

From the Office of
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
1311 New Senate Office Building
Washington 25, D. C.
Capitol 4-3121, Ext. 2424

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HUMPHREY: "U.S. MUST GUIDE, NOT RESIST,

TODAY'S SOCIAL REVOLUTION

Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) declared last night that the United States "must seek to guide---and not resist---the social revolution which is sweeping the world today."

Humphrey, Senate Majority Whip and a ranking member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, spoke at the annual meeting of Americans for Democratic Action in Washington (Mayflower Hotel).

"The people of Latin America, Asia, Africa and other underdeveloped regions are rebelling, but they are not turning communist," Humphrey said.

"They are becoming free. They are demanding to be a part of the 20th century, to take part in progress---modern, technological and social progress.

"This revolution for progress and social reform is inevitable. The only question is whether we will ride this wave---and attempt to guide it toward freedom---or whether we will be crushed trying to resist it.

"Too often we blame communist infiltration or subversion for a revolution or uprising by the people against a government, when in fact it is a revolution against poverty, against hunger, against oppressive conditions of the past.

"And when these uprisings succeed, Khrushchev is happy to take credit, to claim a victory for communism.

"Why should we hand such unearned victories to Khrushchev? Why not identify ourselves with the aspirations of restless millions, and claim their victories for the side of freedom?

"Let's join the people. Let's take the side of the people in their struggle for social reform and progress, in their just war for a better life.

"For too long, it was necessary for a foreign country to prove the danger of local communist domination before we were deeply concerned or willing to help.

"It was not enough for the people of a country to be poor, or hungry, or sick to arouse us. There had to be a communist threat.

"We must accelerate our efforts to help the nations and regions who struggle for economic progress and social reform, not because we are fighting a cold war

M o r e

against communism, but because we are fighting a noble war for the progress of man.

"Let us---and I mean all free men and free nations, not just the United States---exert a mighty effort to help the desperate millions of the world, and to guide their revolution toward the path of freedom and independence."

"I urge that we be bold enough and alert enough to seize every opportunity to identify ourselves with change and progress---with tomorrow rather than yesterday.

"I urge that we treat the future as a possible friend, not a probable foe."

Ed Hallander

Sam Beer

PARTNERS FOR PROGRESS, FRIENDS OF FREEDOM

Excerpts of Remarks by
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

ADA - 14th Annual Convention
Washington, D.C., May 13, 1961

My friends and fellow-members of ADA -- it

is good to be with you again, and to take part

in the proceedings of this important Convention.

and, It is good to have liberalism back in power.

It is even better that we shall be able to use

that power to launch many of the programs --

foreign and domestic -- which we in ADA have

advocated over these past eight barren years.

It is good to see so many of our own ADA

people in positions of honor and responsibility.

I think particularly tonight of my old friend

Jim Loeb, just now taking up his post as Ambassador

~~Am~~ Jim Loeb

~~White~~ Art Schilling

~~NLRB~~ Frank McCulloch

~~State~~ Phil Sherr

~~Belmar~~ Ben Staphanski

~~Phil Kaiser~~
Phil Kaiser

Back in
Power!

Jim Loeb - Saw JFK.
Saw wsc
No - w.v.
Jim says doesn't know
anything about Diplomacy
(Oh yeah - ADA)

Last May 10th
20 yrs Ago
Union
Prime
Action

to Peru.

The fact that President Kennedy has appointed such people as Jim Loeb and Arthur Schlesinger -- and others of similar intelligence, ability, and liberalism -- is one of the many things that gives me *so much* confidence in him.

This is no time,
~~and we must not~~ however, to bask too long in the *joy* ~~gloria~~ of electoral victory. I want to take advantage of this opportunity, among so many old and good friends, to speak soberly about the dangerous patterns of today's world.

All of us were cheered last week by Commander Shepard's flight through space. Many of us joined in the heart-warming welcome Washington gave to this gallant young man. His achievement made us

*Space
Commander
Shepard*

proud to be Americans.

Yet, if we look frankly and deeply into
our hearts, we ^{must} admit that anxiety preceded our

pride. We were almost painfully tense as we

waited for the latest bulletins from Cape Canaveral.

After an overdose of depressing headlines, we

longed for this reassurance ~~that we were still~~

~~in the game.~~

~~It is not an appropriate or dignified posture~~

~~for a great people to hang on the headlines this~~

Last month Mr. Walter Lippmann had a long

talk with Mr. Khrushchev -- just as I did two

and a half years ago. The Soviet leader spoke

freely to Mr. Lippmann, as he did to me.

Mr. Khrushchev remains utterly convinced

not just
as long
as mine
But Walter
asks
questions!

that the future belongs to Communism.

He appears to be more relaxed and confident than when I spoke with him. While crises in Congo Cuba and Laos crowd our headlines, his attitude toward them seems almost casual. Of this Mr.

Lippman writes:

"The support of the revolutionary movement among these countries is for him an interesting, hopeful, agreeable opportunity, but it is not a vital interest..."

He gave Mr. Lippmann one very revealing clue about the source of his almost Olympian confidence when he discussed Iran, where he saw a revolution as inevitable.

"You (Americans) will assert," he said, "that the Shah has been overthrown by the Communists, and

we shall be very glad to have it thought in the world that all the progressive people in Iran recognize that we are the leaders of the progress of mankind."

In effect, Mr. Khrushchev was saying -- with that brutal frankness so typical of him -- that change and progress anywhere in the world is coming to be labeled as "Communist" and stagnation in the status quo as American.

Too often we have ^{credited} ~~had~~ communist infiltration or subversion for a revolution or uprising by the people against a government, when in fact it was a revolution against poverty, against hunger, against oppressive conditions of the past.

Revolution
Against
Poverty

And when these uprisings succeed, Khrushchev

is happy to take credit, to claim a victory for
communism.

Why - Why - Why - Why should we hand such unearned victories
to Khrushchev? Why not identify ourselves with
the aspiration of restless millions, and claim
their victories for the side of freedom?

When a government is toppled anywhere in
the world, we anxiously await word as to how
many of the new leaders are Communists. If we
finally hear that they are "pro-Western," we
breathe a deep sigh of relief.

This turns international politics into a
kind of "Perils of Pauline." But real life
isn't like the serials of the silent movie days.
We can't always expect the hero to arrive in the
nick of time.

L We should move ahead of these crises, rather
than let them overtake us.

Move
Ahead!

L If we fear that any change may be a change
for the worse -- if we cling to the status quo for
fear of Communism -- we create a myth far more
powerful and attractive than Soviet reality.

and L Mr. Khrushchev is better aware than anyone
that everything isn't fine and dandy in the
"Communist paradise."

L True, the Russians have developed rockets
of a thrust beyond ours, rockets capable of
putting an astronaut in orbit around the earth.

✓ L But, 44 years after the Bolsheviks seized power,
the great majority of the Russian people remain
earthbound to poverty. Agriculture is in a state
of chronic crisis. Just last month, both meat

Earthbound
to Poverty!

Agua

and milk were unavailable in Moscow, the showplace
~~of~~
of the Soviet Union.

Yes, There are severe strains in the Soviet urban
economy as well, as shown in a recent series of
drastic decrees. Under one such decree, local
magistrates were given power to exile "idlers and
parasites" to labor colonies for a period of up
to five years. Under another decree, anyone found
guilty of large-scale embezzlement of public
property may be sent before a firing squad.

| Soviet
urban
Economy

In citing this evidence that the Soviet Union
is feeling the strain of its forced growth, I do
not belittle the achievements of the great Russian
people -- or even of their rulers, who have demonstrated
at least that totalitarian planning has advantages

over no planning at all.

L I merely say that these Soviets are not ten feet tall.

L ~~say~~ say that, if they can claim -- and convince many people to believe them -- that they are "the leaders of the progress of mankind," it is largely by our default.

I say, paraphrasing Shakespeare:

L "The fault, dear Brutus, is not with their Marx

But in ourselves."

L We have, ~~particularly in the~~ ^{these} last eight years,

pinned ourselves firmly to the one thing which history shows cannot and will not endure -- the status quo.

We have limped along with a collection of

"The great revolution in the history of man,
past, present and future, is the revolution
of those determined to be free."

President John F. Kennedy

April 18, 1961

aging albatrosses hung around our neck so heavy
that the Ancient Mariner, if he saw us, would
feel up to dancing a hornpipe.

*Jingoism
+
morality!*

Like King Canute -- but on many beaches
rather than one -- we have commanded the tide
not to come in -- and then been amazed and upset
when it did.

The people of Latin America, Asia, Africa
and other underdeveloped regions are rebelling;
they are on a wave of change, but they are not
turning communist.

Rebelling!

*Freeing themselves from the
yesterday!*

They are becoming free. They are demanding
vital
to be a part of the 20th century, to take a part
in progress---modern, technological, and social
progress.

L This revolution for progress and social
reform is inevitable. The only question is

*Revolution
inevitable*

whether we will ride this wave---and attempt to
guide it toward freedom---or whether we will be
crushed trying to resist it.

~~I know -- because I have been a politician~~

~~all my life, and I'm well aware of political~~

~~realities -- that there are some kinds of change~~

~~with which, unlike the Communists, we can't~~

~~identify ourselves~~

now, of course

L There are situations out of which we shall
have to ease ourselves gradually. ~~There are~~

~~relationships that we shall have to taper off,~~

~~rather than break abruptly.~~

What I am urging is that we be bold

and

Identify with
Non Communist
Left!!

~~be~~ alert enough to seize every possible opportunity

to identify ourselves with ~~the~~ progress --

with tomorrow rather than with yesterday.

yes

What I am urging is that we treat the future

as a possible friend, not a probable foe.

How can we begin?

~~We must~~
~~first, we can involve ourselves (and, I~~

~~may say, our European friends) more earnestly~~

~~and more adequately in the revolution of rising~~

~~expectations which is now sweeping the world.~~

~~on forming the future~~
We made a bold new beginning with Point Four

of President Truman's historic 1949 Inaugural

Address. But in more recent years we have lost much

of that momentum. ~~all too often we,~~ We have scattered aid aimlessly

over the world, with little concentration upon

those people most willing to help themselves.

Moreover, we in Congress have insisted on reviewing and revising the program each year --

ignoring the fact that economic growth, like any

kind of growth, takes time.

and continuity and Planning

For too long, it has been necessary for a

~~foreign country to prove the danger of~~

~~communist domination before we were deeply concerned~~

~~on things to help.~~

and

It was not enough for the people of a country

to be poor, or hungry, or sick to arouse us. There

had to be a communist threat.

Can't we now ~~just~~ accelerate our efforts to help the

nations and regions who struggle for economic

progress and social reform, not because we are

fighting a cold war against communism, but because

is right

Because it is needed!

~~Because we are fighting a noble war for the progress of man.~~

Let us -- and I mean all free men and free nations, not just the United States -- exert a mighty effort to help the desperate millions of the world, and to guide their revolution toward the path of freedom and independence.

I had the pleasure of working shoulder to shoulder with the President (then Senator Kennedy) in an effort two years ago to put overseas aid on a sound and long-term basis.

The effort failed, due to lack of support from the Republican Administration. But in the coming weeks you will see it launched again, this time from the White House itself.

We'll need all the help you can give us.

I like this "light a fire" campaign you have launched, and I hope you keep it up.

- Do what ^{is} ~~comes naturally~~ ^{Right} ~~Right~~

- FOOD FOR PEACE - Geoma Co
- Health - Peace Corps!
- Educa - Coops - (Land Reform Japan!!)
- Social Progress - Es. And
massive - + to those
who Reform!

Identify with Peace-

- (1) Geneva Nuclear Test Ban Conference
(John Mc Cleary)
- (2) not Peace Agency-
- (3) U.N. - ARMM it! - Stagger it!

Budget Personnel
Secretary - Genl -

Souiet seeks to DISARM it!

✓ of our "Food for Peace" program is
~~Meanwhile, I'm delighted to see that the~~

~~"food for peace" program~~ is well under way,

with the leadership of my good friend George

McGovern.

This is fighting & winning the war against hunger!

I've spoken for this so often and in so

many places that I sometimes have to pinch myself

to realize that it has actually come about!

~~I want to make it clear at this time that~~

~~I have never thought of this program as designed~~

~~to make other countries permanently dependent~~

~~upon us for food they can and should ultimately~~

~~grow for themselves.~~

~~Quite the contrary. I think we should help~~

~~them push forward.~~ Here we are leading from

strength. The Russians may not have much to

learn from us about sending rockets to the moon.

But they have a lot to learn about farming.

It keeps 33 % of ^{the} Russians busy feeding the Soviet Union. It takes only 8 % of Americans to provide our citizens a much more adequate and varied diet -- more, indeed, than we can eat ourselves.

no
metrical
in
USSR

We have know-how about seed strains and fertilizers. We have experience in the kind of farm credit that can free the peasant from being in hock all his life to the village money-lender.

But, again, we needn't try to do the whole job ourselves. Our Japanese friends have much more experience than ~~us~~ in the type of intensive farming which is necessary in much of over-crowded Asia. They've even developed bantam tractors which work on these tiny plots of land.

Indeed, I'm told a Japanese farm youngster hardly rates a wife nowadays unless he can provide her with one of these tractors -- which, God bless her, she's quite willing and able to run herself.

~~we~~ we should be bringing farm leaders from all of the developing countries to look at the real agricultural revolution that is sweeping the Japanese countryside. This is genuine land reform -- not the fake Marxist kind that "gives" the peasant his land, then snatches it away from him by herding him into collective farms.

The Japanese farmer got his land and he is keeping it. Under his loving and hard-working care, it is yielding bumper crops. You don't see any Japanese Prime Minister tearing around

the country like Khrushchev, scolding the farmers
and urging them to do better.

It's interesting to note that when the Soviet
leaders try to define what Communism will be like
when they finally achieve it, they always claim
as one of their goals a standard of living in the
countryside as high as in the cities.

That's one goal I won't quarrel with them
about, because I've been working for it here in
America throughout my political career. But I'd
like to point out that Japan has made more real
progress toward this in the 15 years since the
War than Russia has made in the 44 years since
the revolution.

Please note that I'm not against farmers working
together -- I'm only against farmers being forced

Coops

to work together. It isn't right -- and Soviet
experience has shown that it isn't productive
either. What I'd like to see us giving vigorous
support to is the extension of the voluntary
cooperative movement.

Support
the
Coops

We have a rich resource in the long and
successful experience of our cooperatives. But,
too often, in our determination to present America
as the paradise of rugged individualism, we treat
our cooperative movement as something a shade un-American,
almost socialist -- something to be hidden away
rather than put in our front window.

~~It isn't. It's as American as the habit of our~~
~~pioneers joining together to help build each other's~~
~~log-cabins -- a log-rolling tradition which, by the~~
~~way, survives to this very day on Capitol Hill!~~

But

Just as profound as the longing of peoples
the world over for a better life is their longing
for peace in which to enjoy it, and their horror
at the possibility of a nuclear war.

DISARM

Here also we are making progress toward
rejoining the human race. Too often in the past
our disarmament proposals, like those of the
Russians, were made more for propaganda purposes
than anything else. While we prepared for war
like titans, we planned for peace like pygmies.

I have, as you know, been a long-time tiller
in these vineyards of peace. As Chairman of the
Senate Subcommittee on Disarmament, I have for
years been deeply concerned with these complex
problems. I am delighted to see that many more

people are concerned about them now than when

I began.

You know, the "progressive conservatives"

who were lately in power here have been defined

by my good friend Joe Glazer as people who, if

you shoved them hard enough and long enough,

would stumble forward. So, in their final

months, we finally saw the establishment of a

Disarmament Administration to give this subject

something like the priority and the push it

deserved.

Under the leadership of John McCloy, the

work of this Administration is going forward,

preparatory to disarmament negotiations in the

coming months. And I am delighted that President

Kennedy is to give peace an even higher priority

Beginning
DISARM

in our efforts, through the establishment of a
National Peace Agency.

Peace is, of course, more than disarmament,
more even than the absence of war.

It means that there must be effective and
just machinery for the settlement of the disputes
which inevitably rise among nations and peoples.

It means that there must be opportunity for
orderly and peaceful change.

It means that, just as much of the world has
moved forward from dependence to independence in
recent years, so we must all move together to
greater interdependence.

This is the tide of history. And here is one
tide that the Communists are missing.

They have thoroughly identified themselves
as Old Believers in national sovereignty, first,
last, and always.

They are seeking to weaken the United Nations,
rather than build it up.

They are trying to extend the veto from the
Security Council to all aspects of the UN, even
to the office of Secretary-General itself.

It is apparent that the Soviet Union is less
interested in constructive discussion and negotiation
than in sparking turmoil, disorder and violence.

The number one tactic of the Soviet Union to
disarm the rest of the world is to strip the United
Nations of its power and authority.

This tactic must not succeed. We must work to

strengthen the United Nations, to "arm" that organization as a center of power to assure law and order.

We must arm the United Nations with an adequate budget, with full support for the Secretary General, with enough personnel for its missions, and, indeed, with an effective police force.

The real interests of all the free nations -- aligned as well as non-aligned -- are in sharp contrast to those of the Communists.

We share with them a deep interest in the building up of the international forces of law and order. Mr. Khrushchev sees his best opportunities in a multiply-divided world drifting toward chaos.

Even for so powerful a nation as ours there are grave risks in "going it alone."

We certainly cannot successfully use our power to impose an anti-Communist ideology on other nations.

But our power is still enormous when we exert it through the United Nations with broad support from its Asian and African members.

Particularly, we should concentrate on measures that unite the free nations, rather than those that divide them.

Therefore, as I look toward President Kennedy's noble concept of an alliance for progress in this hemisphere, I place just as much stress on "alliance" as on "progress."

Therefore, in our African policy, I urge that we identify ourselves with the things that unite these new nations -- the desire for economic progress and the opposition to involvement in the cold war -- rather than the things that divide them.

I am not too concerned, in this broad African context, about particular nations that lean somewhat away from us and even somewhat toward the Soviet bloc.

I think there is enough real identity of purpose among Africans that no such individual state will lean too far or too long, for fear of getting out of touch with the others.

But, of course, the most important new frontiers for world order lie in the United Nations itself.

and at the U.N. - 27 -

Stgth

And I am delighted that we have representing
us there one of our most thoughtful, accomplished,
and profound students and practitioners of international
diplomacy -- Governor Adlai Stevenson.

~~Thanks to him, and to the support given him~~
by our President, we are well on the way back to the
high road toward a stronger UN which we left last fall,
when the past Administration indulged in some clumsy
and short-sighted intervention in internal African
disputes.

I am frank to confess to you that service in the
U.N. is not without its irritations and frustrations.

There is a tendency on the part of some of the
neutralist delegates to apply what looks very much
like a double standard of morality -- a standard

according to which the Soviet bloc escapes

criticism for actions very much like those for

which the Western powers are heavily condemned.

It is becoming more and more clear, however,

that if there is to be an orderly world, there

must be a single standard for all nations, large

and small, Communist and free.

We will gain, likewise, from the new flexibility
of our policy -- and from a new Soviet rigidity.

We have now accepted the fact that there
can be neutral nations and neutral individuals --
and that they can contribute substantially to a
better and more orderly world.

Meanwhile, as Mr. Lippmann has noted, Mr.

Khrushchev has declared a new dogma -- that there

can be no neutral individuals.

Neutrals
OK

He has applied it -- contrary to the better judgment of some of his Eastern European colleagues -- against the UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold.

From a rejection of neutrality in individuals it is only a step -- and a short one -- to the rejection of neutrality in nations.

He is very close to saying: "Whoever is not for us is against us."

We are saying, and I hope every day more convincingly: "If you are for a better and more orderly world, and for a better and more abundant life for all its peoples, we are with you."

Thus, we are rejoining history at the very point that the Russians are departing from it.

We are identifying ourselves with the human race,

Dulles
convinced
him

New
Standard

43

Good

EF

while the Russians are placing their dogma above
it.

H (Lance)

Perhaps the best thing about accepting and
welcoming change as the rule of life is the
opportunity this gives us to help in shaping the
future.

L A great nation cannot be content to do good
in little ways. It must think and act greatly.

*Don
Figueres*

A tried and true friend of yours and mine
gave us some good advice the other day. I am
speaking of that great democratic leader of
Latin America, Jose Figueres, who addressed this
Convention two years ago.

L "You cannot stop Communism" he said. "You
have to run faster. You ran faster in Europe
after the Second World War and filled the vacuum.

You helped launch the present European democratic renaissance...

"Let us not allow ourselves to be pinned down
and paralyzed by exclusive attention to the spots
of immediate crisis. This is precisely what our
enemies would want us to do.

"Rather, let us get going on the programs of
hemispheric development. Let us rescue the prestige
of the democratic system. Let us prove that the
job can be done in freedom."

Pepe Figueres is putting in today's language
the solemn warning of the Old Testament:

"Where there is no vision, the people perish."

It is not enough to circulate throughout the
world the Federalist Papers, the Constitution, or
even the Declaration of Independence.

These venerable and venerated documents are
important. But it is even more important for us,
in facing today's problems, to recapture the faith,
the imagination, and the daring of the men who
wrote them.

↳ We thought and acted in the spirit of the
Founding Fathers when we created Lend-Lease, the
Marshall Plan and Point Four.

↳ We can think and act on that scale again.

↳ Looking outward from our own bracing and invigorating
New Frontier, we can fashion a Charter of Hope for
all mankind.

Some 135 years ago the people of this city were
preparing to celebrate the 50th anniversary of the
Declaration of Independence. The elected mayor of
Washington invited Thomas Jefferson to be the city's

alliance for Progress

Hope!

H

11

guest of honor.

L Note that I said the elected mayor. The
people of Washington then governed themselves,

and with your help I hope they will do so again.

L Jefferson replied that he was so "worn down
with age, infirmity, and pain" that he was "scarcely
able to walk from one room to another." But his
faith in the principles of 1776, and his confidence
that they were valid not only for America but for
the whole world, remained as bright as ever as he
wrote these words -- the last that were to come
from his immortal pen:

L "All eyes are opened, or are opening, to the
rights of man. 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 we living Americans need is the faith of
the dying Jefferson in ourselves and in the future
of freedom. If we have it, and are prepared to back
it with bold ideas and bolder deeds, we can -- and
we will -- meet and master the perils that beset us.

out ~~at~~ St
Pennsylvania to WRS
to N then left
RT on 36th
to 36th to
left on 36th to
Prospect.

Run 512

Maurice Neuberger

- (Douglas in Harvard
1 Year
- ① On Behalf of Paul Douglas
anyone bringing your own Sandwich
Rain Drunked, Muddy Boots
an Tramp-ish - (Please Stay)
 - ② Jim Carey - (Black tie & Dinner Jacket)
Art Sch
 - ③ Art Schlesinger
(Humorist)
Dinner College of Harvard
(Strong from, who's who)
- 18th Century Fox
Credits me! -
But, I'll not do the same!

④ ADA - So Respectable
no Attack in Congress!

May 10th
20 yrs
Ago
UDA

⑤ Last yr had Planned
to be in Florida this time
+ Kennedy you speak!

⑥ Roosevelt Day Dinner - no SP.
So look out tonight!

Go out again!

✓ Read!

✓ Good Grammar

✓ ~~Get~~ Ideas!

① Martin Rosenberg | funds!
Bob Nathan

Martin Space



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