For Release: Monday p.m.'s May 2, 1960

DEMOCRATS MUST CARRY ELECTION FIGHT ON ISSUES, NOT PERSONALITY --SENATOR HUMPHREY TELLS PARKERSBURG

PARKERSBURG, Xay, 2°-- If the Democratic Party -- and potential Democratic standard bearers -- want to deserve the confidence of the American voters, "all of us must be willing to stand up and be counted as to what we are going to do about the real needs of the people," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democratic Presidential candidate, declared today in a public address in front of the Wood County Courthouse here.

"The country is tired and sick of generalities and lip service to lofty objectives. It wants specific answers to specific needs -- and our Party had better get busy recognizing the needs, and developing the answers/" he declared

Senator Humphrey said he had been waging his West Virginia campaign "on the issues that concern West Virginia voters", but added that all too often the press was "more interested in personalities than in where candidates stand on issues."

"It isn't enough to seek popularity by trying to avoid offending anyone," he declared. "If all you want is wishy-washy fence-straddling to avoid choosing sides, you might as well vote Republican -- for they are the experts at that kind of popularity. But if you are willing to take a stand for what you believe is right and just, then fight for it -- we can win in November, and deserve to win.

"That has always been my position in public life, and it is my position today. I am not an appeaser -- at home or abroad. If our election process is to mean anything, people must be given a real choice between differing viewpoints and political philosophies -- not just engage in a national beauty contest.

"For my part, there is no greater role I feel I can perform for my party -- and my country -- in the months preceding our Democratic National Convention than in seeking to compel our party to take stock of the country's needs, and take a firm, aggressive, and sanely liberal position toward meeting those needs. And if I can help sharpen the issues so that everyone concerned has to stand up and be counted, one way or another, so much the better, Senator Humphrey declared.

"Let's not be fooled by the era of trying to avoid anything that may step on anybody's toes. There are differences of viewpoint on every issue, and should be in a democracy. But it is the responsibility of leadership to have some convictions, and stand by them, taking a stand and seeking to mobilize support behind it, rather than drifting with the supposed popular tide at any given time.

"Remember, the Democratic Party was victorious under the leadership of Franklin D. Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman because both the leaders and the Party met face-to-face the problems of the day. They didn't hedge or back away. They answered those problems with legislation and action -- not with well-turned, hazy phrases and polished platitudes. If we are to win in 1960, we must have that type of liberal, clear-cut, straight forward leadership," Senator Humphrey declared.

For Rolease: May 3 -- Tuesday a.m.'s

AMERICA MUST DARE TO DESIGN OWN DESTINY, HUMPHREY SAYS

PARKERSBURG, May 2 -- America's "challenge to greatness is in "daring to design our own destiny," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democratic Presidential candidate, declared last night in an address at the VFW hall here.

Warning that "we cannot fly to the moon, while our political feet are stuck in the mud," Senator Humphrey said a nation was wasting its opportunity for leadership when it only "reacts, instead of designs."

"Regretably, that is what has been happening to us in this troubled world," he declared. "Whether it is on the domestic or international front, we are prone to just counter-attack -- we react, rather than design a program of our own that we know to be right and sound, and worthy of our efforts, our tradition, and our sacrifice.

"The Twentieth Century demands programs that have daring and design, where one detail fits another, as part of a long-range plan.

"To survive, we <u>must</u> plan. In the second half of this interdependent and explosive century, to continue planless may be to end lifeless.

> "It is time we took planning out of the doghouse, and put it in the White House.

"The sad fact is, we are letting our national plant run down. Our economy is not keeping pace with the needs of our time, and we are devoting too small a portion of it to those public purposes -- that public investment, if you will -- that makes a nation and a people not only rich, but great and strong.

"Twentieth Century America not only requires an up-to-date program, but it demands an integrated and coordinated program.

"We need a program that starts with the integration of our schools, and ends with peaceful cooperation of the world.

"We cannot pursue a foreign policy that is contrary to our domestic policy; we cannot have a liberal and flexible foreign policy, based on the status quo and apathy at home.

"We cannot expect to explore new worlds, if we deliberately go on depriving new generations of proper schools and the best of teachers.

"We cannot ask for ethical practices in trade unions, and expect to get them easily, unless we insist upon the same kind of ethics in business and government," he declared.

"Senator Humphrey declared that the Democratic Party's liberal philosophy best exemplified "an understanding of our interdependence, and of the intermingling of our various policies."

-30-

For Release: Tuesday p.m.'s May 3, 1960

HUMPHREY URGES PLANNING NOW FOR DISARMAMENT CONVERSION TO PEACE OPPORTUNITIES

HUNTINGTON, May 3 -- America should "visualize the opportunities, not just the problems, if disarmament is achieved," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democratic Presidential candidate, declared today in an address before the Kiwanis Club.

"With a significant reduction of arms, America could accept these challenges:

"Switch the spending of billions from works of war, to constructive works of peace....

"Turn our full talents and resources to development of a better life for all citizens....

"Devote the efforts of our Government to longneglected public works projects....

"Build more and better schools, homes, hospitals, highways, and airports....

"Reduce taxes to allow each citizen to buy more for his family, and thus spur production," Senator Humphrey declared.

As Chairman of the Senate's Disarmament Subcommittee, Senator Humphrey urged that the President "appoint an expert commission to spark this planning.

"We must draw together our business and industrial leaders, the leaders of organized labor, our scientists and professional men and state and local officials to prepare America to meet the problems imposed by disarmament, and to achieve the great opportunities that disarmament will offer us," he declared

"Today our power of reason is staggered and our sense of proportion is shattered when we realize how much this country spends for works of war. We exhaust more than \$40 <u>billion</u> every year just for military purposes. The cost of just <u>one</u> Polaris submarine is more than \$100 million. Nine percent of our total gross national product is devoted to defense. And almost 60 percent of your tax dollar is eaten up in the effort to buy, maintain and staff the facilities and weapons of war.

"These high costs of security are necessary, because the Free World has been threatened by the vast military power of the Soviet Union. But today there are signs of progress on the long, frustrating road to disarmament. Soviet Premier Khrushchev is shifting many of the energies and resources of Communism from military to reduce arms can and <u>will</u> be achieved in the near future.

"A significant reduction of arms and a halt to the arms race would have massive effects on our economy. But we cannot listen to those who say that our economy would be thrown completely out of balance if heavy production of arms ended. Our American economic system is not so weak that it must be geared permanently to big defense spending. We have the genius to adjust.

"The problems, of course, cannot be minimized. When the arms race is halted -- and ultimately it must be -- America cannot simply stumble into a new era of change and challenge. Industries and ;businesses must be ready to switch from a defense economy to a peace economy. Factories must be ready to turn out products of peace , instead of weapons of war. Planning is needed but there are no plans. The Administration has refused to take any steps to prepare America economically for disarmament," Senator Humphing declared. For Tuesday, May 3 CAMDEN PARK -- Huntington 6:30 p.m.

Senator

West Virginia Humphrey for President Committee 25 Capitol Street Charleston, West Virginia Dickens 4-3671

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For Release: Wednesday a.m.'s May 4, 1960

NATION NEEDS 'REVIVAL OF FAITH IN PEOPLE', SENATOR HUMPHREY SAYS

HUNTINGTON, May 4- It's time for a "revival of faith in the people", Senator Hubert H. Humphrey, Democratic Presidential candidate, declared tonight in an address before a mass audience at an old-fashioned outdoor political rally in Camden Park.

"And it will take Democrats to do it, because they believe in the people, are concerned about the people, and have <u>trusted</u> the people -- from the days of Thomas Jefferson through the days of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry S. Truman," Senator Humphrey declared.

Senator Humphrey quoted the final written message of Thomas Jefferson -the last words that were to come from his immortal pen:

> "'All eyes are open, or are opening to the rights of man,' Jefferson wrote. 'The general spread 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'.

"What a transformation it would work in America's position in the world today if its living leaders had a fraction of the faith and the eloquence of the dying Jefferson!" Senator Humphrey declared.

"Then, mankind knew what America was for -- as well as what it was against!

"Then there was no talk of stopping, but only of starting. Then there was no waste or neglect of opportunities, but rather their eager and joyful acceptance.

"Where our forefathers saw opportunities to grasp, the hesitant and timid American leadership of today sees only the problems to evade. While the world changes, we stand still.

"If we are unwilling to make history, others will write it for us -- and, believe me, the pages and chapters they write will make sad reading for our children, and our children's children.

"Yet we have, as we have shown over and over again, the capacity for greatness. What we lack -- and what we Democrats must provide in November -- is the leadership to rally us for the challenges ahead," Senator Humphrey said.

Other excerpts from Senator Humphrey's remarks follow:

"Now it may be that some of you have read in the papers that I am in this campaign to stop <u>somebody</u>. Believe me, I am not. I am in this campaign to help start the Democratic Party on the path to victory -- I am in this campaign to stop the Republican Administration.

"I am in this campaign to <u>stop</u> the waste of idle manpower and unused productive capacity. I am in it to <u>stop</u> the neglect of millions of our fellow-citizens and their urgent needs. I am in it to <u>stop</u> the alarming decline of our position in the world.

"I want to pull out all these stops and set the signals for full speed ahead.

PAGE TWO

"I am not <u>against</u> anyone -- except the Eisenhower-Nixon Administration which has mis-managed the affairs of this nation for seven long years.

"I hold them accountable for the opportunities for economic growth and for public investment which they have wasted.

"I charge them with stultifying and strangling this buoyant economy with their high-interest, tight-money policies. Yes, they are men of little vision, and they feel more comfortable with a little America.

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"Here is what, in dollars and cents, these little, picayunish Americans have already cost us as a people.

"From 1953 through 1959, this off-and-on again, foot-dragging GOP economy has cost us more than 15 million man-years of job opportunities.

"The average American family has suffered to the tune of almost \$3400 in potential buying power.

"Wage and salary incomes have been almost \$130 billion dollars too low.

"Idle -- needlessly idle -- plant and manpower have cost us almost \$200 billion in national output.

"These are dollars that could have -- should have -- been invested in America's future.

"These dollars could have meant more low-cost public housing -- solving the painful problem of relocating the slum-dwellers displaced by urban renewal.

"Yes, you can measure this waste in terms of unbuilt hospitals and highways, of overcrowded shcools and under-financed public services.

"I have charged this Eisenhower-Nixon Administration with waste -- and I charge it with neglect as well.

"They have neglected our children and their teachers. You know and I know that Federal aid to education is needed this year -- not next year, sometime, or never.

"Indeed, if it were not for the fact that millions of our children are educated at private schools, our public school system would long since have broken down altogether.

"We want and we need excellence in our educational system. We cannot have it without excellent teachers and well-equipped classrooms, laboratories, and libraries.

"This Administration neglects the old as well as the young. Our social security system is a wheezing Model T Ford in a Hydromatic V-8 age.

"The Government's own figures show that it costs at least \$2300 a year for a couple to live by themselves in modest fashion. Yet this same Government provides the average retired couple with only about \$1440 a year.

"Talk about your missile gap! -- here is a gap that is even harder to fill!

"Even more desperate is the plight of the 1,300,000 aging widows who are existing -- we can hardly call it living -- on an average benefit of \$56 a month.

page three

"Yes, we need at least a 30% increase in minimum benefits, we need special housing for the elderly, and we need tax credits to encourage the hiring of older workers.

"Above all, we need immediate action on the greatest dread of our senior citizens -- the heart-chilling fear of sickness and its catastrophic cost.

"We need the enactment of the Humphrey and Forand Bills for medical benefits for the aged.

"This is a need so urgent that even the Administration has been compelled to take notice of it. The latest word is that they are "exploring" the problem. This is quite an adventure for the <u>GOP</u>.

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"Now, this Eisenhower-Nixon team often reminds me of Christopher Columbus -- when he set forth he didn't know where he was going, and when he came back he didn't know where he had been.

"But this time I believe they \underline{do} know what they are exploring for.

"I can tell you that they are <u>not</u> looking for the best and the soundest method of meeting the medical needs of older Americans.

"They are playing politics and 'exploring' for votes.

"They are seeking the maximum political benefits for Mr. Nixon, rather than the maximum medical benefits for the aged.

"Yes, my friends, it is all politics -- cold-blooded Republican politics rather than warmhearted concern for people and their needs.

"I have charged this Eisenhower-Nixon Administration with waste and with neglect and indict them also for the alarming decline of our influence in the world.

"There was a time when free people everywhere looked to us for leadership -- when great and stirring ventures like Lend-Lease, the Marshall Plan, and Point Four were launched from Washington.

"Now we Americans -- heirs to the most dynamic tradition in the western world-- seem to have fallen into a slumber too deep even for dreams.

"Like King Canute, we seem to feel that the tides of history will stop to suit our comfort and our status quo.

"We brood paralyzed with fear over our stockpile of hydrogen bombs, and make only half-hearted and hesitant efforts to negotiate effective, enforced and inspected disarmament.

"Our so-called "surplus" of food rots in warehouses as storage costs mount to staggering heights -- while people go hungry in many parts of the world, yes, and in these United States too.

"We need to identify ourselves more with mankind's hopes than with its fears. We need less talk of massive retailiation, and more of massive reconciliation with and rehabilitation for the two-thirds of humanity that lives in poverty. We need less preoccupation with the works of war and more dedication to the works of peace -- Food for reace, Health for Peace, and Education for Peace."

For Release: Thursday p.m.'s May 5

HUMPHREY CALLS FOR ALL-OUT EFFORT TO WIPE OUT CANCER

WHEELING, May 5--Senator Hubert H. Humphrey today called for an all-out war against cancer-and said it was one war that could be won.

Humphrey, campaigning for the Democratic nomination for the Presidency, promised that if he's elected President of the United States he will call a White House Conference early in 1961 "to bring together the best medical and scientific brains in this country to plan an accelerated attack upon this disease.

Senator Humphrey has headed a Senate subcommittee on international medical research, and has pressed efforts in Congress to mobilize health experts around the world toward wiping out major diseases now taking heavy death tolls.

In discussing the need for greater health research here, Senator Humphrey said he was dedicating his talk to the late Senator Neely, who, he said "led the fight for cancer research on the floor of Congress--led it, with magnificent eloquence and determination, until he himself was cut down by this dread disease".

Excerpts of Senator Humphrey's talk follow:

"I take my theme for today's talk from one of the youngest of living Americans - former President Harry S. Truman.

"He said on May 24, 1951: 'The only kind of war we seek is the good old fight against man's ancient enemies...poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy.'

"Poverty...disease...hunger...illiteracy. Each of these ancient enemies could be the topic of many volumes, let alone a single speech.

"Today I shall talk mainly about the world-wide fight against one disease - cancer. And it is appropriate that I should talk about it here in West Virginia.

"During three decades, the late Senator Neely led the fight for cancer research on the floor of Congress--led it, with magnificent eloquence and determination, until he himself was cut down by this dread disease.

"As long ago as 1928, he proposed an appropriation of \$100,000 to the National Academy of Science to make a thorough study of the incidence of cancer in this country. It was slashed to \$50,000.

"In 1946, while a member of the House of Representatives, he introduced a bill to appropriate \$100 million to be used over whatever period was needed for a large-scale research offensive against cancer.

"Matt Neely's words and efforts were not in vain. Last year Congress voted \$90 million to the National Cancer Institute for one year's research.

"When Senator Neely began his fight, 125,000 Americans were dying each year of cancer. Last year it was 260,000. "Because cancer has reached epidemic proportions in this country, we must mobilize every resource to conquer it.

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"I therefore pledge to the American people that, if I am elected President, I will call a White House Conference early in 1961 to bring together the best medical and scientific brains in this country to plan an accelerated attack upon this disease.

"I earnestly hope that all other candidates for the Presidency will take the same position. Cancer strikes without regard to political party. It struck down Senator Taft and Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, just as it did Matt Neely and Senator Brien MacMahon.

"It pays no heed to the Iron Curtain, either. Almost a year ago a Senate Government Operations Subcommittee, of which I am chairman, issued a report entitled: "Cancer: A World-Wide Menace".

"That document pointed out that cancer kills two million people a year in all parts of the world, that its incidence is rising in 33 countries, and that it is the second leading cause of death in the Soviet Union, as well as in the United States and most of Europe.

"In transmitting this report to the Senate, I pointed out that this disease is one 'whose ultimate conquest will undoubtedly involve an unparalelled effort of world-wide biomedical research'.

"American doctors who have visited the Soviet Union recently report that Russia has embarked upon a massive 15-year plan for medical research on cancer.

"We keep secret - and the Soviet Union Keeps secret - the research that goes into the development of ever more devastating weapons.

"But we have no reason to keep secret - and every reason to share - the research aimed at this deadly enemy which spares neither American Senators nor Communist commissars.

"That's why, when I had my eight-hour talk with Mr. Khrushchev a year ago, I spent much of it urging upon him a world-wide attack upon the killers and cripplers of manking - cancer, heart disease, tuberculosis, malaria, and many others.

"It made sense to him - even to this hard, cunning, and dedicated Communist. He liked the idea of what I call 'Health for Peace'.

"Indeed, I have long advocated a 'Works of Peace' program aimed at poverty, hunger, and illiteracy as well as disease.

"I have voted again and again for programs of overseas technical and economic aid. And I have always maintained that the Americans of Cabin Creek are as fully entitled to help the kind that helps people to help themselves - as the people

of Afghanistan or Africa. I have talked, too, about "Food for Peace" -- putting our God-given abundance of food to work providing balanced diets in West Virginia and whereever in the world people are hungry... I have talked, tod, of 'Education for Peace' -- a coordinated, world-wide attack upon illiteracy which would make use of the soft currencies we receive in repayment for development loans and for sales of surplus food.

> "These ideas - these 'Works of Peace' - are not original with me. They draw upon a rich American tradition - and, may I say, a Jesuit tradition as well.

> "The great Jesuit missionaries preached the word of God but they also healed the sick, fed the hungry, and taught the illiterate.

"Indeed, in many places they gave the people among whom they worked the very gift of literacy -- putting into writing languages that hitherto had been only spoken.

"My friends, there are some people who say that wars among men will only end when we face the attack of a common enemy. Half cynically, half humorously, they have suggested that the world will unite only to repel invaders from Mars. We don't need to wait for the little green men to launch their science fiction attack. Our common enemies -poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy 9- have always been with us. Until day before (over)

love Foley St Clave WAR THAT CAN BE WON Remarks of Senator Hubert H. Humphrey at Wheeling College, Wheeling, West Va., Thursday, May 5, 1960) mol I take my theme for today's talk from one of the youngest of living Americans -- former President Harry S. Truman. He said on May 24, 1951: "The only kind of war we seek is the good old fight against man's ancient enemies...poverty, disease, hunger, and illiteracy."

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hitherto had been only spoken.

My friends, there are some people who say that wars among men will only end when we face the attack of a common enemy. Half cynically, half humorously, they have suggested that the world will unite only to repel invaders from

effectively.

Now what we principally lack is the intelligence and the will.

I pray that, within my lifetime and certainly within yours, this will be the only war that anyone in this world will seek.

May 5, 1960

For Rolease: Thursday p.m.'s May 5, 1960

DISARMAMENT AND THE SUMMIT

(Excerpts from address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey before Bethany College, West Virginia, Thursday a.m., May 5)

"Only eleven days from now President Eisenhower, Chairman Khrushchev, Prime Minister Macmillan, and President DeGaulle will begin the summit meeting at Geneva.

"I have no crystal ball, and I will not attempt to prophesy what the outcome will be. I do know what I hope President Eisenhower will work for, with all the influence and persuasive power he -- and I mean <u>he</u>, and not any "stand-in" --- can bring to bear.

"I hope that he will propose that disarmament and arms control will be put at the very top of the agenda, and that the other three leaders will agree.

"I know that armaments and political tensions among nations feed upon one another. I know that many students of international affairs maintain that you cannot make any progress on one without the other.

"I cannot agree to that. It reminds me of the law that some town passed about the crossing of two railroad lines: 'When two trains meet at the crossing, neither shall proceed before the other,'

"I think that, for the time being, we and the Soviet Union shall have to agree to disagree about Berlin -- and, indeed, about the two Germanies, and all the other political problems that clutter the international agenda. The Russians have given no indication that they are, in the field of political problems, ready to stop propagandizing and begin serious negotiation. That does not mean that we should forget these problems, or condone them.

"It does mean, however, that our immediate major effort should be in disarmament, where the ussians seem in a mood to 'talk turkey'. There are obvious reasons for this. The Russians have come to recognize that the armaments race threatens both sides of the Iron Curtain with mutual annihilation Moreoever -- as the recent news of strikes and riots among Soviet workers emphasizes -- the men in the Kremlin have compelling domestic reasons for wanting to beat some of their swords into ploughshares.

"Indeed, I noted over a year ago -- on my return from my visit to the Soviet Union -- that Chairman Khrushchev needed peace. I predicted even then that he would launch a big push <u>for disarmament</u>. We should have been ready, but we weren't.

"There are two major steps toward disarmament that can and should be taken at the summit meeting. <u>One</u> of these is to resolve the major obstacle standing in the way of a nuclear test ban agreement. The <u>second</u> is to lay down general directives for the future course of the current ten-nation disarmament talks.

"Because time does not permit, I shall not describe the test ban treaty in detail. Agreement on some important points has been reached; on others it has not.

"I believe, however, that it is fair to say that the <u>major</u> obstacle to agreement is the dispute over the number of veto-free, on-site inspections that shall be permitted in the Soviet Union each year.

"Like so much in this complex question of disarmament, this is a highly tecnnical question. I shall explain it as best I can.

"If the treaty is agreed upon, control posts would be set up within the Soviet Union -- as elsewhere in the world -- to monitor shocks to the earth's surface.

"Up to a certain number of times each year, an international inspection team would have the right, free of veto, to make on-site investigations of an event registered at the control post: which could not be identified as an earthquake.

"The United States position is that at least 20 inspections a year would be needed in the Soviet Union to check for possible prohibited explosions. I fully support that position. Indeed, I have publicly warned that Soviet leaders that no treaty which provides for less than twenty would command the two-thirds majority in the Senate needed for its ratification.

"I know the traditional Russian bent for secrecy -- a bent long preceding Soviet assession to power. But I hope they will recognize that this is a modest and reasonable adjustment to make.

"The achievement of a test-kan agreement at the summit -- or, to be more realistic, the removal of this major obstacle -- would sound a trumpet of hope for troubled and fearful mankind.

"Such hopes, however, would be cruelly disappointed if the summit conference stopped there -- and did not make a real effort to get the tennation disarmament talks off the lead center where they are currently stranded.

"The problem is that the great powers each want to ride off in a different direction -- and therefore are getting nowhere. If the summit conference can decide on the direction of the next steps in these negotiations, even in very general terms, it would be most helpful.

"Meanwhile, there is a lot of urgent homework that we need to do. We need to know much more about controls before we can seriously negotiate them. We cannot expect the Soviets to do this work for us. They are allergiz to controls, and will accept as little as they can. Asking them to develop controls is like expecting a man condemned to be hanged to make his own rope.

"I have been warning for many months that we are not prepared for serious negotiation on controls. At long last, the Department of State itself has acknowledged this fact. Here is a quotation from the testimony of Mr Raymond Hare, the Deputy Under Secretary of State, before the House Appropriations Committee:

> "In reviewing our approach to disarmament, it was further found that the most serious deficiency in the US approach has been the lack of adequate Planning and studies in the field of disarmament."

"At long last, too, there are reports of a possible upgrading of the Office of Disalmament within the Department of State. That is good as far as it goes -- but it doesn't go nearly far enough. It comes late -- I don't say 'too late' -- and it is certainly too little.

as long ago of September, 1957 -- is a special agency devoted to the single and comprehensive problem of disarmament -- a sort of 'Manhatten Project' for Peace'.

"Early in February I introduced legislation to establish a National Peace Agency. It should have the services of some of the ablest and most dedicated people in the country. It should have authority to coordinate the many different projects in the general disarmament field which are presently splintered among the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of State.

"Its single, over-riding assignment should be to find a way to end the arms race. In the existing agencies, this is at best a part-time or occasional assignment. Then, too, there is a built-in contradiction in expecting any Department of Defense to give whole-hearted enthusiasm to limiting armaments -- or any Atomic Energy Commission to show as much zeal for curtailing atom bombs as for developing more effective and varied ones.

"The Department of State would continue, of course, to carry on disarmament negotiations -- and I have introduced legislation to upgrade this function by establishing an Assistant Secretary of State for Disarmament and Atomic Energy Affairs. The quest for safeguarded disarmament must be at the heart and center of American foreign policy. It must be placed as far as

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possible within the framework of the United Nations because disarmament is a concern of all countries, and not only of the great powers. By making our statements on disarmament in the forum of the United Nations we can -- if our case is sound -- rally behind it the moral force and the conscience of mankind.

"We have a better than even chance of making the last four decades of the 20th Century decades of peace. And if we can keep peace for the next 40 years, there is real hope that the habit may take hold "The schlevement of a test-lan agreement at the summit -- o more realistic, the removal of this major obstacle -- would sound for good. a trumpet

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Prof Tide Bullard Of best School of C Christ tion church DISARMAMENT AND THE SUMMIT Bethany College West Virginia Thursday morning, May 5 Prus. Grushav Big Problems most Important Chellenze - Peace /Only eleven days from now President Eisenhower, Chairman Khrushchev, Prime Minister Macmillan, and President DeGaulle will begin the summit meeting at Geneva. I have no crystal ball, and I will not attempt to prophesy what the outcome will be. I do know what I hope President Eisenhower will work for, with all the influence and persuasive power he -- and I mean he, and not any "stand-in" -- can bring to bear. I hope that he will propose that disarmament and arms control will be put at

the very top of the agenda, and that the other

three leaders will agree.

I know that armaments and political tensions among nations feed upon one another. I know that many students of international affairs maintain that you cannot make any progress on one without the other. I cannot agree to that. It reminds me of the law that some town passed about the crossing of two railroad lines: "When two trains meet at the crossing, neither shall proceed before the other." I think that, for the time being, we and the Soviet Union shall have to agree to disagree about Berlin -- and, indeed, about the two Germanies, and all the other political problems that clutter the international agenda.

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The Russians have given no indication that they are, in the field of political problems, ready to stop propagansizing and begin serious 10000 negotiation. That does not mean that we should forget these problems, or condone them. It does mean, however, that our immediate major effort should be in disarmament, where the Russians seem in a mood to "talk turkey." There are obvious reasons for this. The Russians have come to recognize that the armaments race threatens both sides of the Iron Curtain with mutual annihilation. Moreover -- as the recent news of strikes and riots among Soviet workers emphasizes -the men in the Kremlin have compelling domestic reasons for wanting" to beat some of their swords into ploughshares!

Indeed, I noted over a year ago -- on my return from my visit to the Soviet Union -that Chairman Khrushchev needed peace. I predicted even then that he would launch a big push for disarmament. We should have been ready, but we weren't.

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There are two major steps toward disarmament that can and should be taken at the summit meeting. <u>One</u> of these is to resolve the major obstacle standing in the way of a nuclear test ban agreement. The <u>Second</u> is to lay down general directives for the future course of the current ten-nation disarmament talks.

Because time does not permit, I shall not describe the test ban treaty in detail.

Agreement on some important points has been reached; on others it has not.

I believe, however, that it is fair to say that the <u>major</u> obstacle to agreement is the dispute over the number of veto-free, on-site inspections that shall be permitted in the Soviet Union each year.

Like so much in this complex question of disarmament, this is a highly technical question.

If the treaty is agreed upon, control posts would be set up within the Soviet Union -- as elsewhere in the world -- to monitor

shocks to the earth's surface.

Up to a certain number of times each year, an international inspection team whould have the right, free of veto, to make on-site investigations of an event registered at the

control posts which could not be identified as an earthquake.

 \bigwedge The United States position is that at least twenty inspections a year would be needed in the Soviet Union to check for possible prohibited explosions. I fully support that position. Indeed, I have publicly warned the Soviet leaders that no treaty which provides for less than twenty would command the two-thirds majority in the Senate needed for its ratification. I know the traditional Russian bent for secrecy -- a bent long preceding Soviet assession to power. But I hope they will recognize that this is a modest and reasonable adjustment to make.

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The achievement of a test-ban agreement at the summit -- or, to be more realistic, the removal of this major obstacle -- would sound a trumpet of hope for troubled and fearful mankind. Such hopes, however, would be cruelly disappointed if the summit conference stopped there -- and did not make a real effort to get the ten-nation disarmament talks off the dead center where they are currently stranded. The problem is that the great powers each want to ride off in a different direction -and therefore are getting nowhere. / If the summit conference can decide on the direction of the next steps in these negotiations, even

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Meanwhile, there is a lot of urgent homework that we need to do. We need to know much more about controls before we can seriously negotiate them. We cannot expect the Soviets to do this work for us. They are allergic to controls, and will accept as little as they can. Asking them to develop controls is like expecting a man condemned to be hanged to make his own

rope.

I have been warning for many months that we are not prepared for serious negotiation on controls. At long last, the Department of State itself has acknowledged this fact. Here is a quotation from the testimony of Mr. Raymond Hare, the Deputy Under Secretary of State, before the House Appropriations Committee: "In reviewing our approach to disarmament, it was further found that the most serious deficiency in the US approach has been the lack of adequate planning and studies in the field of disarmament."

At long last, too, there are reports of a possible upgrading of the Office of Disarmament within the Department of State. That is good as far as it goes -- but it doesn't go nearly far enough. It comes late -- I don't say "too late" -- and it is certainly too little.

What we really need -- as the Senate Disarmament Committee proposed as long ago as September, 1957 -- is a special agency devoted to the single and comprehensive

problem of disarmament -- a sort of "Manhatten Project for Peace."

Early in February I introduced legislation to establish a National Peace Agency. It should have the services of some of the ablest and most dedicated people in the country. It should have authority to coordinate the many different projects in the general disarmament field which are presently splintered among the Department of Defense, the Atomic Energy Commission, the Central Intelligence Agency, and the Department of State.

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AN OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS

(Excerpts of address by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey at University of West Virginia, Thursday night, May 5)

"Sometimes when I travel from region to region in this country of ours, I think of the hungry little boy who saw a tree full of ripe apples on the other side of the hill.

"'Aint no reason to go over there," the little boy said sadly. "'I aint got no wag on to bring any apples home to the family."

"That is the story in too many regions of America today. We don't have enough 'wagons' to haul the abundant resources of one area to meet the desperate needs of another area.

"Some regions have more water than they need, while others lie wasted and unproductive in the sun.

"Some regions have more food than they need, while others are strained to feed the people.

"Some regions have more jobs than men, while other areas represent pockets of unemployment and inactivity.

"There are many men who say that this is just a natural state of affairs. They say it's all very sad and unfortunate, but that nothing can be done about it.

"Well, I disagree. I say that an unbalanced water supply, or an un-balanced distribution of food or an unbalanced employment force, should not be ignored. I say that it is the responsibility of Government to balance. the nation, to see that the resources of one area are utilized fully to meet the needs of another area.

"Now don't misunderstand. I am not talking about Government handouts or total Government control of the whole fabric and pattern of society. I am talking about Government with enough common sense and heart to work for the healty growth of every area, to help each area build its own security and prosperity.

"Let me use an example all of you will understand -- the unbalanced supply and demand of electric power, the vast supply of <u>coal</u> in West Virginia and the growing demand for electric power throughout the East.

"I have seen solid proof of that demand, my friends. America's population is growing by leaps and bounds. Its cities are spreading over wider areas. New homes are springing up like wild grass and new business and industry are boosting their output to service the growing population. And 55 percent of all Americans live within 500 miles of West Virginia. This growing region needs power -- and lots of it -- to meet the demands of more people, more homes, more business.

West Virginia is in the center of this circle of growth. And West Virginia has the source for power -- coal. The state produces 30 percent of the Nation's supply but still has an estimated eight times the amount of coal it has already produced under the ground. West Virginia's coal can produce power -- and lots of it -- to meet the needs of the growing East.

The implication is obvious. West Virginia should be the heart of the East -- sending out the life blood of any nation's growth, power. But instead, West Virginia and its vast resources are treated like an unnecessary appendage, getting smaller and smaller as the rest of the nation's body grows. and prospers.

"You know the results. Coal output is down. Miners are unemployed. The whole state -- and all its people -- have suffered because the coal industry is the most important in West Virginia.

"Despite the tragic effects of the industry's decline, West Virginians have not given up. You are a hardy, determined people, and you are not quitters. Like the little boy eyeing the apple tree on the other side of the hill, you are not going to move off to satisfy your own individual needs. You are going to stay put, and face the responsibility for taking care of your families, your homes and your state.

"And like the little boy who needed a wagon to carry the apples, West Virginia needs a <u>new</u> method for sending the power of its coal to the growing areas which need it.

"The cost of hauling your coal to centers of consumption is just too high. The freight charge for transporting coal by traditional methods amounts to almost three-fourths of the average value of coal at the mine. Such costs represent a major competitive disadvantage for coal compared to other energy sources.

"There is a new method to reduce such costs and increase the demand and production of coal. This is the establishment of power stations at the mines able to send electricity by line to the major consuming centers.

"Traditionally, the cost of transmitting electricity over high voltage power lines more than 200 miles has been greater than the cost of transporting the coal itself.

"But today growing demand has established the need for huge "blocks" of power at specific conters of consumption. Sweden has demonstrated that it is economically feasible to transmit more than 500,000 volts more than 500 milles. And, yes, the Soviet Union has done the same thing.

"It is obvious that '<u>mine-mouth</u> electric power stations' represent an exciting new possibility for the growth of the coal industry and the revitalization of West Virginia's economy.

"The state is ideally located for such power stations. In time, electrical power from your coal could hum steadily through the high lines stretching to America's great industrial and urban centers. The coal beneath your hills could then become the source of new wealth and economic security for West Virginians.

"Just listen to one prediction, reported recently by the Federal Power Commission. FPC experts estimate that ten strategically-placed <u>mine-mouth</u> generating plants could supply the entire area east of the Mississippi with sufficient electrical power. Those ten plants could do the job --done by 1,623 plants now scattered in various regions.

"But much must be done. It is the job of the Federal government to take the lead in encouraging construction of mine-mouth generating plants. We must embark on a bold new program to stimulate the use of West Virginia coal. We must immediately establish a mood of cooperation between Federal and State governments and private industry to accomplish that purpose.

"Right now we have the chance to make a big start in this direction. Congress is considering legislation calling for a study of the electical power supply situation in the United States. The study would pave the way for additional legislation to assure development of bulk power supply.

"The establishment of mine-mouth power stations would not be a boost just for industry in other states.

"West Virginia's great potential contributions would be vividly dramatized to the whole nation. Others would come to understand -- as I do -- the wealth of this state.

"Development of new, low-cost energy resources can be the single greatest attraction to new industry to move into West Virginia itself. Paper and chemical industries which consume huge quantities of electrical energy and use coal, water and forest products could not resist the West Virginia location. And -- above all -- others would come to appreciate the skills and reliability of West Virginia's labor force. It is time for government, to balance the nation. It is time for giant steps to balance the needs for power with the supply of coal here. It is time for transforming the <u>potential</u> wealth of West Virginia into <u>real</u> prosperity for her citizens.

Pres dr Elis 000927 Westvirgen Universi AN OPPORTUNI TY FOR PROGRESS University of West Virginia⁴ Thursday night, May 5 rold Barron Sometimes when I travel from region to region in this country of ours, I think of the hungry little boy who saw a tree full of ripe apples on the other side of the hill. "Aint no reason to go over there," the little boy said sadly. "I aint got no wagon to bring any apples home to the family." That is the story in too many regions of perm America today. We do not have enough "wagons" to haul the abundant resources of one area to meet the desperate needs of another area. Some regions have more water than they need, while others lie wasted and unproductive

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-10-

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