the Institute is dedicated to the individuality of man.

Among the scientists whom I met were: Professor Hugo Theorell (who visited Minneapolis in 1956) and who had won the Nobel Award a year earlier for his studies of oxidation enzymes; Professors Berndt Malmgren, Carl-Goran ~~Eden~~, Torbjorn Caspersen and others.

These men and others are studying the innermost secrets of life itself. They are studying for example, the nucleic acids of the cell. They are studying the human genetics - the genes by which man's heredity - his height, the color of his eyes, his build, his strengths - are transmitted. These genes are so tiny that they cannot even be seen by the most powerful ^{electronic} microscope.

The ultimate results of their research may have effects on cancer, arthritis, on dealing with problems of the aging in ways in which it would be impossible to foresee at the present time.

Let me just sum up my experience by stating this:

1. The United States Government, notably through the National Institutes of Health, is helping to make it possible for some of these superb Swedish scientists to do their work. For sums of money relatively small, (in this age of \$77 billion budgets) we are mobilizing scientific talent in a way which will pay off incalculable dividends to the human race.

I refer to small grants like \$15,000 or \$25,000 for particular research projects.

This money which we are spending in Sweden probably represents as constructive an expenditure as the United States is incurring anywhere in the world.

2. The miracle of Sweden is that a country of around 8 million population is already contributing to scientific knowledge in way that countries five and ten times its size are not matching.

Why? Let me suggest four reasons:

(a) Sweden's great system of universal education - from lowest to highest levels;

(b) Sweden's deep humanitarian interest in the dignity of man himself and in his well-being. This interest is expressed in its comprehensive system of social insurance;

(c) The fact that Sweden has been able to live at peace when so much of the rest of the world has been at war;

(d) The enormous contributions which have been made by a private organization - the Alfred Nobel Foundation. It has done so not simply through the Nobel prizes, (which have been a great incentive), but through scientific grants to stimulate research.

(e) The fact that Sweden is a genuine democracy to its core. Every individual is judged by his merit and can grow and develop.

(f) The fact that Swedish national character is based on independence, determination, initiative, representing the very finest qualities of the Scandinavian-Viking tradition.

(g) The fact that there, Government, cooperatives and private industry each contribute to the national scientific whole.

Upon my return to Washington, I brought this message of Swedish achievement to the attention of the Senate Committee on Labor and Public Welfare, It was then considering a Bill under which the United States will spend up to \$50 million abroad through a new National Institute for International Medical Research. That Bill has now fortunately been approved by the Senate by a vote of 63 to 17. It is pending before a Subcommittee of the House Commerce Committee. Unfortunately, it does not appear that the Committee will report the Bill to the House this year, although it may take action early next year.

I can think of few ways in which mankind will be more benefited than through the passage of this Bill.

#

001266

VI

For Speech Drawer

Duenst Karnas Day

① First
President Hansen

② Lasty Chief Justice
Earl Warren here!

③ Jingemar Johansson Title!
Pearful
Sueded

For Irene
may be

Canada
montreal
Ottawa
Parliament

Roller
Club

To morrow to Washington
& Geneva??!!

Mayor Peterson
Mayor Dillon

His Mother
1001268
yesterday 4/26/88
Peterson seen

Inger Johnson
(Father's Day!)

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) at
Svenskarnas Dag, Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 28, 1959

APBella Club

I am happy to join with you in celebrating two great
June events -- one solemn and inspiring, the 150th Anniversary
of the Swedish Constitution -- and one gay and refreshing, your
annual midsummer day festivities, which we celebrate today.

150
Anniv
4
Coast

Sven K.

out
~~All of us have recorded, time and time again, the great
part that Swedish immigrants have played in building up our
country -- the peasants who became our pioneers, the craftsmen,
engineers, and scientists who contributed so much to American
industry. But we have perhaps insufficiently recognized the
element of gaiety you added to our frontier society on occasions
such as this -- the folk dances, the family picnics, the may-
poles you set up amidst our forests.~~

I have been re-reading Swedish history, and I note that a long time ago
a headstrong King, Gustavus IV, was the unwitting godfather of

(Flygölsön - Stora Vida - flock
Inval! (Norwegian Hymn))

001269

-2-

That Stubborn National

the 1809 Constitution, just as George III had a lot to

do with our own American Declaration of Independence. But

I know that in the case of ~~our Swedish forefathers~~ ^{*Sweden*}, as of
~~our Founding Fathers~~, the seeds of liberty had been germinating
a long time beforehand.

The tree of liberty has grown and flourished mightily,
in Sweden as it has here. ~~I note that~~ ^{*the full and unhampered right to vote*} it was in 1921 that the
franchise in Sweden was made universal for adults; I was

about to say that we took this calculated risk here a century
^{*earlier*} ~~earlier~~ ^{*for men - but women in 1920*} but I am obliged to admit that there are -- to our

~~shame~~ some parts of our nation where the franchise can not
yet be freely exercised. (*D.C. + South*)

But, in this interval between the past session of the
Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva and the next meeting,
beginning July 13, I am most keenly interested in the skills
of diplomacy which Swedish leaders have developed over the

*For
Minister*

001270

centuries -- indeed, have had to develop in a country not

as fortunate as ours in having thousands of miles of ~~salt~~ *ocean*

~~water~~ between it and the turmoils of Europe *and Asia*

So, when I pay tribute, as I often do, *Dag Hammarskjöld* to the Secretary-

General of the United Nations, I am mindful not only of the

man, and of his keen intelligence and tireless efforts in

the cause of peace, but of the long tradition of Swedish

diplomacy which formed and molded his approach to the affairs

of our troubled planet. It is a mighty comfort to have the

first-rate mind and great heart of a man like Dag Hammarskjöld

dedicated to the *peace +* welfare of mankind, ~~and~~ I wish we drew upon

him and upon the United Nations more often than we do. *U. N. Budget*

#
We need, all of us, to do a great deal of sober thinking

in this interval between two encounters of the diplomats of

Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and ourselves.

L
A word of deserved recognition for the Foreign Ministers

Foreign Ministers Conf -
Conf in Berlin + Germany only Part of Problem
Soviet Challenge = Total!! must be strong!

0-01271

the French foreign

who have represented the West at Geneva. One ~~A-~~ M. Couve

de Murville -- is a professional diplomat. The others --

Selwyn Lloyd and Christian Herter -- I am proud to recognize

as fellow-politicians who have, through long experience in

international affairs, acquired great professional competence

in the difficult art of diplomacy.

None of them, of course, has the seniority in office
of Mr. Gromyko. But then, none of them has been treated

by his chief with such scant respect as Mr. Khrushchev has
spoken of this same Gromyko -- who, and I quote the Soviet

dictator, "will sit on a cake of ice if I tell him to."

Khrushchev has also claimed -- and this may well be a
more difficult task for his foreign minister -- ^{Gromyko} that he will

even smile upon command.

There were few Soviet smiles - commanded or otherwise -
at Geneva. It becomes increasingly clear that the Communists

are determined to have Western Berlin and its more than
two million people in their power -- sooner or later.

Of course, their time-table is a flexible one. The
date of May 27 - which Khrushchev has confided he set by
gazing at the ceiling - has come and gone.

Some find this reassuring. I am not so certain. It
may merely mean that the Soviets, thinking that time is on
their side, see no reason for haste.

While the first round at Geneva is fresh in all our
minds, let's put on the record the reactions of the pro-
fessionals -- the diplomats. Here is how Wallace Carroll,
the capable correspondent of the New York Times, records
their reactions:

"...the professional diplomats of the Western powers,
in their relaxed moments, frankly discuss with each other such
questions as these:

no
6+7
page

001273

nation in the graveyard of history."

I say: "Amen!" But I also say, let's roll up our sleeves and get to work. *Don't underestimate the Soviet budget which is not balanced at the expense of our national security.*

It will take time and effort -- and leadership. But there is one field in which we can move ahead immediately -- the very one that Mr. Carroll stressed, the field of ideas.

Berlin!

~~Take Berlin as an example.~~ The strength of the Soviet position arises from the hard facts of geography -- the location of West Berlin as an island 110 miles inside the Iron Curtain.

The strength of the Western position is that Berlin is more than an island - very much more. It is an island of freedom.

Its people are a free people, who as recently as December 7,

in a free election, rejected Communism by a vote of over

98%. They have as their leader a wise and gallant man, whom

I am proud to count as a personal friend -- Mayor Willy Brandt.

He knows what freedom means, because he imbibed it for
years at one of its purest fountains - in Scandinavia. And

he is daily reminded of freedom by his beautiful and talented

Norwegian wife.

Freedom shines out beyond the tragically narrow limits
of West Berlin. Every hour of the day and night, men and

women from Eastern Germany are taking this open door to liberty.

They are serving, if I may say so, their own personal
ultimatum against Communism and all it stands for.

Freedom reaches beyond Eastern Germany, even beyond the
restless people of the satellite nations. It glimmers in the
darkness in which the Russians themselves - the first victims
of Communism - exist.

L We see it reflected, most nobly, in a Boris Pasternak,
daring to bear witness to the truth that is in him.

Freedom is habit-forming -- once a man tastes even
 a little, he wants more and more. This is the yeast that
 is working under the dough-like surface of Russian diplomacy

-- and working for us.

(Satellite Countries - Travel Freedom)

But L Freedom will not shine forth unless we ourselves keep
it bright and untarnished. #

L Lately I have had occasion to protest at the wholesale
fashion in which facts the American people are entitled to know
are "classified" out of their reach.

If this trend continues, the published reports of impor-
 tant Congressional hearings may some day become almost as devoid
 of news as IZVESTIYA and as barren of truth as PRAVDA.

(for the benefit of those few Americans who aren't
 studying Russian in ten easy lessons, PRAVDA means "truth" and
IZVESTIYA "news" -- and let no one deny the Soviets have a sense

Freedom
 of
 Information

But #

001276

of humor!)

Many of the facts being kept from our people relate
today to another question now under negotiation at Geneva

-- the banning of nuclear tests.

Atom Tests!

~~the Russian and ourselves~~
It may be that we shall have to agree to disagree about

Berlin -- and we of the West must, of course, stand firmly on

our right to maintain garrisons in ^{West} Berlin until a legitimate

peace treaty has been signed.

*And we must sign no
treaty or agreement
that sign away
the Rts
of others!*

But there is a real possibility of a negotiated test

ban agreement, even though some very knotty points remain

to be resolved.

- agreement with inspection!!

Our negotiators, under the able leadership of Ambassador

James Wadsworth, have carefully observed the two golden rules

of dealing with the Russians -- don't give in and don't give up.

First, they have not given in.

Because free peoples are anxious for success and distressed

by continued disagreement, there is always the danger of letting the Communists outlast and outtalk us, and of settling for less than we ought.

Our team has been too tough-minded to ~~suspect~~ *fall for* this temptation.

Second, they have not given up.

To give up, when there is the faintest prospect of ultimate success, is just as bad as to give in. For it would snuff out one of the few candles lighting the way to lasting peace.

I have been privileged to work closely with the men in the Administration who have been responsible for our disarmament efforts -- first with my fellow-Minnesotan, Governor Stassen, and now with Ambassador Wadsworth. There is no room for partisanship where so much is at stake.

Indeed, the issue cuts across party lines. Sober and

001278

responsible men in both parties think the risk of an agree-

ment too great. I respect them, and the patriotic impulses

which motivate them -- but I think they are dead wrong.

L Above all, I think they fail to weigh ~~against the~~ *properly balance the*

risks of prudent agreement, the risks of continued tests. And

I cite in this connection the words of a man who was never

accused of softness toward Communism -- the late John Foster

Dulles. ~~Testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Dis-~~

~~armament~~ he said:

L "You have got to balance risks...It is my belief that

they can be reduced to dimensions so that the taking of that

risk involves less jeopardy for our country and for the human

race than the risk of doing nothing and allowing this menace

to go on in increasing proportions..."

L It is, ironically, in the very magnitude of this horror

that overhangs us -- "this sword of Damocles", as Mr. Dulles

called it -- that the most powerful motivation for agreement

lies.

Radioactive fallout is no respecter of Iron Curtains
or ideologies -- it turns up in the caviar of the commissars
just as it has turned up, I regret to say, in our own Minne-
sota wheat.

The other day I said in the Senate that there is "a
concerted effort somewhere in Washington -- I imagine in the
defense establishment itself" to persuade the American people
that a test ban agreement would jeopardize our security.

I have examined all the available evidence with the
greatest care - including much which is not yet in the public
domain. I approach this question with a mind open at all times
to new facts - but I have seen none as yet which suggest that
the risks of the right sort of agreement are greater than the
absolutely appalling risks of no agreement at all.

*Agreement with inspection
& controls!*

This also, I know, is the view of the State Department.

A great Frenchman - Clemenceau - once said^d war is too important to be left entirely to the generals.⁶

If that be true of war - as I think it is - it is a thousand times as true of peace.

L We should give earnest attention to the expert opinions at the Pentagon -- and to those of the Atomic Energy Commission. But we must not, we can not yield to them the ultimate power of decision over our destinies.

It is the responsibility of statesmen to use the experts, not to be used by them.

(Experts on top - Not on top)

As a Senator, I have a number of interests -- too many, some of my friends caution me, although that is certainly better than having too few. But I do have one absolute priority.

My priority -- and yours -- is peace.

Whatever native abilities I have, whatever experience I have gathered in the high posts to which the voters of this state have elected me, I shall use unsparingly to contribute what I can to the achievement of this great purpose.

Peace!

I support the President in his refusal to discuss Berlin at the summit under the shadow of ^{Threats} ~~an~~ ultimatum - however shrouded in Communist doubletalk ^{such} ~~it~~ may be.

But I would strongly advocate a summit conference once there is a prospect, based upon continued progress in the current ^{atmosphere} ~~test~~ ban negotiations, that agreement is within reach.

We must be willing to talk to the Russians

That would be a summit, not of disillusionment and despair, but of hope.

That would be a summit with no other ultimatum than the yearning of the peoples of the world for peace.

If only the nuclear powers can reach an agreement on a

vital issue, then there will have been a start, a very
important start, towards the goal of peace.

My friends, it is profoundly sad that we must spend
part of this festive occasion talking of crises and nuclear
weapons and fallout.

△ The real fallout from America should be of food for
the hungry, medical care for the sick, education for the
illiterate -- and the tools and capital for the half of
humanity which is striving to break through to the 20th
Century.

— world hungry for medicine Disease
of good health

TRIBUTE TO SWEDISH BIOCHEMICAL RESEARCH:

"WITH U.S.AID, STOCKHOLM SCIENTISTS MAY UNLOCK THE SECRETS
OF LIFE"

I want to digress for a moment to tell you about one particular phase of Swedish-American cooperation. It represents one of the most inspiring subjects in all the annals of the warm cooperation between our two peoples.

Last Thanksgiving -- November, 1958, -- I spent in Stockholm, as part of my official Western European tour. My purpose there, as in other European cities, was as Chairman of a Special Senate Study to gather information on a subject which concerns every one of you in this audience today - and your loved ones - and mine.

I refer to the challenge of healthier, fuller, longer
lives for the Family of Man.

Our host at a Thanksgiving luncheon of the Swedish-American Society was a great man of science - RECTOR STEN FRIBERG

of the world-famous Karonliska Institute. He delivered a glowing tribute to Swedish-American cooperation.

Present at the luncheon were Swedish businessmen, trade unionists and scientists. They included an outstanding woman doctor, named DR. NANNA SVARTZ, of the King Gustav V Research Institute in Stockholm. Dr. Svartz is a leading specialist in arthritis and in ulcerative colitis.

During my stay in Sweden I met with: Prime Minister ~~PER~~ ERLANDER; Minister of Commerce Lange; Secretary General of the Social Democratic Party Aspling; the Director of the White Collar Federation - Mr. Valter Aman; and others.

We discussed many matters of interest to our two peoples. But I must say, in all frankness, there was no single subject which was of greater interest to me than this matter of our scientific cooperation.

For with Rector Friberg I had visited his institution
-- the Karolinska Institute, one of the great research
centers of the entire world.

The Institute comprises the medical faculty of the
University of Stockholm. It is universally regarded as one
of the greatest centers of PURE RESEARCH to be found in the
world. By "pure research", we mean research in which the
scientists are given the fullest, freest opportunity to
explore any scientific problem, irrespective of whether it
may affect any particular disease or any other specific
need. Pure research is the very heart of scientific research.
For out of it comes the fundamental - applied - knowledge
which we use in attacking specific disease problems.

In all Europe, I met no abler or more dedicated group
of men ^{and more} than I saw at the Karolinska Institute. Fortunately,
Λ
these men have at their disposal superb modern facilities.

Not only is their equipment some of the best in the world
but it is characterized by the well-known Swedish qualities
of orderliness, cleanliness, ample space, closeness to the
outdoors, etc..

The buildings of the Karolinska Institute are not
erected like skycrapers. Instead, each structure is
relatively low in height, horizontal in sweep, compact, but
built close enough to other buildings for maximum efficiency.
The whole atmosphere of the Institute is dedicated to the
individuality of man.

Among the scientists whom I met were: Professor Hugo
Theorell (who visited Minneapolis in 1956) and who had won
the Nobel Award a year earlier for his studies of oxidation
enzymes; Professors Berndt Malmgren, Carl-Goran Heden, Torbjorn
Casperson and others.

These men and others are studying the innermost secrets

of life itself. They are studying for example, the nucleic acids of the cell. They are studying the human genetics - the genes by which man's heredity - his height the color of his eyes, his build, his strengths -- are transmitted. These genes are so tiny that they cannot even be seen by the most powerful electronic microscope.

The ultimate results of their research may have effects on cancer, arthritis, on dealing with problems of the aging in ways in which it would be impossible to foresee at the present time.

Let me just sum up my experience by stating this:

1. The United States Government, notably through the National Institutes of Health, is helping to make it possible for some of these superb Swedish scientists to do their work.

For sums of money relatively small, (in this age of \$77 billion budgets) we are mobilizing scientific talent in a way which will

pay off incalculable dividends to the human race.

I refer to small grants like \$15,000 or \$25,000 for particular research projects.

This money which we are spending in Sweden probably represents as constructive an expenditure as the United States is ^{making} ~~incurring~~ anywhere in the world.

2. The miracle of Sweden is that a country of around 8 million population is already contributing to scientific knowledge in a way that countries five and ten times its size are not matching.

Why? Let me suggest four reasons:

(a) Sweden's great system of universal education -- from lowest to highest levels;

(b) Sweden's deep humanitarian interest in the dignity of man himself and in his well-being. This interest is expressed in its comprehensive system of social insurance;

(c) The fact that Sweden has been able to live at peace when so much of the rest of the world has been at war;

(d) The enormous contributions which have been made by a private organization - the Alfred Nobel foundation. It has done so not simply through the Nobel prizes, (which have been a great incentive), but through scientific grants to stimulate research.

(e) the fact that Sweden is a genuine democracy to its core. Every individual is judged by his merit and can grow and develop.

(f) The fact that Swedish national character is based on independence, determination, initiative, representing the very finest qualities of the Scandinavian-Viking tradition.

(g) The fact that there, Government, cooperatives, labor, and private industry each contribute to the national scientific whole.

Upon my return to Washington, I brought this message of Swedish achievement to the attention of the Senate ~~Committee on Labor and Public Welfare~~. It was then considering a bill under which the United States will spend up to \$50 million abroad through a new National Institute for International Medical Research. That bill has ~~not yet been~~ been approved by the Senate by a vote of 63 to 17.

It is pending before a Subcommittee of the House of Representatives ~~Commerce Committee~~. Unfortunately, it does not appear that the Committee will report the bill to the House this year, although it may take action early next year.

I can think of few ways in which mankind will be more benefited than through the passage of this bill.

I call these, as you know, The Works of Peace.

These are the real purposes of the democracy that

Sweden and America share -- and that we celebrate today.

Mr. Khrushchev has said that our grandchildren will
live under Communism.

I have the feeling that it is his grandchildren who will

001291

Full
~~life~~ in freedom.

The example of Sweden's 1809 -- of our 1776 -- are
not lost in today's wide world. I hold with Jefferson, who
declared:

"All eyes are opened, or are opening, to the rights
of man. The general spread of the light of science has
already laid open to every view the palpable truth that the
mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs,
nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them..."

//
c i

June 26, 1959

↖
"Is the United States really keeping up with the Russians in the development and production of long-range and intermediate ballistic missiles?"

~~"Are the United States and its allies maintaining sufficient armed strength, particularly on the ground, to deter the Communists from risking small wars?"~~

I skip over two questions relating to French and British attitudes, because I am an American talking to Americans. But I lay great stress, as Mr. Carroll himself does, on the last question:

"Underlying all the anxiety of the diplomats is the question of leadership. The West would have much less trouble repulsing the Soviet thrusts, the diplomats feel, if a strong lead and dynamic new ideas came from Washington."

My friends, the Russians at Geneva certainly acted as if they were negotiating from strength -- from overwhelming

001294
strength in conventional weapons (and, therefore, in the capacity to wage limited wars) and, I fear, from strength in ballistic missiles as well.

L We all read in school the story of Emperor Augustus, whose general, by the name of Varus, permitted his army to be captured -- and how, realizing the grave blow this had struck at the security of his Empire, Augustus awoke time and time again from sleep, shouting:

"Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!"

I hope -- and I speak as an American rather than as a partisan -- that we shall not, in days to come, be driven in similar fashion to ask this Administration what it did with the position of strength it inherited in 1953.

Only this year, the President, in his message to Congress on the ~~Mutual Security Act~~, declared that "It is not the goal of the American people that the United States should be the richest

COPY

Speech by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) at
Svenskarnas Dag, Minneapolis, Minnesota, June 28, 1959

I am happy to join with you in celebrating two great
June events -- one solemn and inspiring, the 150th Anniversary
of the Swedish Constitution -- and one gay and refreshing, your
annual midsummer day festivities, which we celebrate today.

All of us have recorded, time and time again, the great
part that Swedish immigrants have played in building up our
country -- the peasants who became our pioneers, the craftsmen,
engineers, and scientists who contributed so much to American
industry. But we have perhaps insufficiently recognized the
element of gaiety you added to our frontier society on occasions
such as this -- the folk dances, the family picnics, the may-
poles you set up amidst our forests.

I have been re-reading Swedish history, and I note that
a headstrong King, Gustavus IV, was the unwitting godfather of

COPY

the 1809ⁿ Constitution, just as George III had a lot to do with our own American Declaration of Independence. But I know that in the case of your Swedish forefathers, as of our Founding Fathers, the seeds of liberty had been germinating a long time beforehand.

The tree of liberty has grown and flourished mightily, in Sweden as it has here. I note that it was in 1921 that the franchise in Sweden was made universal for adults; I was about to say that we took this calculated risk here a century earlier, but I am obliged to admit that there are -- to our shame -- some parts of our nation where the franchise can not yet be freely exercised.

But, in this interval between the past session of the Foreign Ministers' Conference in Geneva and the next meeting, beginning July 13, I am most keenly interested in the skills of diplomacy which Swedish leaders have developed over the

COPY

centuries -- indeed, have had to develop in a country not as fortunate as ours in having thousands of miles of salt water between it and the turmoils of Europe.

So, when I pay tribute, as I often do, to the Secretary-General of the United Nations, I am mindful not only of the man, and of his keen intelligence and tireless efforts in the cause of peace, but of the long tradition of Swedish diplomacy which formed and molded his approach to the affairs of our troubled planet. It is a mighty comfort to have the first-rate mind and great heart of a man like Dag Hammarskjold dedicated to the welfare of mankind, and I wish we drew upon him and upon the United Nations more often than we do.

We need, all of us, to do a great deal of sober thinking in this interval between two encounters of the diplomats of Britain, France, the Soviet Union, and ourselves.

A word of deserved recognition for the Foreign Ministers

-4-
COPY

who have represented the West at Geneva. One -- M. Couve

de Murville -- is a professional diplomat. The others --

Selwyn Lloyd and Christian Herter -- I am proud to recognize

as fellow-politicians who have, through long experience in

international affairs, acquired great professional competence

in the difficult art of diplomacy.

None of them of course, has the seniority in office

of Mr. Gromyko. But then, none of them has been treated

by his chief with such scant respect as Mr. Khrushchev has

spoken of this same Gromyko -- who, and I quote the Soviet

dictator, "will sit on a cake of ice if I tell him to."

Khrushchev has also claimed -- and this may well be a

more difficult task for his foreign minister -- that he will

even smile upon command.

There were few Soviet smiles -- commanded or otherwise --

at Geneva. It becomes increasingly clear that the Communists

COPY

are determined to have Western Berlin and its more than two million people in their power -- sooner or later.

Of course, their time-table is a flexible one. The date of May 27 - which Khrushchev has confided he set by gazing at the ceiling - has come and gone.

Some find this reassuring. I am not so certain. It may merely mean that the Soviets, thinking that time is on their side, see no reason for haste.

While the first round at Geneva is fresh in all our minds, let's put on the record the reactions of the professionals -- the diplomats. Here is how Wallace Carroll, the capable correspondent of the New York Times, records their reactions:

"...the professional diplomats of the Western powers, in their relaxed moments, frankly discuss with each other such questions as these:

COPY

"Is the United States really keeping up with the Russians in the development and production of long-range and intermediate ballistic missiles?

"Are the United States and its allies maintaining sufficient armed strength, particularly on the ground, to deter the Communists from risking small wars?"

I skip over the questions relating to French and British attitudes, because I am an American talking to Americans. But I lay great stress, as Mr. Carroll himself does, on the last question:

"Underlying all the anxiety of the diplomats is the question of leadership. The West would have much less trouble repulsing the Soviet thrusts, the diplomats feel, if a strong lead and dynamic new ideas came from Washington."

My friends, the Russians at Geneva certainly acted as if they were negotiating from strength -- from overwhelming

COPY

strength in conventional weapons (and, therefore, in the capacity to wage limited wars) and, I fear, from strength in ballistic missiles as well.

We all read in school the story of Emperor Augustus, whose general, by the name of Varus, permitted his army to be captured --- and how, realizing the grave blow this had struck at the security of his Empire, Augustus awoke time and time again from sleep, shouting:

"Varus, Varus, give me back my legions!"

I hope --- and I speak as an American rather than as a partisan --- that we shall not, in days to come, be driven in similar fashion to ask this Administration what it did with the position of strength it inherited in 1953.

Only this year, the President, in his message to Congress on the Mutual Security Act, declared that "It is not the goal of the American people that the United States should be the richest

COPY

nation in the graveyard of history."

I say: "Amen!" But I also say, let's roll up our sleeves and get to work. And above all, let's have a budget which is not balanced at the expense of our national security.

It will take time and effort -- and leadership. But there is one field in which we can move ahead immediately -- the very one that Mr. Carroll stressed, the field of ideas.

Take Berlin as an example. The strength of the Soviet position arises from the hard facts of geography -- the location of West Berlin as an island 110 miles inside the Iron Curtain.

The strength of the Western position is that Berlin is more than an island - very much more. It is an island of freedom.

Its people are a free people, who as recently as December 7,

COPY

in a free election, rejected Communism by a vote of over 98%. They have as their leader a wise and gallant man, whom I am proud to count as a personal friend -- Mayor Willy Brandt.

He knows what freedom means, because he imbibed it for years at one of its purest fountains -- in Scandinavia. And he is daily reminded of freedom by his beautiful and talented Norwegian wife.

Freedom shines out beyond the tragically narrow limits of West Berlin. Every hour of the day and night, men and women from Eastern Germany are taking this open door to liberty.

They are serving, if I may say so, their own personal ultimatum against Communism and all it stands for.

Freedom reaches beyond Eastern Germany, even beyond the restless people of the satellite nations. It glimmers in the darkness in which the Russians themselves -- the first victims of Communism -- exist.

COPY

We see it reflected, most nobly, in a Boris Pasternak,
daring to bear witness to the truth that is in him.

Freedom is habit-forming -- once a man tastes even
a little, he wants more and more. This is the yeast that
is working under the dough-like surface of Russian diplomacy
-- and working for us.

Freedom will not shine forth unless we ourselves keep
it bright and untarnished.

Lately I have had occasion to protest at the wholesale
fashion in which facts the American people are entitled to know
are "classified" out of their reach.

If this trend continues, the published reports of impor-
tant Congressional hearings may some day become almost as devoid
of news as IZVESTIYA and as barren of truth as PRAVDA.

(for the benefit of those few Americans who aren't
studying Russian in ten easy lessons, PRAVDA means "truth" and
IZVESTIYA "news" -- and let no one deny the Soviets have a sense

~~-11-~~ COPY

of humor!)

Many of the facts being kept from our people relate today to another question now under negotiation at Geneva -- the banning of nuclear tests.

It may be that we shall have to agree to disagree about Berlin -- and we of the West must, of course, stand firmly on our right to maintain garrisons in Berlin until a legitimate peace treaty has been signed.

But there is a real possibility of a negotiated test ban agreement, even though some very knotty points remain to be resolved.

Our negotiators, under the able leadership of Ambassador James Wadsworth, have carefully observed the two golden rules of dealing with the Russians -- don't give in and don't give up.

First, they have not given in.

Because free peoples are anxious for success and distressed

-12-
COPY

by continued disagreement, there is always the danger of letting the Communists outlast and outtalk us, and of settling for less than we ought.

Our team has been too tough-minded to succumb to this temptation.

Second, they have not given up.

To give up, when there is the faintest prospect of ultimate success, is just as bad as to give in. For it would snuff out one of the few candles lighting the way to lasting peace.

I have been privileged to work closely with the men in the Administration who have been responsible for our disarmament efforts -- first with my fellow-Minnesotan, Governor Stassen, and now with Ambassador Wadsworth. There is no room for partisanship where so much is at stake.

Indeed, the issue cuts across party lines. Sober and

-13-
COPY

responsible men in both parties think the risk of an agreement too great. I respect them, and the patriotic impulses which motivate them -- but I think they are dead wrong.

Above all, I think they fail to weigh against the risks of prudent agreement the risks of continued tests. And I cite in this connection the words of a man who was never accused of softness toward Communism -- the late John Foster Dulles. Testifying before the Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament, he said:

"You have got to balance risks...It is my belief that they can be reduced to dimensions so that the taking of that risk involves less jeopardy for our country and for the human race than the risk of doing nothing and allowing this menace to go on in increasing proportions..."

It is, ironically, in the very magnitude of this horror that overhangs us -- "this sword of Damocles", as Mr. Dulles

⁻¹⁴⁻
COPY

called it -- that the most powerful motivation for agreement lies.

Radioactive fallout is no respecter of Iron Curtains or ideologies -- it turns up in the caviar of the commissars just as it has turned up, I regret to say, in our own Minnesota wheat.

The other day I said in the Senate that there is "a concerted effort somewhere in Washington -- I imagine in the defense establishment itself" to persuade the American people that a test ban agreement would jeopardize our security.

I have examined all the available evidence with the greatest care -- including much which is not yet in the public domain. I approach this question with a mind open at all times to new facts -- but I have seen none as yet which suggest that the risks of the right sort of agreement are greater than the absolutely appalling risks of no agreement at all.

COPY

This also, I know, is the view of the State Department.

A great Frenchman - Clemenceau - once said war is too important to be left entirely to the generals.

If that be true of war - as I think it is - it is a thousand times as true of peace.

We should give earnest attention to the expert opinions at the Pentagon -- and to those of the Atomic Energy Commission. But we must not, we can not yield to them the ultimate power of decision over our destinies.

It is the responsibility of statesmen to use the experts, not to be used by them.

As a Senator, I have a number of interests -- too many, some of my friends caution me, although that is certainly better than having too few. But I do have one absolute priority.

My priority -- and yours -- is peace.

COPY

-16-

Whatever native abilities I have, whatever experience I have gathered in the high posts to which the voters of this state have elected me, I shall use unsparingly to contribute what I can to the achievement of this great purpose.

I support the President in his refusal to discuss Berlin at the summit under the shadow of an ultimatum - however shrouded in Communist doubletalk it may be.

But I would strongly advocate a summit conference once there is a prospect, based upon continued progress in the current test ban negotiations, that agreement is within reach.

That would be a summit, not of disillusionment and despair, but of hope.

That would be a summit with no other ultimatum than the yearning of the peoples of the world for peace.

If only the nuclear powers can reach an agreement on a

COPY

vital issue, then there will have been a start, a very important start, towards the goal of peace.

My friends, it is profoundly sad that we must spend part of this festive occasion talking of crises and nuclear weapons and fallout.

The real fallout from America should be of food for the hungry, medical care for the sick, education for the illiterate -- and the tools and capital for the half of humanity which is striving to break through to the 20th Century.

I call these, as you know, The Works of Peace.

These are the real purposes of the democracy that Sweden and America share -- and that we celebrate today.

Mr. Khrushchev has said that our grandchildren will live under Communism.

I have the feeling that it is his grandchildren who will

COPY

life in freedom.

The example of Sweden's 1809 -- of our 1776 -- are not lost in today's wide world. I hold with Jefferson, who declared:

"All eyes are opened, or are ~~opening~~, to the rights of man. The general spread of the light of science has already laid open to every view the palpable truth that the mass of mankind has not been born with saddles on their backs, nor a favored few, booted and spurred, ready to ride them..."

June 26, 1959



Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org