





"My most vivid boyhood memories go back to those difficult days in windswept, droughtridden South Dakota during the Depression. I remember seeing dry, parched topsoil swept into the air by winds that sometimes made the noonday sun as black as midnight. I remember the discouragement of farmers receiving checks for shipments of hogs that did not cover the trucking expenses of taking the hogs to market. That was the first time I saw a grown man cry. I'm sure it was these boyhood experiences that first set me to thinking about the injustices and hardships of life on the farm. My determination to tell the farmer's story to the city dwellers and my feeling that the farmer is entitled to the attention of his government go back to those bleak days."

"His sense of human concern...he was a young man, not out to remake the world, but to face up to its problems. One of his prizewinning orations was "My Brother's Keeper"—a plea for world peace."—Robert Pearson, High School History Teacher



In early 1943 during his junior year at Dakota Wesleyan University, George McGovern left home in Mitchell for duty in the Army Air Corps. As a command pilot in the 15th Air Force in Italy, he flew 35 bombing missions over Germany, Austria and Italy against the Nazi war machine. On the 30th mission, his plane was badly damaged by flak over Vienna. His crew injured, Captain McGovern nursed the heavy bomber to a tiny Royal Air Force fighter strip on the Island of Viz in the Adriatic, where he crashlanded. He was awarded the Distinguished Flying Cross for his "heroism and extraordinary achievement in aerial combat." Later, McGovern would say: "It was my firsthand experience with the tragedy of war that led me to dedicate my life to the struggle for lasting peace."





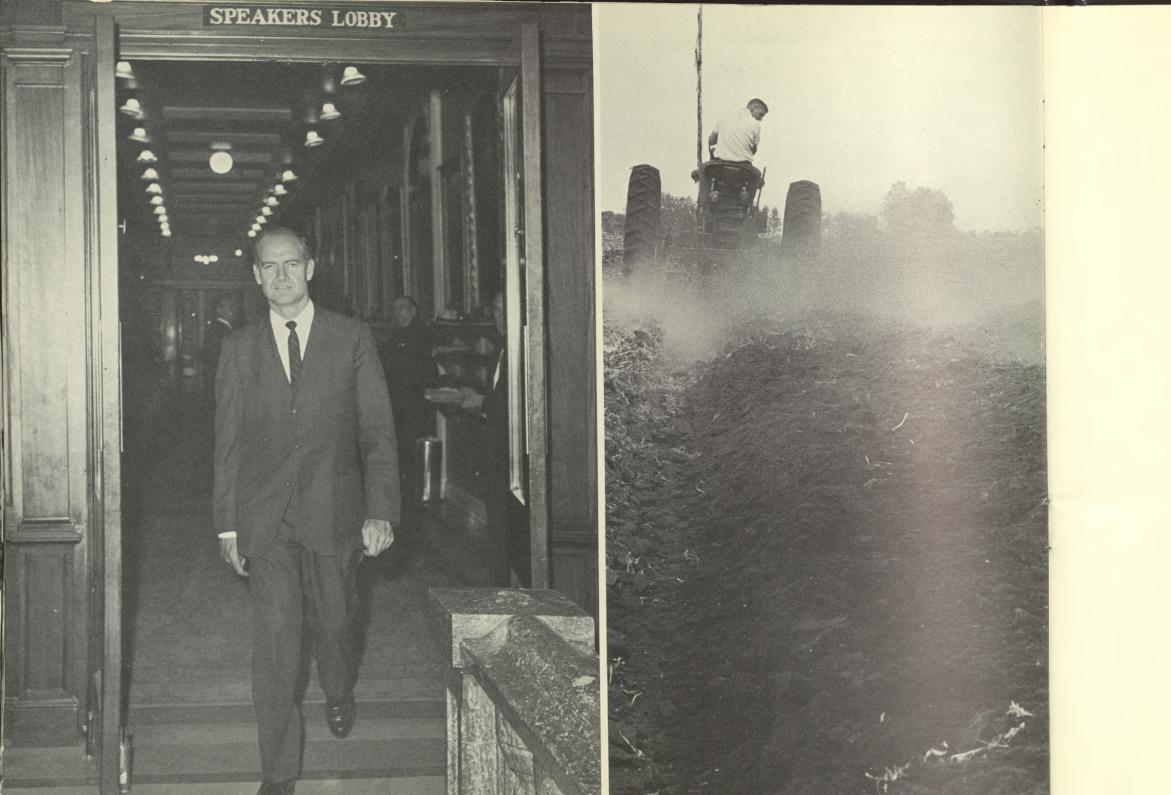


Home from the war, McGovern joined his wife and baby daughter in Mitchell and received his Bachelor's degree from Dakota Wesleyan. He enrolled at Garrett Seminary on the campus of Northwestern University to study for the Methodist ministry. McGovern recalls that "it was a rewarding time for me, but after a year and a half, I was drawn to an earlier desire to teach History."

He moved across the campus to the graduate school of History at Northwestern, earned his Ph.D., and began teaching History and Government at Dakota Wesleyan. By 1953, his studies and teaching had convinced him that the decline of the two-party system leads to inefficient government. With the encouragement of his wife, Eleanor, he tried, first as a private citizen and later as a party official, to revitalize political competition in his native State. In 1956, McGovern was elected the first Democratic Congressman from the State of South Dakota since 1936.

"We won, not only because of hard work and effective supporters, but also because many Republicans realized that a two-party structure was in the best interests of the State. Competition improved each party and meant that South Dakota's representatives in Congress would be more responsive to the State's needs."







In the House, McGovern played a key role in drafting and enacting the far-reaching National Defense Education Act of 1958. As a freshman Congressman, he secured the passage of more bills than any of his 44 newly elected colleagues.

"...that is why the farmer needs a friend like George McGovern in Washington today. He is the author of the first comprehensive farm bill to receive a hearing in the House in this session. In so doing, he has rendered a service not only to this State, but to all of us who want to get behind a responsible bill which has some hope of success."—John F. Kennedy, Huron, South Dakota, 1958



"... to narrow the gap between abundance here at home and near-starvation abroad."
—President John F. Kennedy, Executive Order, Food for Peace Office

In 1960, McGovern lost his first bid for the Senate by a narrow margin. On January 24, 1961, President Kennedy appointed him first Director of the Food for Peace Program and Special Assistant to the President.

"Hunger is the silent enemy. It is a thief in the night that steals away the children in 10,000 villages around the globe. While we Americans worry about overweight and reducing pills, millions of our fellow human beings are fighting for survival."

"America's rural heartland—once the cradle of isolationism—is now a dynamic force in American foreign policy. The American farmer is the new internationalist."









"The amazing efficiency of the American farmer is our most appealing material asset. It provides, perhaps, our greatest opportunity to lead the rural societies of Latin America, Africa, and Asia into the solid social and economic growth which makes freedom possible."

"The world is running out of food. That is a fact of life, and death; not just death for the hundreds of thousands who are starving routinely today, but for hundreds of millions—a scale comparable only to nuclear holocaust—within the next three decades."

## THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

July 18, 1962.

Dear George:

I accept with deep regret your resignation as Director of the Food For Peace Program. Yours was an exacting assignment, requiring vigor, intelligence, understanding of farm problems and a sympathy for the under-privileged of the world.

You were the first Food For Peace Director. It was a new office with new horizons. The objectives of the program and the urgency were clear; but there were problems of organization, expansion of existing facilities, encouragement of new techniques and development of new ideas. To implement the legislation which led to the creation of the office it was necessary to have a broad knowledge of government and an ability to weld together diverse efforts. You met each of the challenges and resolved each of the problems in such a way that the Food For Peace Program has become a vital force in the world.

It has channeled our agricultural abundance toward relief of hunger and misery, improvement of living conditions, improved educational opportunity and strengthening of the economies of our friends. The program you headed constituted a powerful barrier to the spread of Communism and utilized the technology of American agriculture in a very effective manner. Under your guidance, sales of food for foreign currencies were almost doubled; six times as many countries are using the food-for-wages formula to employ workers to construct hospitals, schools, roads and wells in developing nations; and the first World Food Bank was created.

We will miss your advice and counsel. However, I am glad you have decided to seek continuance of your distinguished career of public service. Your experience, courage, dedication, training and understanding will be especially valuable in the halls of Congress. In the Senate your voice and vote can, I know, make an immense contribution to the economic progress of South Dakota and the nation.

I am looking forward to working closely with you in the future as I have in the past.

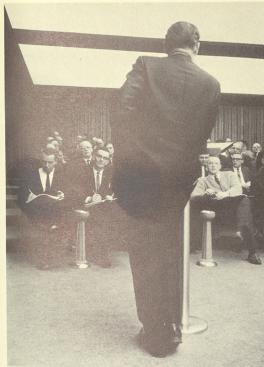
Sincerely

Honorable George McGovern Special Assistant to the President Director, Food For Peace

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"The time has come for South Dakota to begin moving. A stronger wheat and feed grain program on the farm, the extension of navigation up the Missouri to serve industries with low-cost energy from our lignite fields, the study of our mineral and water resources to inventory our potential, weather modification research funds, roads—all are part of a total program aimed at our economic development."

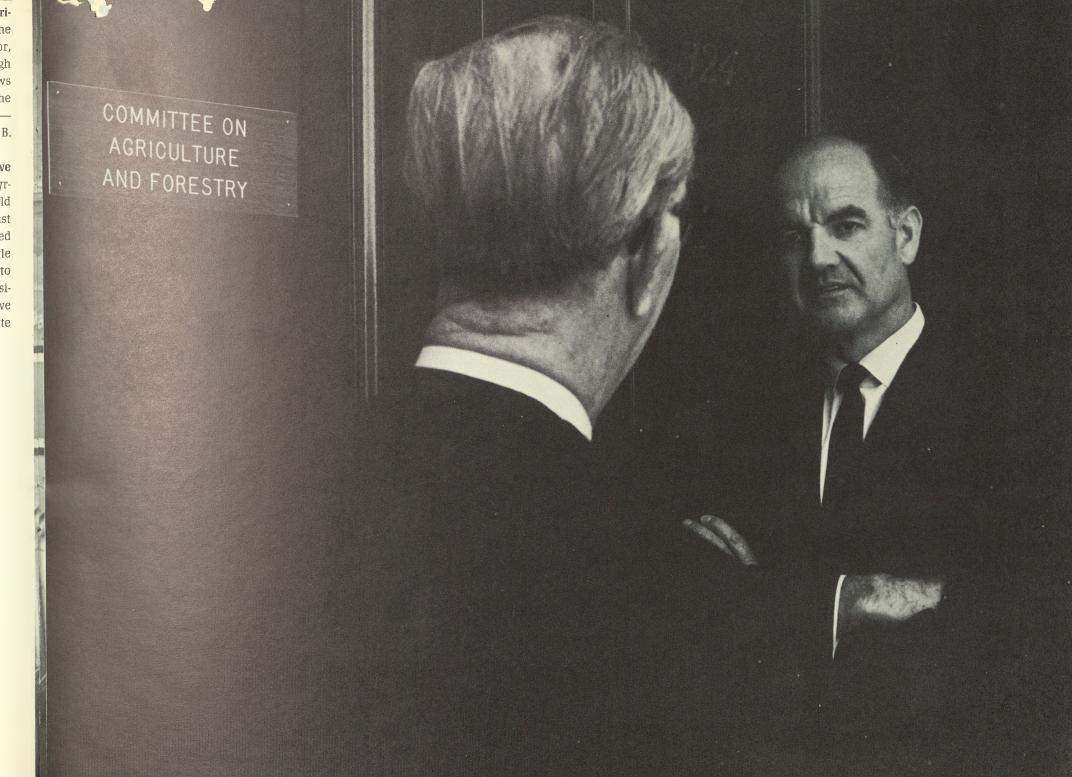


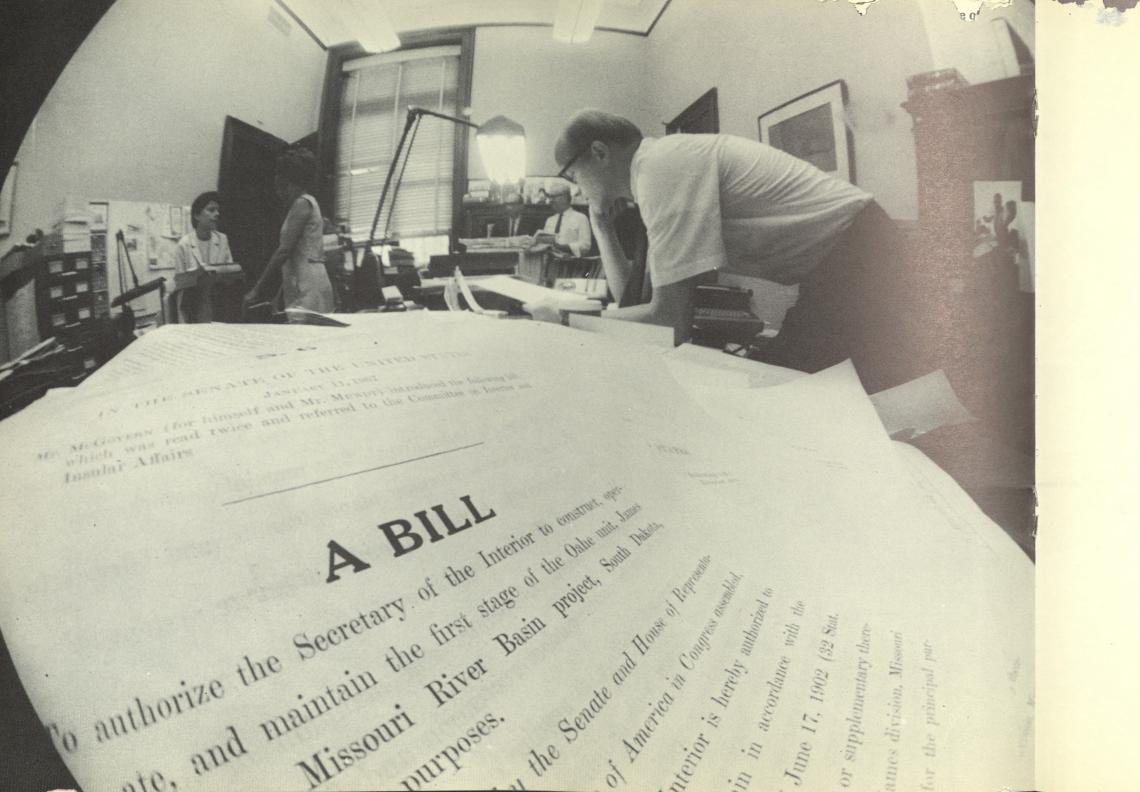




"It is a tribute both to his knowledge of agriculture and to his legislative skill that he was chosen, while still a freshman Senator, to guide the 1964 Farm Bill safely through the Senate. As a South Dakotan, he knows the problems and the achievements of the true hero of the Food for Peace program—the American farmer."—President Lyndon B. Johnson

"In the enigmatic field of foreign policy we have been slow to break free from the tyranny of slogans. While a changing world cries out for recognition that 'we must change to master change,' we are still guided in some areas by notions that have little relevance to present realities. If we are to avoid unrealistic crusades abroad that dissipate our moral and material strength, we must begin to apply imaginative, up-to-date approaches to foreign policy."







"Knowing that the eyes of the world are focused on us, we must make our policies and programs here at home square with the ideals that we most want the world to emulate abroad. We must utilize all the physical, mental and spiritual resources at our command both at home and abroad to move the world toward peace rather than war."

"Of all my colleagues in the United States Senate, the person who has the most feeling and does things in the most genuine way, without that affecting his life, is George McGovern. He is so highly admired by all his colleagues, not just for his ability, but because of the kind of man he is. That is truer of him than anyone else in the United States Senate."—Senator Robert F. Kennedy



"The minds of our young people are our most precious resource."

"The quality of any society can be measured by the manner in which it treats its older citizens."





"McGovern is as close to being a statesman of agriculture as anyone on the scene."—
Kiplinger Agricultural Newsletter

"A measure of the degree of McGovern's new leadership is shown by the fact that he was able to get 40 Senate colleagues—Democrats and Republicans—to join him in sponsoring a resolution which would prohibit Government action to keep farmers from getting parity."—Ovid Martin, Associated Press

"I have no hesitancy whatsoever in acknowledging that I have followed George McGovern's leadership in matters of agriculture."—Senator Mike Mansfield, Majority Leader





"I submit that America will exert a far greater impact for peace and freedom in Asia and elsewhere if we rely less on armaments and more on the economic, political and moral sources of our strength."—1963 "In my judgment, an indefinite continuance of the military conflict in South Vietnam is a hopeless course. Let us seek a political settlement as soon as possible for a problem that is basically political."—1964

"The most viable and practical policy for the United States in Vietnam is negotiation." --1965

"If the South Vietnamese really believed in their own government, they would have won this war long ago, considering the enormous support they have had from us."

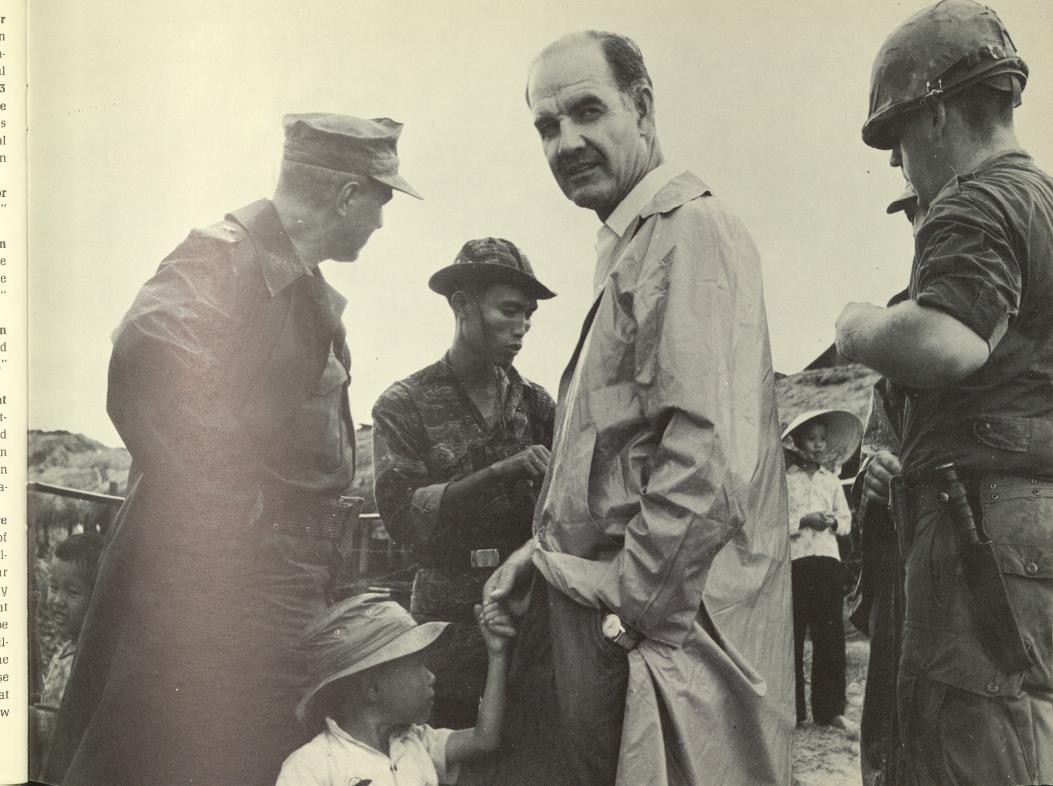
—1966

"Our deepening involvement in Vietnam represents the most tragic diplomatic and moral failure in our national experience."

—1967

"There is no painless answer at this point to the dilemmas that confront us in Vietnam. There are only lesser dangers and lesser risks. I think the lesser danger lies in the pattern of military de-escalation and an effort to accelerate the route to negotiations."—1968

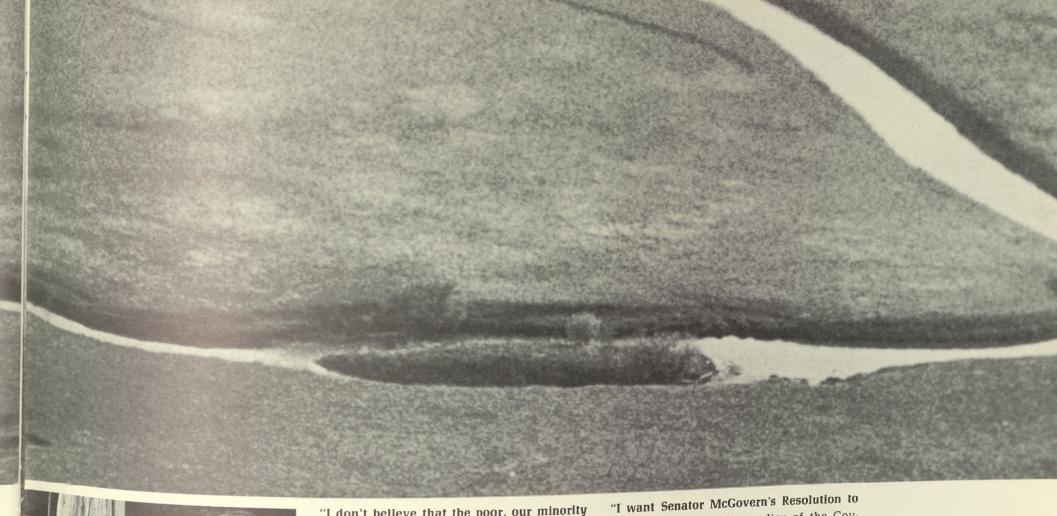
not visionary; they are the embodiment of vision. The very ideas that some of the billions spent on the grim weapons of war might some day water the desperately parched areas of American society; that hunger, disease, and even despair might be the targets of all-out war; that our children's children might some day inhabit the lovely garden of a world at peace—these ideas represent the kind of imagination that distinguishes a creative government."—New York Post





"The prospect of a stagnant Nation, crippled economically and physically by pollution, demands that we turn our full energies toward means of protecting and preserving water supplies."

"Natural resource development—water, land, forest, mines, petroleum and power—is a national imperative. It is not a subsidiary question. It ranks with national defense, education, and health as essentials in our national life."





"I don't believe that the poor, our minority groups, or any other group of Americans really want a dole. What they desire is a recognition of their worth as individuals and their right to an equal opportunity."

become the new Indian policy of the Government. It shows not only that he walked for three days in our moccasins, but that he has been walking in them for years. The smoke signals he sent out to all the American Indians spread like a prairie fire among the Sioux. I hope that other Tribes have also been stirred with hope and great joy."—Vine V. Deloria, Sr., Archdeacon of Indian Work, Episcopal Church in South Dakota





"How can you represent a people if you don't know what's on their mind? Most of the legislation I have introduced in Congress has originated from a need or a thought of someone back home."





"I cannot promise the people of South Dakota that my judgment will always prove to be 100% right. But I can promise to say what I believe is right. I do not expect everyone to agree with me on every issue, but I am convinced that you prefer me to say what I honestly believe rather than to pretend that I am in full agreement with official policy."

Politics is not always kind to a family. Missed meals, long hours, days away from home. It takes a special kind of wife and a special kind of family to make it work.

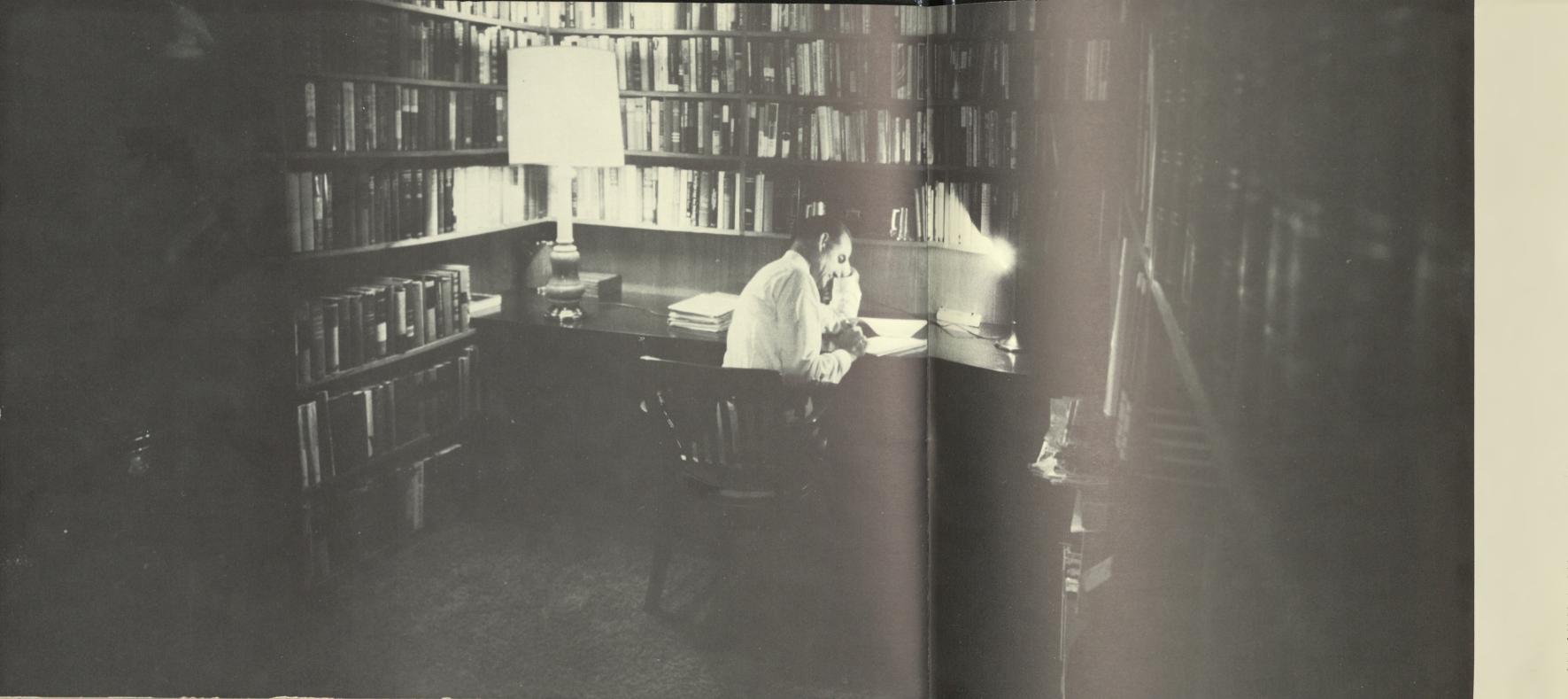




Surrounded by a son and four daughters, George McGovern still claims to receive his "best advice" at home.







"Freshman Senator McGovern . . . launched the budget debate last month in a speech that has become among the most widely read documents in official Washington."—
The Wall Street Journal

"In our opinion, the speech delivered in the Senate yesterday by Senator George Mc-Govern and published here is the most articulate criticism yet directed at U.S. policy in Vietnam."—The Miami News

"I think that he may have made the most important address of this session. I hope that every Senator will give it close attention. I am proud that the Senator from South Dakota, who comes so recently to this body, has dared to look a sacred cow in the teeth."—Senator Frank Church

"A man of courage and integrity who does his homework, backs up his arguments with facts and has a spine of steel . . . a man who has been a credit to the Senate, to the State of South Dakota, and to the Nation."

—Senate Majority Leader Mike Mansfield

"There are many degrees of political courage, but South Dakota Senator George McGovern is exhibiting one of the greatest—espousal of the unpopular side of a great national issue, even as his political peers try to shut him up."—Watertown Public Opinion

"In his years in Washington and particularly his years in the Senate since his 1962 victory, he has become a national figure through his forthrightness and brilliance."

—Belle Fourche Daily Post

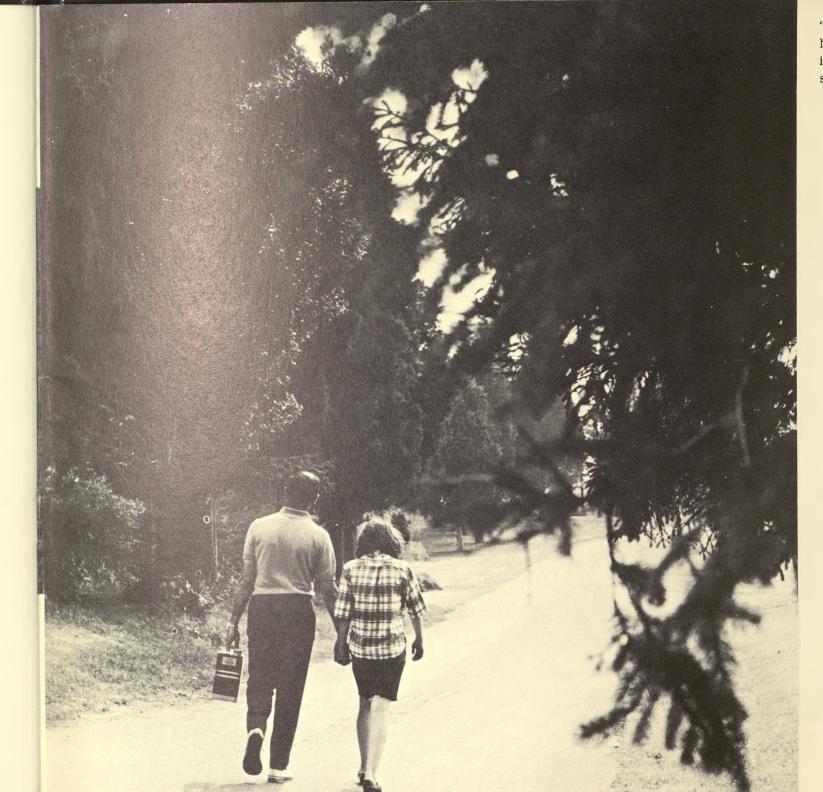
In addition to his two books, War Against Want and Agricultural Thought in the Twentieth Century, Senator McGovern has published articles in such leading national magazines as Look, The Atlantic Monthly, The New Republic, and The New York Times Magazine. His third book, A Time of War/A Time of Peace, will be published this fall.

"Ours is a generation under pressure, engaged in a struggle we did not start, in a world we did not make. We have been chosen to usher in either a new generation of hope or a new generation of terror."

"True love of country is the love of an idea and of the process of freedom. It demands a complex, difficult and discriminating affection. It is a willingness to seek out injustice and try to correct it. It is a desire to avoid unnecessary danger and devastation. It is the effort to create a peaceful world environment for liberty. It is the recognition of national responsibility as well as privilege, duty as well as reward."

"The right to propose new ideas and challenge old ones is the most imperative necessity. It is not simply something we allow, but something a free society demands. It is not just something we can live with; it is something we cannot live without. It is not only consistent with patriotism; it is the highest patriotism."

"Those of you who are young must serve our society in order to preserve what is as old as man himself: his quest for peace and freedom and dignity. And we do not despair. The tide of a new world is coming in."



"We may not be able to change the past, but we can help to shape the future. That is what public service and political leadership are all about."

