

A TIME FOR COMPASSION, A TIME FOR EXCELLENCE

Address By
SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

National Conference
On International Economic and
Social Development
Washington, D.C.

June 16, 1961

We meet here at the end
of two very full days -- and at
the beginning of summer.

It would be pleasant to
leave here for Cape Cod or the
Virgin Islands -- or, better
still, the lakes and woods of

Minnesota.

It would be easy to reflect on the challenges we have discussed here at our leisure, and perhaps respond to them in September.

But poverty doesn't take a holiday. Disease doesn't take a holiday. Hunger doesn't take a holiday. Ignorance doesn't take a holiday.

Even
if NO
Commies!
Do what
is Right

Neither can we, for there is urgent work to do.

A restless and revolutionary world surrounds our island of

affluence.

The great zone of misery that girdles the earth -- including Latin America, Africa, the Middle East and Asia -- is ablaze with the knowledge that life can be better.

Poverty, hunger, disease and ignorance are not new. But this sense of urgency is new. The restless millions of the world are awake and rising.

They are not willing to wait for slow, evolutionary change which might perhaps, sometime

Not
willing
to
wait!

in the distant future, bring
security, dignity and justice
to their children or their grand-
children.

*This is not a Communist
Revolution*

~~They are on a revolutionary~~

wave against the intolerable
conditions and miseries of the
past.

~~This is~~

We have been too much
inclined, as we look out upon
this revolutionary world, to
bask in the reflected glory of
our own Revolution.

But it is not enough to
distribute throughout the world

the Federalist papers, the Constitution, or even our Declaration of Independence.

These documents are still powerful. But it is even more important for us, in meeting today's challenges, to recapture the faith, the imagination, and the daring of the men who wrote them.

We have seen that faith, imagination, and daring in the Marshall Plan and in the Point Four concept which President Truman launched twelve years ago.

*Fate
ment*

Another historic change
in American policy is now under
way.

We are now determined that
our aid shall be deployed as an
incentive for genuine economic,
political, and social reform.
Our goal is not to buy the flag-
waving friendship of corrupt
^{Governments}
~~dictators~~, but to promote a
partnership for progress with
the people.

Your own discussions here
yesterday and today give striking
evidence of the new dimensions

our aid program is acquiring.

You have talked about land
reform, about social welfare,
about long-term planning.

Health
Educa
Food

~~These are revolutionary~~
~~ideas.~~ To some of our fellow-
citizens, the word "welfare"

Welfare

still sounds dangerously radical --
even though the promotion of the
general welfare is one of the two
specific mandates our Constitution
lays down for our government.

These ~~revolutionary new~~
ideas are woven into the fabric
of our new overseas aid program.

They mean that we won't
any longer be shovelling out
dollars aimlessly -- with too
much of it sticking in the
pockets of a privileged minority.

They mean that concern
for people -- their problems,
their aspirations, their hopes
for a better future -- will be
at the heart of all our efforts.

As this great cooperative
adventure develops, it will mean
that decision can replace
dispair and a passion for change
can replace passive acceptance of

the status quo.

We have a new frontier
here at home. It should mean --
it can mean -- a new hope
abroad.

New Hope!

Some of you, I am sure,
will find challenges and
opportunities in these wider
dimensions of international
economic cooperation.

or should be
We will be re-vamping
our embassies and missions
overseas, stressing the use
of social welfare professionals,
scientists, agricultural and

*our
Embassies*

Cooperative Specialists

labor specialists and educators.

A new program, an
enlightened program, a bold
program can be meaningless and
ineffective without able and
dedicated people to administer
it.

able
men!

We must have the best
men and women from our Nation
to organize and develop our new
aid program both in Washington
and overseas.

President
Emphasized

If ever there was a time
for outstanding and effective
leaders and administrators to

offer their services to their country, that time is now.

This is a time for excellence, not mediocrity.

Participation in the new aid program for the individual does not mean a job. It means a mission.

It does not provide an occupation. It offers a challenge.

It does not present a chance to travel. It imparts an opportunity and obligation to build.

Excellence

Our missions overseas
should reflect the whole of
the American community. We
Americans are not just diplomats.
We are doers. We are builders.
We are teachers. We glory in
love of learning, in the
excitement of achievement, in
dedication to human welfare.

This should be apparent
wherever Americans live and work
abroad.

The prophet Isaiah has
warned us: "Where there is no
vision, the people perish."

The vision we should offer the peoples of the world is that of a democratic, social and economic revolution

rather than the revolutions of ~~liberalism~~ and totalitarianism.

To do this, we must come to care about our fellow men and women upon this shrinking planet -- not casually or intermittently but deeply and continuously.

We must be concerned and committed all the way.

That is the challenge for

all of us. Not all of us can
serve directly, but we can, in
our various communities and
organizations, get to work on
this urgent task of broadening
and deepening the concern of
Americans with other lands and
other peoples.

Voluntary

People
To
People
City to City

↳ We dream of sending a man
and
to the moon --/, with sacrifice,
commitment, a plan, and a program,
we can do it.

Within this same decade we
can go a long way toward an even
higher goal -- that of banishing

the word "poverty" from all
the languages of man.

Banish
Poverty!

We can do it -- with
sacrifice, commitment, a plan,
and a program.

Is one man on the moon
more important than half of
mankind in misery?

Man
on
moon

yes, We can create a world in
which the family of man is no
longer divided between those
who live on the sunlit hills
and those who live in the sunless
slums. ~~Rail~~

We can build a great

cathedral of freedom in which
all of mankind will have a
place.

The road ahead is long
and difficult. But, as the
Chinese say, a journey of a
thousand miles begins with a
single step.

Chinese!
SAY!

We are
making
Progress

Let us take that first
step this day -- indeed, this
very hour -- by dedicating
ourselves to a mobilization
for peace and progress -- the
mobilization of the minds and
hearts of all Americans for the
coming decade of development of
brotherhood.

Address by the 7

Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey 14

U. S. Senator from Minnesota 14

Luncheon Session, Shoreham Hotel, June 16, 1961

46:

Delivered to:

21
Eighth National Conference on International Economic
and Social Development 15

Recorded and transcribed:

Leo Orso
June 19, 1961 7



Trade-Mark

Shoreham Hotel
Luceon Session

June 16, 1961
Senator Humphrey

CHAIRMAN TAFT:

Ladies and Gentlemen:

Because the hour is late, since we had to begin somewhat late on eating our lunch and also because Senator Humphrey has had a call from the floor already and has only been kind enough to stay here because he wanted to talk to you who were here and get some action, I am very glad indeed to present the Senior Senator from Minnesota. (Applause.)

When he and I attended the graduation at Brandeis last Sunday, there were all sorts of comments about methods and means for inducing him not to talk too long. However, I think perhaps the sincerity of his report that he really has been called to the Floor of the Senate will be enough so that I won't have to refer to it this afternoon.

The Honorable Hubert Humphrey. (Applause.)

SENATOR HUMPHREY:

Thank you very much Mr. Taft and Honored Guests and Friends:

I shall do my best to compete with my good friends who are attempting to serve you and who have done such a good job in serving you, ~~and~~ I shall also be mindful of the other speakers. Very frankly, Mr. Taft, I don't know whether they need me over in the Senate or not, ^{when} but I saw the size of the documents that the other two speakers had, and I figured ~~since~~ ^{my ~~own~~ word in} I had to go home to Minnesota tonight I ought to get ~~mine~~ over



~~with~~ in a hurry. (Laughter.) The fact is, that I must return and I shall get on with the privilege that is mine.

First of all I want to say what a great opportunity it is to share this platform today with the President of the United States. The President gave us a splendid message. ~~He,~~ ^{it was a} In a sense, ~~gave us~~ a fighting message, ~~because I think~~ the President, above all others, knows that we are having difficulties in the Congress with our Foreign Aid Program. ~~And what~~ the President was attempting to say and what he said so well and so directly to you was that we need your help. It was a "call to arms" so to speak, a call to action, ~~and if~~ ^{only} you are going away from this luncheon today with the thought in the mind that you have had an experience that few others Americans have had, namely, that you heard the President, that you saw the President, and that he looked good, that his voice was strong, that his message was splendid, if that is all you that you are going to do after this luncheon, ^{then} why I hoped you ~~have~~ enjoyed the meal. (Laughter) ~~Because~~ ^{I think} very frankly, luncheon speeches should have a greater purpose than merely trying to prolong the time of the ^{meal} ~~luncheon~~. Luncheon speeches should be, at least in this instance, a dramatic call to action for you to go back to your communities, ~~and to mobilize the support~~ ^{first} and the understanding ~~first~~, and then the ~~support~~ of our international efforts here in the Congress of the United States, and indeed in the many organizations that you represent.



I am very pleased that the President today saw fit to speak to us so candidly about the problems of waste, the problems of mismanagement, as well as ^{about} the achievements, the fulfillments, the accomplishments and the victories of our international program of our Foreign Aid Program.

^{No} In our visits occasionally, when I say "our visits" I mean the members of the Congress when we have privilege to visit with the President and his advisers ^{and} Cabinet officers, we have urged that this record of achievement ^{along with} ~~as well as~~ the headlines of mistakes be brought to the attention of the public. ~~And~~ let me just lay it on the line to you. This world is not a Communist world. The Soviets are not winning. The nations around the periphery of the Soviet Union have not fallen into the lap of the Kremlin, people do want to be free and above all they want to remove ~~from~~ ^{from} themselves the unbelievable burdens of misery, which have been their lot throughout the centuries.

~~And~~ I think it is about time that those of us who carry this banner of compassion, of understanding, and of freedom ~~that we~~ ^{up} stand and be a little more erect, a little more confident, a little more willing to face the facts of life, the good as well as the bad, or the bad as well as the good, ~~and~~ when we do, I think that the picture will seem a little more reasonable and a little more pleasing.

~~You know when an English anthropologist visiting~~



a *which*
I told ~~this~~ story at Brandeis ~~as~~ *which* Mr. Taft may remember; -- ~~An~~
English anthropologist visiting the early American colonies,
went back and wrote a report on his observations of the life
of the Indian, ~~and this story~~ *of his account* reminds me so much of those who
constantly condemn our Foreign Aid Program as being wasteful,
inefficient, ineffective, a loss, a failure, ~~because they here~~ *that critics hear*
of some one place, or some area in which ~~it~~ *foreign aid* has not done its
job. This anthropologist went back to England ~~and he wrote~~ *the following* in
his professional journal in the early years of the 18th Cen-
tury, ~~the following:~~ " I visited the Colonies. I observed the
habits of the Indian. All Indians walk single file, at least
the one I saw did." (Laughter. Laughter.) (Applause.)

No *H* Yes, my fellow Americans, if you want to judge
the Foreign Aid Program on the abuses that you have found in
it, the mistakes that we have made, then indeed, all foreign
aid is a loss, at least the one instance I saw was a mistake,
I have drawn my conclusions from it
and ~~judge from it.~~

Now, this is not ~~in anyway~~ to say that the Foreign
Aid Program cannot stand revision. ~~In fact,~~ *in fact* ~~It is~~ getting a
good working over every hour of the day. I left a two-hour
session this morning, ~~and~~ *May* I say that our conversation with
~~the~~ representatives of the Administration was not exactly a
love feast. It was a frank, honest, heart-to-heart talk, *a*
heated discussion over what some of the members of the United
Senate Foreign Relations Committee thought ought to be in a



It was a
foreign aid program; a critical examination of military assistance; A critical evaluation of political judgment; A careful examination of economic assistance; and an even more careful examination of what we call " long-term financing," the Development Loan. *Kind of discussion is desirable. Done* This is ~~what you want~~, but the Members of Congress need to ~~know~~ *be reminded we are* that ~~you too~~, *are* examining this program ~~not to destroy it, but to strengthen it.~~ *not to destroy it.* Make no mistake ~~about it,~~ the United States of America ~~cannot~~ *will not* forsake ~~our~~ *her* responsibilities. We have no choice but to continue. We cannot stop ~~foreign aid.~~ We cannot ~~quit~~ *fail to* shouldering our share of the world's responsibilities. We cannot withdraw into the caves. We have to stand on high ground. *No. And since this is the case*
~~And if that is the case, then,~~ I think we ought to know what we stand for, and what we are going to do as we make our stand, ~~and that is what I ask you to do~~ *your task* when you go back to your communities. *I* I'm not here to explain all the intricacies of foreign aid; the experts have ~~been~~ *appeared* before you, but I am here to ask you to mobilize civic groups, to mobilize political action, to let the world know and, first of all, to let the Congress know, that you want a foreign aid program, that fulfills, number one; ~~the dimension,~~ *the dimension* the democratic dimension of promoting economic, political and social reform. ~~That we want~~ a foreign aid program that offers to the people of the world a better life, ~~and we want it,~~ *would* even if there ~~aren't~~ *weren't* any Communists around to scare us into it. (Applause. Applause.) *A foreign aid program*



There isn't anything new ⁱⁿ of the world situation.
There is just a new awareness of it
~~It is just the newness of the awareness of it.~~ May I say the
There is a classic example *of this awareness in respect to* ~~of what I speak of us~~ *All at once* Cuba. Americans ~~all at~~
~~once~~ *and there is reason for* are excited about Cuba, ~~and rightly we should be~~, But let
me tell this audience that ^{the} poverty of Cuba of yesterday was
there three years ago. The people were sick, they were the
victims of ^{economic} exploitation. They ~~knew not~~ *had no knowledge of* political liberty or
freedom, then or now. ^{It so} ~~and what~~ *we were* concerned with? What
was the talk in this Nation about Cuba? ^{prior to a year ago?} The Hilton Hotel, the
country club. I remember motions and amendments ~~being~~ brought
to Congress ^{for} ~~to get~~ tax exemptions for some people who needed
no tax exemptions. And I say that ~~possibly~~ *possibly* we are paying the
price for that callused indifference to human need. Possibly
Castro is the burning flame that will remind us of our social
and political and economic and moral responsibilities in this
Hemisphere. I think he is. (Applause.) *just*
~~And~~ I am not for foreign aid ^{just} because it promotes
an opportunity for America ~~just~~ to send people around the world.
I'm ^{for} ~~in~~ it because it is in my heart. I am for the Foreign Aid
Program, I am for what we are trying to do, bilaterally, un-
ilaterally, multilaterally, through the Aid Administration,
through our multilateral institutions, and through the
United Nations, ~~I am for it~~ because it is the right thing to
do. (Applause.) ~~The right thing to do.~~

~~And~~ I want to say to this audience, and I am sorry



that some of our government people have left, -- if our motivation is ~~out~~^{not} of fear, if our motivation is only to stem some other political system, ~~-- and that's enough of course~~ ^{And} -- if that is our only motivation, then we weaken the strength ^{And purpose} that is ours or could be ours. ~~or our purpose~~. I want Americans to get on fire with a righteous cause. I want us to be so on fire with the belief in people ⁱⁿ and ~~what~~ their destiny ought to be, their enlightenment, their enrichment, their better life, that nothing can stop us. I want Americans to have a cause, a purpose, a dedication, and I want that dedication to be so clear that even the most illiterate, ~~the~~ person in the farthest ^{corner} ~~away part~~ of the world can understand it without any detailed explanation.

^{This sense of purpose}
~~It~~ ought to be like a neon light on the horizon of ^I this world, ^{that we should} ~~that we have declared~~ war, ^{in the sense} ~~not the declaration~~ of war that some ask for, but ~~that we have declared~~ war as ~~the~~ former President Truman once said, ^A against man's ancient enemies, ~~and that we intend to win that war, that we have de-~~ ~~clared war~~ against poverty, ~~and we have declared it~~ against hunger, ~~and we have declared it~~ against disease and ignorance, ^{and} let me tell you something. We can win it. There isn't a single force that can stand against us. (Applause. Applause.) ^{And} ~~We~~ are either going to win it or we are going to lose ourselves, that's what this " oneness " of the world means.

Sometimes I wonder what comes over us. We stand in amazement at the ability of man to orbit this earth. We know



how rapid transportation is. We talk in terms of flying to one part of the world ^{distinct} far away within an hour or two hours, ^{yet} and for some reason or another, we think that the social and the economic injustices that are literally on our back door are not literally in our own home. They are. You cannot escape the evil of the earth. You cannot escape its restlessness. You cannot escape the misery of your neighbor, No matter how many walls you build, ~~and so what we are attempting to do is to tear down these walls; what we are attempting to do is to~~ extend the hand of partnership, ^{AS A} the good neighbor. We are not, as I said to a group yesterday, seeking to dominate anyone. America must never become a ^{an} dominator, ^{an} -- it must become a ^{an} cooperator.

We need ^(really) to be a part of humanity, ~~and~~ not apart from it. We need to get off from the high stand and get down with the people, ~~and if we don't~~, they will accept our money, take our technicians and turn against us, just as surely as you are gathered in this room.

Now, ^{none is new} ~~all of this has no newness to it at all except~~ ^{new} ~~the urgency.~~ Sometimes I wonder whether we can ^{get these results} ~~do this~~ through peaceful evolution. I have wondered whether or not, those ~~to-day~~ ^{today} who have so much, are willing to share it. I have seen very few examples in history, fellow Americans, where the mighty and the powerful and the aristocrats of privilege have been willing to give it up, without violence. I am reminded again and again of the chapters of history from time immemorial of where

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the hand-writing was on the wall, but people were blind, and refused to see it or to read it or to understand it. I am hopeful that somehow or another, this time we will be able to get people to understand before it is too late.

~~Now we have talked much, indeed, about world revolution, and there is a revolution.~~ ^{indeed, a great deal} That's a fact, and like our President, I am not afraid of that word. I believe in revolution, revolution for progress. I believe in revolution to eliminate injustice, and inequities, ~~and~~ I believe in the change that is required by the technology and the demands of our time.

I don't think it is enough ^{just} to send Federalist ~~Papers~~, the Declaration of Independence, and a copy of the Constitution to people ^{to} ~~as we~~ preach our doctrine of freedom. These are important. ^{But} What is more important is to have the spirit today of those who wrote those documents, ~~To have the spirit of those~~ who signed the Declaration of Independence when they said, " We pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

They didn't say, " We are going to pledge one hour a week of our life, " or " ten per cent of our fortune, " and " very little of our honor." They pledged it all, ~~and~~ I am of the opinion ^{that} until the forces of oppression and tyranny in this world understand that those of us who believe in and live in freedom are willing to pledge it all, ~~that~~ there will be no victory, there will be no change for the better.

Now, we have seen what all of this means in daring plans, Marshall Plan, and Point IV, ^{this} can excite the world.

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The Point IV is still good language my friends, don't you forget it. Point IV stands for something throughout this world. Technical Assistance? Yes.

Now, I believe there is another historical policy change, and I mentioned it to you, and the President outlined it for you so well. ~~We are determined~~ -- I say "we are determined" and I am happy to be a part of this Administration, of this Government and I am going to be a working part of it. ~~we are determined~~ ^{We are all determined} that our aid shall be deployed as an incentive for genuine economic, and political and social reform.

(Applause.) And I want that -- (applause) -- and I want it quite clear that if any of you are supporting foreign aid because you think we are going to support the status quo, you are in the wrong meeting, you are in the wrong group, you ^{have} ~~are with~~ the wrong purpose. There needs to be fundamental change, and our goal isn't to buy any flag-waving, friendship of any corrupt dictator, or corrupt governments. But our goal is to promote a real partnership, and to promote it with the people, some of ^{whom} ~~the~~ people that some of our people have never met.

^{To some of my friends in the State Department} And let me say, to my friends in the State Department, "get acquainted with the other side of the street," and let me say to our friends in this Government, "get acquainted with the people that elect us." Very few men are elected in the country clubs. Very few men are elected by the so-called "political and social elite." I enjoy the good life, but as a politician



in this great America, I know that my stay in office is dependent upon my service to the overwhelming majority of the people of my constituency. ~~And may I say, that~~ ^{our} Foreign Aid Program is entirely the same way. But all too often we have been afraid to offend the powers that be. Those "powers that be" do not need to be offended, ^{they} just need to be reminded that we are not engaged in the pursuit of the preservation of the past. We are engaged in the pursuit of orderly change for the future.

^{INCLUDED}
~~all central board~~
^{Now, if} your discussions here today have ~~talked all~~
^{this point} ~~about that,~~ "land reform" -- I know you mean it. But land reform needs to be more than a token. May I say to those who love freedom, ^{either} ~~either you~~ divide ~~up~~ your land freely, or somebody ^{one} is going to do it for you forcibly. We ^{must} ~~better~~ talk this way, ~~and we better talk this way~~ to friends and neighbors throughout the world.

^{Now, regarding}
"Social welfare." I know one of the reasons our Foreign Aid Programs have had some trouble abroad. ~~Because we~~ ^{we} haven't wanted to use the word "welfare" at home, and you know it. (Applause.) You can't export something you don't have, and you can't export something that you are ashamed of without having people discover your duplicity. You cannot say that planning is anti-freedom in America, and then demand that people plan, ^{overseas} ~~overseas~~. (Applause.) You can't say in this new Foreign Aid Program that you need a country administrator to coordinate



things, to see ~~that~~ everything is planned and ~~works~~ orderly and *then* deny the same kind of coordination back home. I am for planning. I am for the better use of human and physical resources. And I am for planning without coercion. I am for planning through cooperation, and I emphasize the word "cooperation," which reminds me of this. *which leads me to another point*

Just before I came here today I asked certain members of our Government, ⁹⁰⁰ "How many ^a people do you have in this Government promoting cooperatives overseas?" I left a Committee Room where there were 11 military assistance specialists and three for the other program. I compliment our military. They know what they are doing. They have been given a mission and they perform it. *But* I want to know how many people ~~does~~ this Government have on ^{its} ~~the~~ payroll in the State Department, in ICA, or anyplace else to promote consumer cooperatives, producer cooperatives, credit unions, farmers' cooperatives, health cooperatives (~~applause, applause~~), housing cooperatives (~~applause~~).

I want to know how many specialists we have, how many consultants. Have we tried to take an inventory of our talent at home. *With whom are we* ~~Who are we working with~~ abroad? Who are the people that we can talk to and work with, *I want to know* because cooperative housing is a "must" in Chile, and in Peru, and farmers' cooperatives are the only way ^{to} that I know ~~that you can~~ save this area of the world from collectivism. The answer to the Communist collective, is the "democratic cooperative." (~~Applause~~) And everybody knows it. (~~Applause~~)



And let me make it quite clear to you. There will be no foreign aid program reported from Committee if I have anything to say about it, and I am ~~going to have something to say about it~~ ^{how} until I find out ~~what~~ ^{to} this Government intends ~~to do~~ to promote these objectives in specifics. I can make good speeches and I am not making a bad one now. (Laughter. Applause. Applause.) It is one thing to talk about "health," it is one thing to talk about "land reform," it is one thing to talk about "cooperation," and it's another thing to spell it out in detail. (Applause) And some of us are slow-learners. I like to see it audio-visual. (Laughter and applause) And we are going to insist that we see it.

No it is a matter of evidence specific planning
~~In fact, may I say that this is one of the requirements in the present hearings, and this brings me now to this that I want to conclude on.~~ *is being requested of witnesses* *Some Conclusions* *As well*
Let's have our embassies reflect this country ~~too~~. (Applause.) Yes. I am going to lay it right on the line. I don't think ^{*the activities at*} embassies ought to be only reported ^{*should be*} on the social page of the newspapers. (Applause.) I don't think the American people ought to get the idea that foreign embassies in this Capital, and American representatives in ^{*other*} this Capital are primarily engaged in social ^{*functions*} activities at embassy ^{*Receptions*} parties. (Applause--scattered) ~~They are not, of course, they're not.~~ ^{*And*} I am not saying they are, ^{*yet*} but I submit, my friends, that a larger section of the metropolitan press of this city is given over to the report of social activities than they are ^{*to account of*} of how many children are going to school in Peru; or how many

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children are going to school in India; or how many hospitals do we and others in cooperation ^{with us} plan on building next year. I would like to see that ^{Read in the newspapers} ~~this~~ Foreign Aid Bill of approximately five billion dollars ^{we are discussing} will be spelled out in schools, hospitals, land, jobs, industries, teachers, doctors, nurses and all ^A that we can understand. ^{which} And there will be more than five billion ^{we are talking about} dollars ^{there is more} that you don't see and you know it. We have investments in many multilateral activities ^{that we} which must receive the same kind of scrutiny.

Now, when I ~~talk about~~ ^{spend of} revamping our embassies, I mean just that and we need your help. The Congress has taken a dim view on labor attachés. Yes that is right. ~~We --~~ ^{Some Members of} ~~certain part of this Congress has~~ ^{which could be designated} just denied enough money for a labor attachés. Listen my friends, the Communist movement, if that's what you are primarily worried about, seeks as its first target the labor movement. We need an inventory of all the available competent labor talent in America, ~~and we~~ need to have a priority to strengthen every American embassy throughout the world with good, honest trade unionists who understand the importance of organization, of collective bargaining and of all that the labor movement means in a free society. (Applause.)

I am for representation allowances, but if as much time ^{were} ~~was~~ spent in the Congress of the United States in debate ~~upon~~ whether or not we ought to have a cultural attaché, a labor



attaché, a social welfare attaché ~~as we~~ ^{to} as whether we should have representation allowances, we would have a better country, and ~~we would have~~ a better foreign policy.

I have been around. You know I am not ~~one of these~~ [#] theorists about this. I don't lay any claim to perfection, that's why ~~they~~ ^{we} need men like Dean Sayre. I am ~~one of them~~ ^{not like him}. I know. (Laughter) I have never run on the "Purity Ticket."

(Laughter) I submit that our embassies need to exemplify what this country ~~is about~~ ^{really is of} country. This ~~is about~~ ^{for example} agriculture. I noticed the other day where a certain country was going to have some of its farmers go to Russia to find out about agriculture.

~~No~~ [#] Well may I say, this is what ~~they~~ ^{we might call} call "studying failure." (Laughter, applause.) I have much respect for many of the Russians. I have a great deal of respect for their science, but I want to tell you something, my friends, ~~after having~~ ^{Do not} downgraded ~~your own~~ ^{our} agriculture, ~~and your own public mind~~ ^{in the eyes of the public}, and in the world's public image of America, ~~let me tell you this is~~ ^{Agartellare} the greatest success story ~~that~~ America has to offer today. There has never been anything like it. ~~(Applause.)~~ Never.

And I want our embassies to be filled with educators; People who understand health and health problems; ^{Administrators for} Cooperators; labor specialists; social welfare specialists; ^{we need people} to work with others on the scene, on the spot, in these areas of human improvement.

~~Now~~ ^{we} We need the best of our people, as the President said today, ~~and this means that they must come forth from~~



industry, from labor, from ~~the~~ cooperatives, from education.
We need the best, ^{because} This is a time for excellence. We can't
afford mediocrity any more. ^{who} We need to have people understand ~~that~~
~~that~~ Our Foreign Service people must understand their mission.
~~We need~~ is not merely a job... it is a mission. They
~~this~~ must recognize that this new Foreign Aid occupation,
~~to understand~~ Program does not provide an occupation...it ^{They must}
assignment is not merely an opportunity for ^{ge, We need}
travel...it is a chance to work and to build. ^{travel}
means an
opportunity to work and to build.

I am saying that our overseas missions should reflect
the whole of the American community, ~~and~~ ^{we} Americans are not
^{all} just diplomats, at least not Machiavellian diplomats. We are
"doers", ~~we~~ we are builders, we are teachers, we are healers,
we are producers, ~~and~~ ^{we} glory in the love of ^{LEARNING} running, and in
the excitement of achievement, ~~and~~ ^{we} are dedicated to human
welfare. We have more voluntary organizations dedicated to
human welfare than ^{does} all of the rest of the world put together.
And I am proud of it. (Applause. Applause.)

The Prophet Isaiah ^{tells} ~~told~~ us, ~~that~~ "where there is no
vision the people shall perish," ~~and~~ ^{the} vision ~~that I think~~
we ought to offer the peoples of the world, unashamedly and
proudly, is that of democratic social and economic revolution.
~~And~~ ^{In} order to do this, we must be willing to demonstrate con-
cern and compassion. This is not just a "job." This is a
commitment, ~~and~~ ^{we} need to call upon all of our resources, not
just the Government. The Government is just like the tip of



the iceberg, ~~The~~ real strength of America is below, in the people, in the communities.

You and I dream of sending a man to the moon, and the President said we would do it, and he outlined how, with sacrifice, commitment, a plan and a program. I say that within this same decade, we can do something even better. We can have a higher goal. ~~If~~ ^{AT} in this decade, with less effort and with one-tenth the cost, we could banish ^{famine} from this earth ^{famine}, and ^{need a} never again ^{decision} ~~should~~ man know the pains of hunger. ^{If this is our} ~~We could~~ ^{our intention is} ~~do this, and~~ I suggest that we announce ~~that is exactly what~~ we intend to do. (Applause. Applause) Banish hunger from the earth.

Let me ask you, "Is one man on the moon more important in your lives than half of humanity committed to misery?" and better than half of humanity now lives in misery.

Yes, we can create a world in which the family of man is no longer divided between those who live on the sunlit hills, and those who live in the sunless, and dirty slums. We can built a great cathedral of freedom, in which all of mankind can have a place. The road ahead is long. The President has told you. ^{that it may be} ~~The other day, maybe~~ three decades or more. I ^{But} ~~think so,~~ ^{Agree.} so what? If you are tired, retire. Get out of the way for people who are not tired. (Laughter and applause.)

The Chinese have a proverb that goes something like this: "A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step." We are making those single steps now, and I think that we are



taking another step today, indeed this very hour, ^{you are, by}
dedicating yourselves to a mobilization, and that is ^{the crux of} what this
^{this beginning} is about. This is a mobilization meeting for peace, ~~and~~ I love
that word in all that it means, ^{This is a call for} and for progress, and a mobil-
ization of the minds and hearts of all Americans ^{who are looking} for the coming
decade ^{forward for} of the development of brotherhood, ^{INC} and ^{while we are} may I add with
^{INC} this development of brotherhood, let's live it!

Five billion dollars of foreign aid, four and one-
half billion dollars of foreign aid will be wasted, ^a lost, ^A and,
in fact, it will be ^{an example} poison ^{and for} unless we set an example of human dig-
nity, ^{At every opportunity,} and of respect for humankind, ^{and for} and of human equality.]

I repeat, in every chance I have that the fulfill-
ment of human rights, the protection and guarding those rights,
the maintenance of human rights, the expression of civil rights
is no longer just morally required, and morally right. ~~That~~
we have known ^{that} for centuries. ^{Civil rights} It is no longer just politically
desirable, ^{know that} and that many a man knows in public life, ^{But} the
fulfillment and the protection of, and the devotion to, human
rights and the elimination of every trace of bigotry, and dis-
crimination, ~~and~~ intolerance is an international security imper-
ative! (Applause) And you know it! (Applause)

^{I must conclude now and return to my job, to}
So as you leave here, and I leave you, and I spent
a lot of time here with you -- maybe too much and a lot of time
on my job. ^{to which I am committed} I am committed to my job, to my mission, which is
that of being a public servant, ^{in heaven} but as I leave you, ^{let me remind you} let us not



not to think of *merely*
~~just talk about what we are going to do with Foreign Aid in~~
terms of the dollars, ^{*understand*} important as it is that people ~~know that~~ *that*
^{*of our spending is for domestic investment.*}
80% ~~of it is all spent back home,~~ if we have to use that ar-
gument. ~~But~~ ^{*What*} what the world needs to know more than anything
else is that we care, that we believe in people, that we seek
to alleviate their suffering. ^{*The world*} ~~They~~ seek to know that we are
healers and teachers, ^{*AND*} providers, ^{*It*} ~~and they~~ want to know above
all, that we have faith in ^{*the*} ~~their~~ destiny, ^{*of others*} ~~and they~~ have ^{*others*} in ours. ^{*faith.*}

^{*why*}
I think so, I think this is what we are here ~~for~~.

And I now charge you with the responsibility of action. Don't
you let us fail for one moment. Go to it. Thank you much.

(Applause. Applause, audience rising.)



A TIME FOR COMPASSION -- A TIME FOR EXCELLENCE

Address by the
Honorable Robert H. Humphrey
to the
Eighth National Conference on International
Economic and Social Development

June 16, 1961

First of all I want to say what a great opportunity it is to share this platform today with the President of the United States. The President gave us a splendid message. In a sense, it was a fighting message. I think the President, above all others, knows that we are having difficulties in the Congress with our Foreign Aid Program. What the President was attempting to say and what he said so well and so directly to you was that we need your help. It was a "call to arms" so to speak, a call to action. If you are going away from this luncheon today with only the thought in mind that you have had an experience that few other Americans have had, namely, that you heard the President -- that you saw the President, and that he looked good, that his voice was strong, that his message was splendid -- if that is all that you are going to do after this luncheon, then I hope you enjoyed the meal.

Very frankly, I think luncheon speeches should have a greater purpose than merely trying to prolong the time of the meal. A luncheon speech should be, at least in this instance,

a dramatic call to action for you to go back to your committee, to mobilize support -- first, of understanding and then of our international efforts here in the Congress of the United States, and, indeed, in the many organizations that you represent.

I am very pleased that the President today saw fit to speak to us so candidly about the problems of waste, the problems of mismanagement, as well as about the achievements, the fulfillments, the accomplishments and the victories of our international program of our Foreign Aid. In our visits occasionally (when I say "our visits" I mean the members of the Congress when we have the privilege to visit with the President and his advisors and Cabinet officers) we have urged that this record of achievement be brought to the attention of the public, along with the headlines of mistakes.

Let me just lay it on the line to you. This world is not a Communist world. The Soviets are not winning. The nations around the periphery of the Soviet Union have not fallen into the lay of the Kremlin, people do want to be free and, above all, they want to remove themselves from the unbelievable burdens of misery which have been their lot throughout the centuries.

I think it is about time that those of us who carry this banner of compassion, of understanding, and of freedom stand up and be a little more erect, a little more confident, a little

more willing to face the facts of life, the good as well as the bad, or the bad as well as the good. When we do, I think that the picture will seem a little more reasonable and a little more pleasing.

I told a story at Brandeis University which Mr. Taft may remember. An English anthropologist visiting the early American colonies went back and wrote a report on his observations of the life of the Indian. He wrote the following in his professional journal in the early years of the 18th Century, "I Visited the Colonies. I observed the habits of the Indian. All Indians walk single file, at least the one I saw did."

His account reminds me so much of those who constantly condemn our Foreign Aid Program as being wasteful, inefficient, ineffective, a loss, a failure. These critics hear of some one place, or some area in which foreign aid has not done its job. Yes, my fellow Americans, if you want to judge the Foreign Aid Program on the abuses that you have found in it, the mistakes that we have made, then, indeed, all foreign aid is a loss, at least the one instance I saw was a mistake, and I have drawn my conclusions from it.

Now, this is not to say that the Foreign Aid Program cannot stand revision. It is, in fact, getting a good working over every hour of the day. I left a two-hour session this morning. May I

say that our conversation with representatives of the Administration was not exactly a love feast. It was a frank, honest, heart-to-heart talk, a heated discussion over what some of the members of the United States Senate Foreign Relations Committee thought ought to be in a Foreign Aid Program. It was a critical examination of military assistance; a critical evaluation of political judgment; a careful examination of economic assistance; and an even more careful examination of what we call "long-term financing," the Development Loan. This kind of discussion is desirable. But some Members of Congress need to be reminded that we are examining this program to strengthen it, not to destroy it. Make no mistake. The United States of America will not forsake her responsibilities. We have no choice but to continue aid. We cannot stop. We cannot fail to shoulder our share of the world's responsibilities. We cannot withdraw into the caves. We have to stand on high ground. And since this is the case, I think we ought to know what we stand for, and what we are going to do as we make our stand. That is your task when you go back to your communities.

I'm not here to explain all the intricacies of foreign aid; the experts have appeared before you. But I am here to ask you to mobilize civic groups, to mobilize political action, to let the world know and, first of all, to let the Congress know, that you want a foreign aid program -- a foreign aid program that fulfills, number one, the democratic dimension of promoting economic, political, and social reform. We want a foreign aid program that offers to

the people of the world a better life. We would want it even if there weren't any Communists around to scare us into it.

There isn't anything new in the world situation. There is just anew awareness of it. May I say there is a classic example of this awareness in respect to Cuba. All at once Americans are excited about Cuba, and there is reason to be. But let me tell this audience that the poverty of Cuba of yesterday was there three years ago. The people were sick, they were the victims of economic exploitation. They had no knowledge of political liberty or freedom then or now.

So what were we concerned with? What was the talk in this Nation about Cuba prior to a year ago? The Hilton Hotel, the country club. I remember motions and amendments brought to Congress for tax exemptions for some people who needed no tax exemptions. And I say that we are possibly paying the price for that callused indifference to human need. Possibly Castro is the burning glare that will remind us of our social and political and economic and moral responsibilities in this Hemisphere. I think he is.

I am not for foreign aid just because it promotes an opportunity for America to send people around the world. I'm for it because it is in my heart. I am for the Foreign Aid Program, I am for what we are trying to do, bilaterally, unilaterally, multilaterally, through the Aid Administration, through our multilateral

institutions, and through the United Nations, because it is the right thing to do.

I want to say to this audience -- and I am sorry that some of our government people have left -- if our motivation is out of fear, if our motivation is only to stem from some other political system -- and if that is our only motivation, then we weaken the strength and purpose that is ours or could be ours. I want Americans to get on fire with a righteous cause. I want us to be so on fire with the belief in people, in their destiny, their enlightenment, their enrichment, their better life, that nothing can stop us. I want Americans to have a cause, a purpose, a dedication, and I want that dedication to be so clear that even the most illiterate person in the farthest corner of the world can understand it without any detailed explanation.

This sense of purpose ought to be like a neon light on the horizon of the world. We should declare war, not in the sense that some ask for, but as former President Truman once said, against man's ancient enemies. We intend to win a war against poverty, against hunger, against disease and ignorance. Let me tell you something. We can win it. There isn't a single force that can stand against us. We are either going to win it or we are going to lose ourselves, that's what this "oneness" of the world means.

Sometimes I wonder what comes over us. We stand in amazement at the ability of man to orbit this earth. We know

how rapid transportation is. We talk in terms of flying to one party of the distant world within an hour or two hours. Yet for some reason or another, we think that the social and the economic injustices that are literally on our back door are not literally in our own home. They are. You cannot escape the evil of the earth. You cannot escape its restlessness. You cannot escape the misery of your neighbor, no matter how many walls you build. We are attempting to tear down these walls. We are attempting to extend the hand of partnership as a good neighbor. We are not, as I said to a group yesterday, seeking to dominate anyone. America has never become a dominator -- it must become a cooperator.

We need really to be a part of all humanity, not apart from it. We need to get off from the high stand and get down with the people. If we don't, they will accept our money, take our technicians and turn against us, just as surely as you are gathered in this room.

Now, none of this is new, but it does carry a new sense of urgency. Sometimes I wonder whether we can get these results through peaceful evolution. I have wondered whether or not those who have so much today are willing to share it. I have seen very few examples in history, fellow Americans, where the mighty and the powerful and the aristocrats of privilege have been willing to give it up, without violence. I am reminded again and again of the chapters of history from time immemorial of where the hand-

writing was on the wall, but people were blind, and refused to see it or to read it or to understand it. I am hopeful that somehow or another, this time we will be able to get people to understand before it is too late.

We have, indeed, talked about world revolution. There is a revolution, that's a fact. Like our President, I am not afraid of that word. I believe in revolution, revolution for progress. I believe in revolution to eliminate injustice, and inequities. And I believe in the change that is required by the technology and the demands of our time.

I don't think it is enough just to send Federalist Papers, the Declaration of Independence, and a copy of the Constitution to people to preach our doctrine of freedom. These are important. But what is more important is to have the spirit today of those who wrote those documents, of those who signed the Declaration of Independence when they said, "We pledge our lives, our fortunes, and our sacred honor."

They didn't say, "We are going to pledge one hour a week of our life," or "ten per cent of our fortune," and "very little of our honor." They pledged it all, and I am of the opinion that until the forces of oppression and tyranny in this world understand that those of us who believe in and live in freedom are willing to pledge it all, there will be no victory, there will be no change for the better.

Now we have seen what all of this means in daring plans -- Marshall Plan, and Point IV. These can excite the world. Point IV is still good language my friends, Don't you forget it. Point IV stands for something throughout this world. Technical Assistance? Yes.

Now, I believe there is another historical policy change. I mentioned it to you, and the President outlined it for you so well. We are determined that our aid shall be deployed as an incentive for genuine economic, political, and social reform. I am happy to be a part of this Administration, of this Government to be a working part of this. I want to make it quite clear that if any of you are supporting foreign aid because you think we are going to support the status quo, you are in the wrong meeting, you are in the wrong group, you have the wrong purpose. There needs to be a fundamental change. Our goal isn't to buy any flag-waving friendship of corrupt dictators or corrupt governments. Our goal is to promote a real partnership, and to promote it with the people, some of whom our people have never met.

To some of my friends in the State Department, let me say "Get acquainted with the other side of the street." Let me say to our friends in this Government, "Get acquainted with the people that elect us." Very few men are elected in the country

clubs. Very few men are elected by the so-called "political and social elite." I enjoy the good life, but as a politician in this great America, I know that my stay in office is dependent upon my service to the overwhelming majority of the people of my constituency. Our Foreign Aid Program is entirely the same way. But all too often we have been afraid to offend the powers that be. Those "powers that be" do not need to be offended. They just need to be reminded that we are not engaged in the pursuit of the preservation of the past. We are engaged in the pursuit of orderly change for the future.

Your discussions here today have all included this point -- "land reform." I know you mean it. But land reform needs to be more than a token. May I say to those who love freedom, "Either divide your land freely or someone is going to do it for you, forcibly." We must talk this way to friends and neighbors throughout the world.

Now regarding "social welfare." I know one of the reasons our Foreign Aid Programs have had some trouble abroad. We haven't wanted to use the word "welfare" at home, and you know it. You can't export something you don't have, and you can't export something that you are ashamed of without having people discover your duplicity. You cannot say that planning is anti-freedom in America, and then demand that people overseas plan. You can't say in this new Foreign Aid Program that you need a country administrator to coordinate things, to see that everything is planned and orderly

and then deny the same kind of coordination back home. I am for planning. I am for the better use of human and physical resources. I am for planning without coercion. I am for planning through cooperation, and I emphasize the word "cooperation," which leads me to another point.

Just before I came here today I asked certain members of our Government, "How many government people do you have promoting cooperatives overseas?" I left a committee room where there were eleven military assistance specialists and three for other programs. I complement our military. They know what they are doing. They have been given a mission and they perform it. But I want to know how many people this Government has on its payroll in the State Department, in ICA, or any place else to promote consumer cooperatives, producer cooperatives, credit unions, farmers' cooperatives, health cooperatives, housing cooperatives.

I want to know how many specialists we have, how many consultants. Have we tried to take an inventory of our talent at home? With whom are we working abroad? Who are the people that we can talk to and work with? I want to know because cooperative housing is a "must" in Chile, and in Peru, and farmers' cooperatives are the only way that I know to save this area of the world from collectivism. They answer the Communist collective. This is the "democratic cooperative." And everybody knows it.

And let me make it quite clear to you, if I have anything to say about it, and I am, there will be no foreign aid program reported from Committee until I find out how this Government intends to promote these objectives in specifics. I can make good speeches and I am not making a bad one now. It is one thing to talk about "health," it is one thing to talk about "land reform," it is another thing to spell it out in detail. And some of us are slow-learners. I like to see it audio-visual. And we are going to insist that we see it. As a matter of fact, specific planning is being required of witnesses in the present hearings.

Let's have our embassies, as well, reflect this country. Yes. I am going to lay it right on the line. I don't think the activities at embassies should be reported only on the social page of the newspapers. I don't think the American people ought to get the idea that foreign embassies in this Capitol, and American representatives in other Capitols are primarily engaged in social functions at embassy receptions. Of course, they're not and I am not saying they are. Yet I submit, my friends, that a larger section of the metropolitan press of this city is given over to the report of social activities than they are to accounts of how many children are going to school in Peru; or how many children are going to school in India; or how many hospitals do we and others in cooperation with us plan on building next year.

I would like to read in the newspapers that we are discussing a Foreign Aid Bill of approximately five billion dollars which will be spelled out in schools, hospitals, land, jobs, industries, teachers, doctors, nurses, and all that we can understand. And I would like to read that we are talking about more than five billion dollars -- there is more that you don't see and you know it. We have investments in many multilateral activities which must receive the same kind of scrutiny as the main bill.

Now, when I speak of revamping our embassies, I mean just that and we need your help. The Congress has taken a dim view of labor attaches. Yes, that is right. Some Members of Congress have just denied money which could be designated for labor attaches. Listen, my friends. The Communist movement, if that's what you are primarily worried about, seeks as its first target the labor movement. We need an inventory of all the available competent labor talent in America. We need to have priority to strengthen every American embassy throughout the world with good, honest, trade unionists who understand the importance of organization, of collective bargaining and of all that the labor movement means in a free society.

I am for representation allowances, but if as much time were spent in the Congress of the United States in debate on whether or not we ought to have a cultural attache, a labor attache, a social welfare attache as to whether we should have

representation allowances, we would have a better country and a better foreign policy.

I have been around. You know I am not a theorist about this. I don't lay any claim to perfection, that's why we need men like Dean Sayre. I am not like him, I know. I have never run on the "Purity Ticket." I submit that our embassies need to exemplify what this country really is.

This country is agriculture, for example. I noticed the other day where a certain country was going to have some of its farmers go to Russia to find out about agriculture. Well, may I say, this is what we might call "studying failure." I have much respect for many of the Russians. I have a great deal of respect for their science. But I want to tell you something, my friends. Do not downgrade our agriculture in the eyes of the public and in the world's public image of America. Agriculture is the greatest success story America has to offer today. There has never been anything like it. Never.

And I want our embassies to be filled with educators; people who understand health and health problems; administrators for cooperatives; labor specialists; social welfare specialists; we need people to work with others on the scene, on the spot, in these areas of human improvement.

We need the best of our people, as the President said today. This means that they must come forth from industry,

from labor, from cooperatives, from education. We need the best because this is a time for excellence. We cannot afford mediocrity. Our Foreign Service people must understand theirs is not merely a job....it is a mission. They must recognize that this new Foreign Aid Program does not provide an occupationit offers a challenge. They must know that their assignment is not merely an opportunity for travel....it is a chance to work and to build.

I am saying that our overseas missions should reflect the whole of the American community. We Americans are not all diplomats, at least not Machiavellian diplomats. We are "doers", we are builders, we are teachers, we are healers, we are producers. We glory in the love of learning and in the excitement of achievement. We are dedicated to human welfare. We have more voluntary organizations dedicated to human welfare than does all of the rest of the world put together. And I am proud of it.

The Prophet Isaiah tells us, "where there is no vision the people shall perish." The vision we ought to offer the peoples of the world, unashamedly and proudly, is that of democratic social and economic revolution. In order to do this, we must be willing to demonstrate concern and compassion. This is not just a "job" -- this is a commitment. We need to call upon all of our resources, not just the Government. The Government is just like the tip of the iceberg. The real strength of America is below, in the people, in the communities.

You and I dream of sending a man to the moon, and the President said we would do it, and he outlined how -- with sacrifice, commitment, a plan and a program. I say that within this same decade, we can do something even better. We can have a higher goal. In this decade, with less effort and at one-tenth the cost, we could banish famine from this earth. Never again need a man know the pains of hunger. If this is our decision, I suggest that we announce our intention to banish hunger from the earth.

Let me ask you, "Is one man on the moon more important in your lives than half of humanity committed to misery?" Better than half of humanity now lives in misery.

Yes, we can create a world in which the family of man is no longer divided between those who live on the sunlit hills, and those who live in the sunless and dirty slums. We can build a great cathedral of freedom, which can house all of mankind. The road ahead is long. The President has told you that it may be three decades or more. I agree. But so what? If you are tired, retire. Get out of the way for people who are not tired.

The Chinese have a proverb that goes something like this: "A journey of a thousand miles begins with a single step." We are making those single steps now, and I think that we are taking another step today, indeed, this very hour. You are dedicating

yourselves to mobilization and that is the crux of this beginning. This is a mobilization meeting for peace. I love that word and all that it means. This is a call for progress, a mobilization of the minds and hearts of all Americans who are looking forward to a decade for developing brotherhood. And while we are developing brotherhood, let's live it!

Unless we set an example of human dignity, an example of respect for humankind and for human equality, five billion dollars of foreign aid, four and one-half billion dollars of foreign aid will be a waste, a loss. In fact, it will be poison.

At every opportunity, I repeat that the fulfillment of human rights, the protection and guarding of those rights, the maintenance of human rights, the expression of civil rights, is no longer just morally required, and morally right. We have known that for centuries. Civil rights is no longer just politically desirable. Many men in public life know that. The fulfillment and the protection of, and the devotion to, human rights and the elimination of every trace of bigotry, discrimination, intolerance is an international security imperative! And you know it!

I must conclude now and return to my job -- a job to which I am committed, the mission of being a public servant. But in leaving, let me remind you not to think of Foreign Aid merely

in terms of the dollars -- important as it is that people understand that 80% of our spending is for domestic investment, if we must use that argument. What the world needs to know more than anything else is that we care, that we believe in people, that we seek to alleviate their suffering. The world seeks to know that we are healers and teachers and providers. It wants to know above all, that we have faith in the destiny of others and others have faith in ours.

I think this is why we are here. And I now charge you with the responsibility of action. Don't you let us fail for one moment. Go to it.

Thank you so much.



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