


Charlotte - I did make
changes on original, - Can
you get it back & - if not,
I'll make this. 

United States Senate

MEMORANDUM

I have started the typing of the stencil on the Point IV statement which Senator wanted, and also the stencil. When it is ready to be printed, you can tell us how many copies you want.

Attached is a copy of the Foreign Policy speech, which Senator wanted some work done on. Unless you and Cush made some changes on the original, it is as it was sent over for printing in the Record. I haven't started either the stenciling or the typing on the Foreign Policy statement, thinking you would like to look it over first before we begin.

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BASIC PRINCIPLES:

America's foreign policy is not created in a vacuum. It is our reaction to the challenges and opportunities that surround us in the world today. It results from the fact that we are a nation among other nations in constant mutual association. It takes far less time to circle the globe today than it did to go from New York to Georgia when the Constitution was adopted. What happens today in India, South Africa, or Russia may affect your own life tomorrow. Because of this we do not always know in advance just what our foreign policy is going to be, any more than a farmer knows that his yield is going to be when he sows his crops.

Our foreign policy must be able to meet changing times and changing conditions. It can never be a predetermined, airtight program of inflexibility. It must be adaptable. We must be able to act promptly and effectively to meet a variety of situations. That does not mean we do now know where we are going. It is the exact opposite of a weak uncertain policy. It is guided by certain basic principles to which we as a nation are irrevocably dedicated:

1. Maintaining and guaranteeing America's independence and freedom.
2. Working for and promoting the independence and freedom of peoples and nations everywhere.
3. Working through and strengthening the United Nations and related international organizations in order to achieve a just and enduring peace, based upon sound principles of international law and social justice.

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4. Giving needed political, economic, military, technical and cultural assistance to those nations and peoples who have dedicated their fortunes and their lives to the cause of freedom.
5. Promoting trade and friendly economic and political relations among the nations of the world.
6. Actively expressing our deep and sincere humanitarian concern and generosity for those who are underprivileged or suffering from the ravages of famine, disease, and poverty.
7. Honorably fulfilling all our international obligations and commitments.
8. Maintaining our national defense establishment so that we cannot be bullied by anybody.

These are enduring principles. They are part of our glorious history as a nation. Though forged in the heat of necessity, they have been tempered by careful consideration and public discussion. They are accepted by both Republicans and Democrats as the starting point and basis of our everyday foreign policy operations.

The strength and resources of the United States have never been paralleled by any nation in History. This is no proud boast. This is cool, unchallengable fact. It places on us the great responsibility of world leadership. Whether we like it or not, it cannot be sloughed off. Every action we take in the international field has worldwide consequences; so do some actions we fail to take. That is why the newspapers are filled with headlines and bylines from the far-off places on the globe. That is why Americans are intimately

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concerned not only with Korea, where we are fighting, but with China, Africa, South America, India, Egypt, Iran, and a host of European countries.

In this election year, it is the duty of every American to weigh and review our foreign policy very carefully, to give it his best judgment, and to express himself accordingly. It is the duty of everyone in public office to lay his record on the line, to state where he stands and what he stands for. Here then, is my record, and my estimate of the world situation and of the issues involved.

THE SCOPE OF HUMAN NEED:

First of all, in order to get a real look at our foreign policy I think we have to exercise one of our finest American gifts, the gift of understanding -- of putting ourselves in the other fellows' shoes. Only in this case the first thing we have to realize is that the other fellow probably doesn't have any shoes -- at least, no new ones.

We fortunate people living on the North American continent are only 10% of the world's population, but we received 45% of the world's income. By contrast, Asia, with 50% of the world's people receives only 11% of its income, and Africa, with 8% of the world's people has only 3% of its income. The worst part of this distorted picture is that the differences are growing. This poses a problem almost as serious as the menace of communism itself and very closely tied to it.

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In large parts of Asia, Africa, Latin America and the Middle East, only one person in five has enough to eat in average years, and famine may strike at any moment. To make things worse, the population is growing twice as fast as the food supply. Only three people in ten are reasonably healthy -- the rest have malaria, TB or other serious chronic diseases. Seven people out of ten do not know how to read. Many people have never seen a wheel, a hoe, or other simple, basic tools -- let alone modern machinery. One Indian tribe in a remote area in South America hasn't even learned to use fire! Just think of the difference a few matches and some fuel, plus a little knowhow, would make in their lives.

Our Point 4, or technical assistance program is providing that knowhow in many areas throughout the world. It is based on the recognition of the fundamental truth that people want to help themselves and will do it if they are given the initial encouragement and are helped to find out what to do. Through Point 4, missions have been sent to more than 30 countries. They help improve agricultural production by introducing simple tools and better seeds, fertilizers, and methods. They are fighting the chronic diseases of the tropics by showing people some of the elementary facts about sanitation. They are tackling numerous problems that are holding up the social and economic progress of these areas -- always with the aid and cooperation of the people involved, who put up most of the money and do most of the work.

Point Four is our answer to this challenge of human misery.

It is breaking the trail toward a better, more abundant future for all of us.

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THE HIGH COST OF LIVING -- ABROAD:

One thing everybody agrees on today is that prices are too high. I've had plenty to say about that on many occasions. Even so, we're lucky compared to other peoples. If our prices are sky-high, theirs are in the stratosphere. To illustrate what I mean, suppose we take an imaginary trip to the grocers with this shopping list: a loaf of bread, a pound of butter, a dozen eggs, five pounds of potatoes, a pound of coffee and five pounds of sugar. An average American worker earns enough in two hours and ten minutes to buy these things. Now, here's a list of how long the average worker in some European countries would have to work to buy the same things at his corner grocery:

Denmark	4 hours and 23 minutes
France	9 hours and 17 minutes
Germany	15 hours and 57 minutes
Norway	4 hours and 30 minutes
Switzerland	7 hours and 33 minutes
Russia (Moscow)	26 hours and 37 minutes

There is another way of looking at the same situation. In the economists' jargon it would be called "the comparative purchasing power of hourling earnings." In plain English, it is how much a man makes in this country compared with what the same amount of work would get him somewhere else. Let's take an American family man with a wife, two children and an average job. Every time he works long enough to earn a dollar, his imaginary twin in Norway working the same length of time would darn the equivalent of 73¢; in Denmark, 70¢; in Great Britain 67¢; in Switzerland, 56¢; in Ireland, 48¢; in France, 51¢; in Western

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Germany, 42¢; in the Netherlands, 44¢, in Austria, 36¢; in Italy, 31¢; and in Russia -- the self-styled "workers paradise" -- 18¢. Many of the above countries have family allowances so that single workers earn even less.

Not only are wages and earning power lower in Europe, but the scars of warfare are everywhere evident. West Germany, for example, lost 20% of her housing, 30% of her industrial capacity, and an even higher proportion of her agricultural resources during the war. Just picture what happened to countries fought over twice: during invasion and during liberation!

COMMUNIST LIES VS THE TRUTH:

This is the picture of human misery and human need we must have before us when we examine our foreign policy. This is the breeding ground of revolution against European domination and colonialism in Africa, Asia and the Middle East. These are the conditions that feed communism, with its phony promises of peace and plenty for all. We must realize, too, how easy it is in these lands of poverty and distress for a person to adopt the communist picture of the United States. For instance, in a country where only a fabulously rich group of exploiters can afford automobiles, many people will swallow the often-repeated story that a nation where one person in four has a car is anation of ruthless capitalists.

Our problem in stopping the spread of communism today is partly the problem of correcting this picture other people have of the United States. This is not an easy task. People long fed on a diet of lies cannot recognize the truth when they see it. In a world where

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the corrupt as well as the innocent appear in sheep's clothing, people are wary of masquerading wolves.

Other people will judge us not by our words, but by our actions. We must be patient with the skepticism they have of our motives. No nation has ever before held a position of world superiority without trampling upon its neighbors -- and many of our allies have had this bitter experience in the recent past. They suspect we may do it too. Only time and continued good, responsible behavior will convince them.

Just because actions speak louder than words is no reason for us to shut up entirely. Our actions have to be interpreted and placed in their proper setting to be understood. Almost everywhere in the world, communist presses and communist voices are bleating the "big lie" about America. They are playing on our every weakness and shortcoming and they are appealing to every prejudice of their audiences. From our secure vantage-point it is difficult to realize what effect such propaganda has. Constant distortion, constant twisting of every action or statement by or about the United States is bound to have its effect on peoples who know little of America, have met few Americans, and whose only picture of the United States are alien caricatures.

We have made a good, positive effort to counteract this communist flood of lies and innuendo, but it has been far too weak and limited. Only this year, Congress again cut the funds for expanded Voice of America and interest oral exchange programs. Yet the future strength of the free world rests on our mutual understanding and these

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programs are essential. Without them, all of our grand alliances and good intentions may come to naught. It is unthinkable to me that we are so shortsighted in meeting this potent aspect of the communist menace. Even without that threat, the program would be important; with it, it is indispensable to our security. As long as I am in the Senate, I will support them heartily.

Here, in a nutshell, is our information program as it stands now:

The Voice of America -- our official radio program -- is broadcast in 46 languages to cover 100 countries, including Russia. Our international press and publications service reaches more than 100,000,000 readers. We have more than 150 information centers located overseas. These figures sound large, but they are a trickle compared to the need. Luckily, the Government isn't the whole show. The American story is being told abroad in many other ways as well. Over 400,000,000 person see American movies each year. Millions more read American books and magazines -- and the demand for them is always greater than the supply. Thousands of students go abroad for study, or come to this country from other nations. But the number who can come is far smaller than the number who would like to. Just to illustrate: in one city in India 60 grants for study in America were announced. No less than 22,000 fully qualified people applied for those grants. This is an indication of the potentialities of this program.

THE POSTWAR RECORD:

Our foreign policy has a twofold aim: to create peace and to preserve and enlarge human freedom. In a broader sense, this is the

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expression of essential, everyday American ideals and characteristics. Tolerance, lending a helping hand to a neighbor, ingenuity and faith in the future are characteristics of American life. They are also our best export products. American foreign policy will be successful only in the measure that it expresses our ideals and holds firm to our principles.

We have just reason to be proud of our postwar record. Almost alone of all the warring nations, our economic strength was greater -- far greater -- at the close of hostilities than when they began. We can be grateful that the fighting was never brought directly to our shores -- that our cities were not bombed and our farms and forests were not ravaged by the movement of armies. Our partners were not so lucky. In 1945 and 1946 whole populations were on the verge of starvation and millions of people were homeless and shelterless, some newly escaped from slavery and some fleeing to escape a new slavery. The wounds of war still gaped and needed first-aid treatment. The United States joined with other countries in UNRRA -- the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration -- to take care of the most pressing needs. We went even further by ourselves, and sent billions of dollars of relief supplies to the suffering peoples of Europe. A total of close to ten billion dollars was spent for this purpose. It was given freely and ungrudgingly by the people of this country and we should be proud of that fact. Never before in history has a nation risen with such magnificence to the needs of others.

In cases of serious injury, however, first aid is not enough. And Europe was seriously hurt by the war. There was a vast reservoir of moral and spiritual strength, but it could not be tapped and put to

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constructive use without economic reconstruction. So the Marshall Plan was conceived as a means to helping others help themselves. This was no giveaway bonanza, it was a sound investment program, initially run by an able businessman. It marked the first concrete recognition by the United States Government of two things: first, that a long-run, co-ordinated program was necessary, and second, that Europe must unite if it was to become strong and healthy again. The European Recovery Act provided for the former and urged the latter. Under the Marshall Plan, European production has jumped and if it were not for the defense drain, recovery would have been achieved.

EUROPEAN UNITY?

Concern for European unity is an old theme song of continental thinkers. Until recently, it was attempted by conquest. Now it is being done by voluntary cooperation. Although progress sometimes seems slow, long steps forward have been taken. This is an important trend, perhaps as important as the steps which led 13 British colonies on the shores of the Atlantic Ocean to unite some 175 years ago. But the steps toward European unity have been far more complex. It has been almost like putting together a three-layer jigsaw puzzle -- and getting parts of the top layers fitted together before the bottom layer was done. Just to make it harder, some of the pieces fit in two or three of the layers at the same time.

THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE:

On the political layer -- the basic one for permanent unity -- the nations of Western Europe are united by a common devotion to freedom and democracy and by their opposition to communism. This is the

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solid base which supports the whole structure of agreements and alliances on the upper levels -- economic and military unity. The only functioning organization that is solely on the political level is the Council of Europe -- not unlike our own Continental Congress. The Consultative Assembly of the Council meets twice a year in Strasbourg, France. Members from almost all free European countries discuss common problems and pass resolutions. It is up to the member governments to enforce the resolutions of the Council, however.

I was privileged to be a member of the Congressional delegation that was invited to participate in last November's meeting of the Consultative Assembly. I was deeply impressed with the spirit of the debate and the earnestness with which the delegates tackled the problem of making the Council a really functioning organization. We Americans took vigorous part in the discussions and used all of our influence to give our European friends a little faith and courage. In spite of their determination, at times they seemed beaten down by the multitudes of problems which beset them. One almost got the impression that they would rather keep the project of a real European Parliament in the hopeful stage of discussion than risk a possible flop by attempting it.

The American delegation encouraged them by taking the attitude that any progress was better than no progress, and that the whole final blueprint didn't have to be worked out before the initial steps could be taken. Our fresh outlook proved extremely stimulating. At the same time, we learned the magnitude of the difficulties these statesmen and diplomats face and the deepseated national attitudes and policies that have forced this jigsaw pattern of unification instead of a straightforward all-out federation.

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Until I actually got over there, I had always thought of Europe as a not-too-harmonious unit, but a unit just the same. Instead, I discovered that the basic problem tormenting the men at Strasbourg was what might be called the international sectionalism of Europe. Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, formed a very close group. They are in process of economic union and presented a united diplomatic front. Great Britain, on the other hand, did not really feel a part of Europe -- one sometimes got the impression that the English Channel seems as wide to them as the Atlantic Ocean does to us. Anyway, Britain's ties to the Commonwealth seemed as important to her as her ties to Europe and often the two got tangled up and pulled in different directions. The Scandinavian countries formed another "sectional interest." They felt closer to Britain than to the rest of Europe and wanted to stay out of any firm union unless Britain were really in it too. France and Italy, on the other hand, were anxious to build up a strong union, but were afraid to include Germany without the balancing influence of England and the Scandinavian countries.

As a result of these conflicting aims and interests, Strasbourg has so far been little more than the scene of a diplomatic taffy-pull -- but even this is an important achievement. Efforts are continuing to make the Council of Europe the over-all coordinating body in Europe. They must and will succeed.

ECONOMIC UNITY:

The Marshall Plan brought the first steps toward European economic unity. The Organization for European Economic Cooperation -- or OEEC, as it is familiarly called -- was set up to coordinate the

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recovery plans of individual nations and work toward economically sensible solutions. This organization allotted Marshall Plan aid and provided a center for discussing various specialized problems. Though working quietly and in the background, it has, on the whole, been an effective instrument of cooperation.

Another child of the Marshall Plan was the European Payments Union, nicknamed EPU. This was a move at simplifying international accounting and freeing trade. Before the war, most currencies were convertible, so France, let us say, could sell to one country and use the country's money to buy from some other country -- just as a farmer can sell his produce at a market and use the money to buy shoes from a shoestore. After the war that changed. Countries would take money from some countries and not from others -- as though you could only buy shoes if the salesman happened to need some of your farm produce. Naturally as a result of this situation, there was a lot more bargaining and negotiating than there was actual trading. EPU in effect re-established the old order. Each country got credit at the EPU "bank" for what it sold to other countries, and drew on its account whenever it needed to buy. Thus, EPU has revived multilateral trade by getting around the many currency restrictions.

THE SCHUMANN PLAN:

The other moves toward European unity on the economic level have been nephews rather than children of the Marshall Plan. Most important of these is the so-called Schumann Plan which is just being put into effect. The official name of this is the "European Coal and Steel Community".

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In 1950, Foreign Minister Schumann of France proposed a step which went right to the heart of a lot of European rivalries and enmity. He suggested that France, Germany, and any other European nations who wished to join, unite their coal and steel industries under a single international authority. To really understand the importance of this, let's think of what the situation would have been if Minnesota and Pennsylvania had been independent countries, each with a tradition of enmity for the other. Can't you just imagine all the difficulties Minnesota would have had getting Pennsylvania to ship her enough coal so that our iron ore could be refined into steel and vice versa -- especially if each thought that the steel made by the other would be used to build weapons and start a war between them? Well, that's just what has been happening in Europe for over a century. Germany has vast quantities of coal in the Ruhr but not enough iron ore; and France has the iron ore, but not the coal. So this step of putting both under the same international authority is really a vital one for the future peace and economic development of Europe.

The proposal was enthusiastically received, but the details took a long time to work out. Just this spring, France, Germany, Italy, Belgium, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands -- the six nations which have originally participated -- finally ratified the agreement and the Schumann Plan is now beginning to operate. So hopeful are the member nations about it that plans are already in the air to do the same thing with other commodities: agricultural products, for instance. If these plans work out, Europe will keep moving step by step to full economic union.

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THE EUROPEAN ARMY AND NATO:

The movement toward European unity has only recently been tied in with the effort of the free world to stop the advance of communism. Three years ago, the North Atlantic Treaty was signed. Last winter, six European nations agreed to pool their military forces in Europe to form a common army. This European Army will have the function of protecting the "European Defense Community" from outside attack. France, Germany, Italy, and the Benelux countries are the participants in this venture -- one unprecedented in history and the prelude to an even closer unification. The European Army will be only a part of the force available to defend Western Europe against communism. It is part and parcel of the great North Atlantic Treaty command (NATO) which includes, Americans, Englishmen, Portuguese, Norwegians, and Danes as well as the European army nations.

This alliance of nations is the strongest force in the free world and it is growing stronger. Thanks to our military and economic aid and to the sacrifices of the other NATO countries, we are well on our way to becoming a good military match to the communist forces in Europe. The NATO countries, united by their devotion to freedom and democratic government are a new kind of alliance -- not only military but social and economic as well.

Last February, meeting at Lisbon, the North Atlantic Treaty Organization mapped out plans for the coming year. To the already existing common strategic defense plans were added commitments for troops and bases and the NATO organization itself was strengthened and reorganized. Each nation pledged itself to contribute a specified number

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of ground combat divisions, air formations and naval forces -- and each nation pledged itself to the limit of its ability. Perhaps the most important step was the planned integration of Germany into the European Defense Community.

GERMANY:

When the war ended in 1945, Germany was a completely defeated and utterly devastated nation. Government on every level was so disorganized that American army officers had to take charge of such basic activities as providing for a water supply and running the railroads. It took four years even to clean the debris of bombed buildings from the streets of many cities. The Potsdam Agreement laid the foundation of allied policy toward Germany: to occupy it until the last vestige of militarism and totalitarianism was removed and to promote its recovery as a peace-loving nation which would never again menace either its neighbors or the rest of the world. Although divided into four zones, Germany was to be administered as an economic unit and the four powers agreed to cooperate on a common political policy.

Perhaps the Russians foresaw at Potsdam the course events would take. We certainly didn't. We made the agreement in good faith with allies who had fought with us in the war. We knew peace depended on our sticking together and we did our best to create a peaceful world. But, as we all know, the Russians didn't see it that way. In the ensuing struggle between the Soviet Union and its satellites and the free world, Germany became a prize of the highest importance.

In spite of the Potsdam Agreement, the Soviet Union coolly set out to transform its zone of Germany into another satellite area.

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Everything possible was done to consolidate communist rule in East Germany and to pull West Germany into the orbit of Soviet control. Success in this venture would have made Stalin the master of Europe. The fact that West Germany -- the Federal Republic of Germany -- is now in the process of becoming a free and independent nation, allied with the European Defense Community is a signal victory for the free world.

The development of Western Germany into a democratic nation is, of course, still incomplete. However, great progress has been made, for which the United States is largely responsible. We have been the ones behind practically every major step the Western allies have taken in Germany since VE-Day.

When it became evident that the Russians would not allow Germany to be administered as an economic unity or otherwise honor the Potsdam Agreement, the United States took the initiative in uniting the three zones of West Germany and in making it possible for the Germans to write a democratic constitution and elect a democratic government. The thousands of Germans who have crossed the iron border between East and West Germany each month since that government was established attest to the devotion of the German people to freedom; while the courage of the Berliners and people of West Germany in resisting direct Soviet pressure proves that we can count on them as allies.

The Senate has just ratified a convention with Germany which restores the Federal Republic to its place in the community of nations and integrates it in the European Defense Community. Thus, in seven short years, thanks largely to American leadership and

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American policy, Germany has been transformed from a dictatorship relentlessly and ruthlessly bent on world conquest and guilty of some of the greatest atrocities of history into a democracy which has accepted the principles and traditions of the free world and has elected to stand with it against a common enemy.

When the history of this decade is written, that fact will stand large upon its pages.

THE FREE WORLD'S RESOURCES:

All of us know that we are still lagging behind the Communists in mobilized military strength. In about every other respect, however, we are ahead. The Free world now includes 68% of the world's population with 45% of its armies, 81% of its steel output, 87% of its aluminum output, 95% of its motor vehicle output, 91% of its oil output, 69% of its coal output, 85% of its electric power output, 90% of its copper ore output, 92% of its tin ore output, 93% of its rubber output, 60% of its bread grain and rice output, and 98% of its merchant fleets.

This is an impressive roster of economic strength. It should not, however, soothe us into complacency. The slave economies of Russia and its satellites demand far less of these products for civilian consumption. Where the free nations --short of total war -- can divert only a fraction of these commodities to military use, the slave nations can gear their whole economies primarily to military purposes, and this is just what they have been doing.

We must also consider another factor. The slave world can be forced by Moscow to function as a unit. The free world, by

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very definition, has no such controlling force. There are shortages of almost all these commodities and resources. We must find voluntary means of putting them to the best use and giving each nation a chance to get what it needs without bidding up prices to stratospheric levels which might be ruinous to our economy, though we could survive it better than most nations. Right after Korea, when there was no international machinery, raw material prices rose many times their previous levels, as the demand suddenly increased. Then the International Materials Conference was set up -- an organization in which all producer and user nations were represented. Through a process of review and discussion, each nation voluntarily limited itself not to take more than its fair share in view of the world needs, and agreed on what this share would be. This is an impressive example of the new kind of cooperation which the free nations are developing. It is international control through national self-discipline.

REVOLUTION IN THE WORLD:

Most of the industrial resources of the free world are in North America and Europe. Many of its raw materials come from Asia, Africa, and Latin America -- the so-called "under-developed" continents.

Strong currents of revolution and upheaval have been at work in these areas for many years. The spirit of '76 has been the spirit of '52. A mighty urge for human emancipation and human dignity is surging over Asia, Africa and the Middle East. For the first time, the oppressed and poverty-stricken peoples of these parts of the world are realizing that life can be more than mere existence. It can offer political freedom, economic sufficiency, and moral and spiritual growth. They are beginning to see that poverty and virtual

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slavery are not man's destiny but a perversion of it. The explosive political and social situations in Asia and parts of Africa and the Middle East are the result of this awakening: a compound of the effort to throw off obsolete and unjust shackles and the growing pains of a new and vigorous democracy.

India, Pakistan, Indonesia, Ceylon and many other countries have achieved their political independence since the war. Iran, Egypt, Indo-China and other countries though nominally independent, are struggling to rid themselves of "foreign" domination. All of these countries provide testing grounds for us and for the sincerity of our devotion to our professed ideals. Even when anti-American demonstrations are staged, we must remember that these people are basically our friends and we are their friends. They are activated by the same spirit which gave rise to the Boston Tea party, Paul Revere's ride and other acts of defiance which we are so proud of in our own history. They are impelled with a fierce desire for human equality, and for recognition of their own dignity and worth.

Yet if there is anywhere in the world where our foreign policy has been weak, it has been in dealing with these areas. Instead of welcoming this spirit as providing kinship with our own traditions and heritage, we have been far too concerned with maintaining order and preserving the status quo. We have failed to identify ourselves with the legitimate aspirations and desires of the peoples of Asia and Africa to attain their political and economic independence and have instead passively let ourselves become identified with the very policies and conditions they are revolting against. Even the Point Four - technical assistance program, which has been a long step in the

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right direction -- has often been deprived of the impetus and effect which an alert and effective over-all foreign policy should have given it.

Here, if anywhere, will be proven the rightness and desirability of conducting ourselves and our policy by the guideposts of our American ideals. The problems we face are complex, but they can be simplified if we unite with these new nations in a common idealism and determination to build a better, freer, future. We have a great opportunity to bolster this spirit of freedom. If we do not seize it, it may burn itself out in negative and self-defeating acts.

The tragedy of our time is that we have permitted the Communists to identify themselves with these liberation and emancipation movements in Asia and Africa. Yet communism by its very nature is counterrevolution, reaction, and subjugation. International communism's only purpose in joining with these people seeking their independence is to take them over and inflict on these people their vicious and brutal system of exploitation and oppression. Our job is to explain that to the world, not only in words but by setting an example through leadership, through guidance, and through generous assistance.

INDIA:

Let me use India as an example. This nation is the most populous free nation in the world today. -- some 400,000,000 people. It is beset by all the problems of creating a sound democratic form of government in a large area, composed of many states and provinces with differing local customs, traditions, and even languages. Poverty,

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disease, and illiteracy are the lot of the vast majority of the peasantry. A semi-feudal economic system has condemned agrarians to bondage and stifled the growth of industry. The partition of the Indian subcontinent into Hindu India and Moslem Pakistan has caused the largest mass migration in recorded history -- more than 13 million people are homeless -- bereft of their possessions and often separated from their families.

India is the pivotal country of Asia. If the Communists can manage to add victory in India to their victory in China there will be little chance that the rest of that continent can long remain free. The Indian Government knows this and is firm in its opposition to Communism. At the same time, India is determined to do what it can to prevent the outbreak of a full-scale war between the communist world and the free world. For this reason India attempted to mediate the Korean conflict and is continuing to use its good offices to bring about a truce. For this reason, too, India is not a party to any of our mutual security arrangements in the Pacific. But there is no question of where her vast moral and spiritual influence lies; it is on the side of freedom and democracy.

For the first time, the Indian people have recently participated in a free national election. More people voted than in any other free election in history. They gave the Nehru government a good majority, though the gains of the Communists in some provinces should not be overlooked or minimized.

The Communist party is making a determined effort in India. It is playing upon the old opposition to British rule and trying to fan

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it into a general anti-Westernism. Despite this, the Indians have adopted western democracy as their form of government. Communism is subsidizing newspapers and providing cheap editions of communist books for mass distribution, although the Indian Government has done what it can do discourage it. The Indians themselves continue to buy American books when they can afford them and to visit the American information centers to find out about our way of life. The Communists promise immediate land reform and the end of poverty and starvation. In the face of this temptation, the Indian people are putting their trust in the policies of the present government for peaceful change and development. We should be encouraged by these indications ---but we must not be complacent in the face of them.

India needs our understanding, our sympathy and our help. We should provide them all in full measure. That means ending our support of white supremacy at home and abroad. That means broadening our horizons to include India -- and Indian problems and potentialities -- in our thinking about the world. It means giving technical and material assistance for economic development in its largest sense.

We have made a good beginning. A year ago, India was suffering from severe famine. We sent them 50,000,000 tons of wheat to alleviate it -- though not without a disgraceful amount of haggling and delay. India is now implementing a long term development plan to raise agricultural production and eliminate chronic disease. We are helping in that through our Point Four program. In the next four years -- by their own efforts and with our help -- India is planning to bring 16 million additional acres under irrigation and to provide

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180,000 villages with a total population of 120 million people with the benefits of modern extension work service, including better seeds, more fertilizer and water, improved simple tools, malaria control, and adult education.

Let me make it clear that this is an Indian program, begun on Indian initiative and its success will depend on Indian efforts. However, the measure of our aid can make a big difference in how it works out. We have the equipment (including such simple things as steel plows and tube wells) which India is not yet producing in sufficient quantities. We have valuable experience in agricultural extension work, which is a new thing in India. We have a backlog of knowhow and experience which can be invaluable to the Indians. And we can also make sorely needed dollars available.

We are going to spend a large portion of our Point Four funds in India. But let me put the matter in perspective. The total amount which the Indians would like to see us put into this project (which, if this year is any indication, is far more than we will eventually approve) is less than the amount we have spent on economic aid to Greece alone since the end of the war. It is a fraction of our own defense budget. Furthermore, the Indian Government is providing the equivalent of at least two dollars worth of rupees for each dollar we spend.

We know that this program will work. In the province of Etawah, in the last two years, a former county agent in Tennessee has helped 79,000 people in 102 villages increase their food production by 46%. This increase has not been because we have given them tractors, fertilizer, or irrigation. It has been much simpler than that. Wooden

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sticks were replaced by simple metal plows. Improved seeds were introduced. Meanwhile scientific planning helped the Indians translate their former ineffective drudgery into fruitful labor. The Indians themselves have done much of the work on a neighbor-to-neighbor basis -- and as the precious knowhow has spread from village to village over a large area, new hope, new determination, and new self-respect has sprung up in the hearts of the people.

This is the Point Four program for India in action. This is the little we are asked to do so that a nation can replace a standard of dying with a standard of living. With our aid, the whole subcontinent can be transformed in a five-year period. Fundamental human decency calls for its full support.

I have used India as an example because it is the key country in Asia. It is also the country where we are doing the best job and it is providing a pattern for similar results in other areas.

JAPAN:

This year has witnessed the formal end of the war with Japan. On April 28 the Japanese Peace Treaty entered into force. This means that Japan is once again a sovereign nation. But it is a very different Japan from the one we entered in 1945. Under our tutelage and occupation, the principles of democratic government have been introduced. We all hope and believe that the Japanese people, which accepted these principles eagerly and gladly, will continue to practice them in the years to come.

The Treaty marked a new approach both in substance and in process. Never before has the State Department worked so closely with

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members of the Senate as in the negotiation of this treaty. Members of the Foreign Relations Committee were consulted every step of the way. As a result, the treaty was a good one and was ratified with only token opposition. In short, the Senate actually did give its advice as well as its consent.

In substance the treaty is also unique. For perhaps the first time in history, it has not been a case of wreaking vengeance on a guilty and vanquished nation. Instead of heaping new bitterness on old through the imposition of harsh terms, we have wiped the slate as clean as possible and given the Japanese people the chance to make a new start. This does not mean that we in any way condone the horrors which Japan perpetrated at Pearl Harbor and after -- it means instead that we are not giving any future jingoists the pretext for new horrors.

Made in the Christian spirit of charity and forgiveness, it is a treaty we can well be proud of and use as a pattern in the future.

Concurrent with the Japanese Treaty, in order to add ironclad protection to the guarantee that Japan would never again be the aggressor and to make double-sure that no other nation would be deluded into thinking that conquest in the Pacific was an easy thing, we signed security treaties with Australia and New Zealand and with the Philippines. This gives us a basis for a developing system of alliances and friendships in the Pacific which can be of great importance to us in the future.

KOREA:

"Bleak news from a bleak country" is the best nutshell description of the situation in Korea. The truce talks drag on and

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on -- and so does the fighting. As long as we are still negotiating we can still hope for a settlement. Meanwhile, men of fifteen nations are facing the communist hordes and twenty other countries are backing up our effort with material support. All of us are fully aware of the tragedy of this situation. We cannot and should not underestimate it. Even so, there are rays of hope in the picture.

The attack of the North Koreans on the Republic of Korea was a clear case of unprovoked, unadulterated aggression. So was the entry of the Chinese communists into the conflict. Those of us who remembered that World War II started in Manchuria and Ethiopia, where aggression went unchecked and unopposed by the rest of the world, knew that here was a similar case. This time the United Nations acted, and we heartily and fully supported that action.

Because we met this challenge and so far have met it successfully, we may well have prevented World War III. We have showed the communists in the only way they understand that aggression does not pay. The conquest of Korea was only one step in the grand communist design. Other steps were bound to follow: Iran, Germany, Egypt, and the other nations one by one until we too would have been next on the list. Those who have given their lives in Korea have done as much to preserve and protect the freedom of their native land as the patriots at Valley Forge, the Argonne, Okinawa, and the Battle of the Bulge.

You have heard -- often from the very lips of those who urge its extension -- that the Korean conflict has been a "useless war". They are terribly, tragically wrong. The Korean war has been

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the true preventive war. It has prevented further aggression and when it is settled the whole world, free and slave, will know that the United Nations can and will resist aggression successfully.

Like you, I am of course, concerned that we are bearing the brunt of the fighting in Korea. I would like to see other members of the United Nations participate more fully. But it is not quite fair to think of Korea by itself. Before we condemn the French and the British for their relatively small contributions, we must remember that each nation is fighting a hot war -- and too often a forgotten war -- of its own against communism. For several years before the Korean conflict began, the communists began fighting bloody battles with the French in Indo-China; and the British in Malaya have been fighting a guerilla war ever since 1945. Casualties in both conflicts have been heavy, and these areas, too, are of great importance. We can be grateful that our French and British friends are shouldering the responsibility there.

THE UNITED NATIONS:

The cornerstone on which our foreign policy rests is the United Nations. This organization, young and weak as it is, is the fulfillment of an age-old dream of a world in which nations live together in peace and cooperate on meeting common problems. The League of Nations was a first attempt. The United Nations, building on the League's experience, is the second. It is a promising one and has a good record.

Many people today are discouraged about the United Nations and think that it is not working. That is largely because of the unfortunate

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tendency some have to play up the conflicts, the vetoes, the angry speeches and the thorny problems to the exclusion of the fine creative, constructive work of the organization.

Just to set the record straight, I would like to list for you a few of the successes of the United Nations and outline for you what it is doing in many important fields.

First of all, I want to stress that the United Nations is no superstate and never can be unless the charter is fundamentally change (which would require out consent). It is powerless to act by itself. Every thing it does depends on the consent and support of the member nations.

The United Nations is an organization, set up by the common consent of the countries who fought together to defeat Nazi and Fascist totalitarianism. It is dedicated to peace, freedom, and human dignity and well-being and tries to achieve those ends. Its biggest service is to provide a meeting ground where world problems can be discussed and to perform some specialized services through its affiliates. It can make recommendations and draw up agreements and conventions and covenants. But only individual nations acting singly or in concert can enforce those recommendations and nations are only bound by what they agree to. This should be made clear at the outset because I have received many letters which mistakenly oppose the United Nations because it will undermine our own sovereignty or develop into a world supergovernment.

It is both easy and tempting to point to the present cold war between ourselves and the communists as proof that the United

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Nations isn't working and will not work. Those who make this charge forget one simple and important thing: the United Nations never was intended to cope with disputes between the great powers. The framers of the UN Charter, meeting in San Francisco in 1945, emphasized to the point of redundancy that the five great powers must remain united or the UN itself would be in grave danger of falling apart. The veto power was put into the Charter to keep the United Nations from being used as an instrument of coercion in any struggle between the great powers. That miracle is not that the UN hasn't settled everything, but that after five years of cold war the United Nations is still an effective functioning organization.

In the seven years of its existence the United Nations has considered 48 political and security questions, of which 27 have been international disputes. It has been instrumental in settling several ominous differences which might well have exploded into war. For instance, the blockade of Berlin was settled through negotiations begun in the United Nations; Russian troops were withdrawn from Iran in 1946 after the Iranian Government complained to the Security Council which discussed the issue; United Nations mediation was responsible for setting up the new state of Israel and preventing a full-scale Israeli-Arab war; United Nations intervention in Indonesia led to the establishment of the Republic of Indonesia and ended fighting between the Indonesians and the Dutch; a UN mediator has prevented war between India and Pakistan on the Kashmir dispute; and United Nations Commissions in Korea, Greece, and Germany have thoroughly investigated the disputes between ourselves and the Communists and given us a clean bill

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of health on our policies. The list could be extended easily, but its point is a simple one: the United Nations has succeeded in many of its efforts to settle disputes and maintain peace. For this reason alone, it merits our support.

Even more important, however, has been the work of the United Nations in attacking the basic causes of war: poverty, disease, and the denial of human rights and freedoms. Here the record is truly impressive. The Economic and Social Council and its committees have devoted attention to almost every pressing problem in the world. Housing, employment, restrictive business practices, economic development, income distribution, status of women, missing persons, survivors of concentration camps, displaced persons, family and child welfare and a host of other problems have been considered. Let me emphasize again that in dealing with these questions, the United Nations has not taken any arbitrary actions or attempted to bind any national government to a certain policy. Rather it has explored the extent of the problems on a world-wide basis and brought together experts from many nations for mutually profitable discussions.

In some cases of pressing need, the United Nations has found a way to act. A good example is the United Nations Children's Emergency Fund, to which many Minnesotans have contributed directly. Organized by unanimous vote of the General Assembly in December 1946, the fund has spent over \$100,000,000 in helping the children of the world. Among other things, it has participated in the largest single mass-immunization campaign in history in an attempt to wipe out tuberculosis. By 1950, over 11,000,000 children has been vaccinated and work is continuing in Asia, North Africa, the Middle East, and

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Latin America. In war-torn areas, UNICEF has conducted child-feeding operations which have meant the difference between life and death for some six million children. It is training child-health workers in Asia to spread knowledge of elementary health methods to towns and villages. Perhaps most important of all, it is helping many nations improve their own child welfare services by providing expert assistance and advice.

The United Nations also has 13 specialized agencies, which carry out the UN aim of improving economic and social conditions for the people of the world. These include the International Labor Organization (ILO) which promotes social justice through drawing up international social standards, providing technical assistance, and distributing information on social problems.

The Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) keeps a watchful eye on world food and agricultural conditions and supplies member governments with facts and figures on nutrition, agriculture, forestry and fisheries, and with forecasts on the production, distribution and consumption of agricultural products. All of its activities aim at increasing the supply of food and other agricultural products and bringing more satisfactory levels of well-being to rural families. Through FAO, plant pests, such as locusts, have been controlled and animal diseases cured or prevented. For instance, a disease called rinderpest kills over two million cattle a year in Africa, Asia, and the Far East. Through FAO, millions of cattle have been inoculated with an inexpensive serum, and the disease is being wiped out.

The United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural

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Organization (UNESCO) works to advance mutual knowledge and international understanding and especially to encourage popular education -- still nonexistent in many countries, though we have had it for a century. One of its basic aim is to wipe out illiteracy. To help in this work, UNESCO is setting up six centers in regions where illiteracy is highest for training teachers as specialists in fundamental education. It has done other important things, such as setting up a system for international book purchase. If it weren't for UNESCO, people in many countries would not be able to buy the American books they need to carry on their studies or find out about this country.

Other UN agencies are the International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO); the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, which makes long-term loans to needy nations pay off at a profit to both the bank and the borrower, the International Monetary Fund, which stabilizes the exchange value of currencies; the Universal Postal Union, without which it would be impossible to send a letter to another country; the World Health Organization, which is bringing modern medical methods to backward areas and stamping out chronic disease through inoculation and giving expert advice to member nations on setting up the kind of health services they want to have; the International Refugee Organization (IRO) which helped repatriate or resettle millions of homeless people after World War II; the International Telecommunication Union, through which, among other things, radio frequencies are allocated so the stations of one country won't interfere with those of another, the World Meteorological Organization which is helping to improve weather forecasting throughout

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the world; and several other agencies which are now being set up.

All of these agencies, as you can imagine if you think back to the picture of life in underdeveloped countries -- or indeed in almost any area of the globe, are doing vital, necessary jobs. They are working closely with the governments of the areas concerned -- indeed, they cannot interfere or act unless the governments request it. And they are supported on a shoestring budget by their members. The United States, which makes the largest contribution, spends less than 10 cents on the United Nations for every \$15 it spends on the cold war; and the total budget of the United Nations in 1950 came to less than the City of New York spent to keep its streets clean and for other activities of the Department of Sanitation!

SUMMARY:

This has been a somewhat lengthy review of our problems and policies in the field of foreign affairs. As you judge our actions, bear in mind that we are still feeling our way. The temptations to go back into our shell or to adopt the outworn and outmoded methods of power diplomacy are often great. We must resist them both. The future is bright with hope -- but it cannot be gained by moving toward the past, nor can our course be straight if our eyes are turned backwards. Our foreign policy must have many parts: in some areas economic and technical assistance; in others, military aid. Our policy toward nations taken over by Russia should be to encourage their breaking away, such as happened in Yugoslavia, and to give them whatever help we can once they do make the break. Even more important, we should not fail to hold up to the still-captive peoples of our own

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devotion to freedom and our steadfast purpose to hold to it until the shackles are loosed throughout the world.

This requires military and economic strength at home. For this reason we are mobilizing our forces, expanding our production, and strengthening our economy. Twin production lines -- unheard of in the past -- have become a reality, with one line producing military weapons and the other civilian goods to maintain and raise our standard of living. We are proud of this, but we must remember that America's real strength is not in her production lines or the number of our automobiles, deepfreezes, telephones, radios, TV's, or movies. Our real strength lies in our people and in our democracy: our devotion to freedom and free government, our churches, our family life, our generosity and willingness to give the other fellow a helping hand.

Whatever we do, we must constantly keep in mind that we, the people of the United States, have a great responsibility of leadership. The whole world looks to us for guidance, for inspiration. This may seem like a tremendous burden, but, I submit, it is a burden much less crushing than war.

There are no easy answers to the difficult problems we face today. There is no short cut to peace. We must be prepared for years of earnest endeavor and sacrifice. We must develop the sense of poise and strength that comes through understanding and a realization of the righteousness of our cause. The cornerstone of our foreign policy is indeed pride in American achievements and in America's way of life. But that cornerstone must be laid on the solid ground of idealism, fair play and faith in the future, not on the sand of our material prosperity

and temporal power. We sorely need Divine guidance and inspiration, for there are some things man cannot do alone. I join with you in seeking it.

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POINT 4

Statement of

HONORABLE HUBERT H. HUMPHREY
in the Senate of the United States
Saturday, July 5, 1952

INTRODUCTION

Point 4, or the technical assistance program, is America's answer to the challenge of freedom 3, freedom from want. Only through their own development can the standard of living of the impoverished peoples of the world be permanently raised. This is the vision of point 4—not a hand-out, but a sharing of skills so that all may have the satisfaction of seeing their daily labor produce an adequate living for themselves and their families.

Few ideas in history have so caught the imagination of the people of America or of the rest of the world. Point 4 was conceived in that part of the American spirit that refuses to be overwhelmed by seemingly unconquerable problems. It had its genesis in our climate of expanding opportunities. It was nourished by the fundamentally American desire to help others and to repay other lands for their part in our heritage and our development.

There is not a nation or a people on the face of this globe that has not contributed something to us. Point 4 is our chance to close the circle by contributing something to them. Not in material terms—because America is not materialistic—but in

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human terms. We would share our technical skills with other peoples, working and learning together to conquer the specters of want, disease, and impoverishment.

We have made a good beginning. Under the gentle pressure of successful demonstration, new techniques are being adopted, customs are being changed, and the whole social organization of many communities is being transformed as its members learn to cope more effectively with their environment. The age-old war between man and nature was favoring nature in too many parts of the globe; man was scarcely able to eke out a subhuman existence. Now, all that is changing. With the aid of a few simple tools, and that all-essential ingredient, knowledge, man is conquering nature. Where simple metal plows are used, instead of a wooden stick, cultivation becomes effective. Where new seed is sown, the crops are bigger and healthier. Where tube wells have been sunk, drought is no longer a danger. Where DDT has been sprayed, mosquitoes cannot bring malaria. Where penicillin has been injected, the painful festering sores of yaws disappear. And where these things are done, hope soon reappears, and people begin to work and plan for the future.

Point 4, and the generous cooperative approach to world need which it represents, is America's answer to the material attraction of communism in the underdeveloped area of the world. Communism and hope cannot survive in the same climate. We have the means and the ability to see to it that hope wins.

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Even so, let us not make the mistake of blaming communism for the surge of revolution that is sweeping the peoples of Asia and Africa today. Their yearning for independence and progress has far sounder roots. It stems from the ideals which western civilization carries with it wherever it goes. It is the same spirit which animated us when we declared our independence, and conquered both our enemies and the wilderness itself to build the most powerful nation in the world. We should rejoice that they too have felt its power, and encourage them to use it rightly.

The violence and intensity of that spirit have been shown in many places. In China, it was perverted to the ends of communism. In India, it has found a democratic path—though the democracy there is so new and precarious that any serious failure may bring an explosion, and another key country be lost to the cause of freedom. In Indochina, Malaya, and Burma, it is reflected in civil warfare and bloodshed. In Egypt and Iran it has led to open defiance and overthrow of European domination. Everywhere the propelling force is the same—a desire for political freedom and economic and social justice.

Point 4—the helping hand of brotherhood—is democracy's answer to the challenge of the Asian awakening. Upon its success will depend the future of this area of the world. Its effectiveness, and the measure of our support, will determine whether democracy can and will provide them with a survival standard of living. More than that, a wholehearted point 4 program will show that we care about them and give the lie to Communist propaganda about ~~our~~ our values and motives.

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Since January 1949, when President Truman first proposed the program, it has become a fully accepted part of our foreign policy. Even more important, many private individuals and organizations have seen the challenge of point 4 work. Church groups, civil organizations, and other institutions are training personnel, contributing equipment, and otherwise joining enthusiastically in the program. Thousands of people have sent plows, seed packets, clothing, books, and other needed items to their unknown friends in other countries. The United Nations has enlisted the cooperation of other free nations in a technical assistance program of its own. Together we are bringing undreamed of results to impoverished nations the world over.

This is the spirit of democracy at work.

THE NEED

We may speak glibly of underdeveloped areas but few of us have any conception of the stark reality of life in these lands which cover half the earth. We realize, of course, that there is no television, no radio, no running water, but beyond that our conceptions grow hazy. The following table, read with a little imagination, will give a good idea of the vast gulf that separates our life from that of the people of India, Pakistan, and other Asian and African and Latin-American countries.

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Comparison of underdeveloped with developed areas

	Under- devel- oped	Inter- mediate	Devel- oped
Annual per capita income in dollars...	41	154	461
Mechanical energy, per capita horsepower hours per day.....	1.2	6.4	26.6
Life expectancy in years.....	30	52	63
Physicians per 1,000 people.....	0.17	0.78	1.06
Food consumption calories per person per day.....	2,150	2,760	3,040
Cloth consumption, pounds per person per year.....	4.8	7.52	18.63
Percent of population literate.....	22	80	95
Elementary school teachers per 1,000 people.....	1.76	3.42	3.98

We must keep in mind that these broad averages cover up the differences in the various categories. There are big differences between the various developed countries, as well as between the various underdeveloped countries. To illustrate this, let us just consider per capita income (dollars in 1949). In 1949-dollar figures it looked like this:

Underdeveloped areas:

Latin America.....	\$152
Africa.....	118
Middle East.....	60
Southeastern Asia.....	50
Far East.....	38

Developed areas:

United States.....	1,453
Canada.....	870
United Kingdom.....	773
France.....	482
Western Germany.....	320
Italy.....	235

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These underdeveloped areas are not just isolated wilderness either. They are some of the most populous countries in the world. Over 1,000,000,000 people live in them—and there are only about 2,378,000,000 people in the whole world. The breakdown is as follows:

Latin America.....	158,000,000
Africa.....	198,000,000
Turkey and Greece.....	27,000,000
Middle East.....	36,000,000
South Asia.....	465,000,000
Southeast Asia.....	188,000,000
Oceania.....	<u>3,000,000</u>
Total.....	1,075,000,000

Even though economically backward, they supply some of our major needs. Seventy-three percent of our stock-piled strategic materials come from underdeveloped countries and they supply 58 percent of all our imports. These include such items as virtually all of our natural rubber, manganese, chromium, and tin, a third of our aluminum and a quarter of our zinc and copper. With these materials, the United States, with only 6 percent of the world's population and 7 percent of its area, accounts for roughly half of its industrial output. Without them, our industry would be crippled; our factories would shut down and our people would be thrown out of work. Of the 38 important industrial minerals, we produce what we need of only 9. Thus it is a matter of cold self-interest, as well as of idealism, to see that these countries improve themselves so that they have the political and economic

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stability to continue to supply us with the things we need.

HOW POINT 4 WORKS

The evolution of point 4 has been comparatively slow. President Truman proposed it in January 1949. It took until June 1950 to get the Act for International Development--the basic point 4 legislation--approved. Here is the policy of the United States as we enunciated it in that act:

"The peoples of the United States and other nations have a common interest in the freedom and in the economic and social progress of all peoples. Such progress can further the secure growth of democratic ways of life, the expansion of mutually beneficial commerce, the development of international understanding and good will, and the maintenance of world peace.

"The efforts of the peoples living in economically underdeveloped areas of the world to realize their full capabilities and to develop the resources of the lands in which they live can be furthered through the co-operative endeavor of all nations to exchange technical knowledge and skills and to encourage the flow of investment capital."

The first appropriations were made in September of that year. Since then the program has grown steadily. A separate part of the State Department, the Technical Cooperation Administration, is in charge of it. By April of this year,

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774 experts were helping the peoples of 32 underdeveloped countries to help themselves. People from 41 countries had come to the United States for training so they could go back and teach new methods to their countrymen.

Public and private agencies have worked together to make the program a success. The United States Government alone has some 20 departments and agencies directly involved. These agencies have either sent people abroad or they have trained others who came here to learn. Many private organizations are giving their help by training technicians to send abroad and by acting as hosts to visitors here.

Large and far-flung as point 4 operations are, however, the personal touch has not been lost. The program is being kept small enough so that it will never be lost. We do not go to these people and say that we are going to tell them how to run their economic affairs better—that would be neither effective nor democratic. Instead we work together with the peoples of the backward areas, waiting first for them to determine what they really want and need to know, and then working out a plan whereby they contribute all the resources they can spare, and we supply the needed technicians and in some cases equipment and tools as well. As the people become interested and learn the new ways, the program grows of itself.

This has been demonstrated in India, where the pilot project in Etawah Province, under the direction of Horace Holmes—

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a Tennessee county agent--was so spectacularly successful that Indians have gone from his 100 square mile area into neighboring areas and spread his teaching. A similar pattern will be followed throughout the rest of India under an agreement between our governments. Demonstration villages will be set up and the people themselves will then be able to teach their neighbors. Thus, for a very small expenditure of funds, Indian agriculture will become self-supporting and India, instead of having to import 5,000,000 tons of foodstuffs per year will be able to use that precious foreign exchange to build up her industrial economy.

But point 4 is not all teaching. We are helping India with equipment, too. We are sending over tube wells to provide irrigation for the parched soil. We are spraying whole villages with DDT to eliminate malaria. We are inoculating cattle against rinderpest. We are clearing jungle land to provide peasants with a plot of their own ground. We are building dams to control the rivers and provide a year-round supply of water. We are helping the new Indian Government in its problems of administration. We are working together to settle many of the countless problems which beset any new nation. And this common effort is cementing our friendship and replacing distrust with understanding.

The Indian pattern is being repeated in many other countries. In some, like the Latin American nations, we have

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been working together for many years. In others, we are just beginning. But everywhere the response is the same: wholehearted acceptance of the program and its method.

OTHER POINT 4 PROGRAMS

We are not the only nation to have a point 4 program. There are 34 regional and world-wide agencies concerned with technical assistance. The United Nations and its agencies have an extensive program in which all the nations outside of the Soviet bloc participate. The American and United Nations programs complement each other very well. In many countries an informal native-U.N.-American team does the planning, so that we do not work at cross-purposes. Even more important, there are some things that the U.N. can do far better than we can. Other United Nations countries may have special skills to offer, and they do so under the U.N. program. Often, too, the U.N. provides a far better opening wedge, since it is not looked at with the same suspicion that a national foreign government receives. In addition, the specialized organs of the U.N., such as the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, or UNESCO are often better fitted for the technical assistance job than our Government agencies are. For all of these reasons, the U.N. program should be supported to the utmost.

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In fact, the many factors in favor of the U.N. program have led some people to argue that we should channel point 4 through them. The suggestion has some merit. The main draw-back is that the U.N. program is much smaller than ours, and the U.N. takes the view that all of its programs should be truly international. Unless other countries can contribute proportionate shares, therefore, the U.N. does not act. To channel point 4 through the U.N. would be simply to make it a holding company for American funds and an American program.

The important thing is to work together with all who want to help on technical assistance. We can and should at the same time be proud that America is able to shoulder most of the burden.

THE PLACE OF POINT 4 IN OUR FOREIGN POLICY

Its very name emphasizes that point 4 is only a part of our foreign policy. Points 1, 2, and 3 are equally vital. Let me review them.

Point 1 is support of the United Nations. We may be disappointed because the U.N. has not been more effective. This is only human, but it is no reason to withdraw our support from it. Never before in the history of mankind has any world organization had the actual power that the U.N. now possesses. And the U.N. alone, of all the international bodies in existence today, offers the hope of an enduring peace. NATO is important.

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The Organization of American States is important. European union is important. But these are all less important than the United Nations. Let us remember this when we begin to get cynical about its achievements: so long as there is a forum in the world where all nations can present their cases, there is the possibility that all nations can reconcile their differences, at least enough to live in peace with each other.

Point 2 is aiding world economic recovery. This has largely been accomplished. The terrible devastation of war is being covered over with new buildings and new hope. But the world economy is still in a shaky position. What we do or do not do here in the United States is terribly important to other nations. We must be constantly on the alert to see that our actions do not set off the chain reaction of economic collapse abroad.

Point 3 is strengthening the free nations against aggression. As long as the threat of communism menaces the world, this will have to be the cardinal consideration in our policy. Only free nations, united in spirit and in fact, can successfully resist the wily intrigues or the outright attacks of the Communists. The Mutual Security Program is the free world's method of strengthening itself. It is a sound program, worthy of our full support. At the same time, we must keep our own defenses strong. We cannot afford to sap our military might through congressional stinginess or to fritter

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it away by poor planning.

Underlying our whole foreign policy is the most powerful force in the world: the force of the ideals of free men. We have no choice but to be true to them. They are our proud heritage and our most cherished possession--and they, rather than military, economic, or technical aid, are what will eventually make freedom secure in the world.



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