

Abstract of Address by Senator  
Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) before  
Commonwealth Club of California  
San Francisco, February 24

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### SECURITY COUNCIL SEAT FOR INDIA PROPOSED AS BOLD BID FOR ASIA

Revision of the United Nations Charter to give India the disputed seat of China as a permanent member of the Security Council--and expansion of that Council to also include Japan and Western Germany--was proposed by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) in an address before the Commonwealth Club of California in San Francisco today as a bold bid to strengthen the forces of freedom in Asia and Europe.

Calling attention to the fact that he was "returning to the birthplace of the United Nations" to advance his suggestion, Senator Humphrey declared "a more dynamic and effective program for Asia" was one of six key steps America must take as "alternatives to war."

"It is a reflection of a very rapidly disappearing past for the United Nations to continue to seat China as a permanent member of the Security Council," Senator Humphrey said. "China at the end of World War II was a powerful ally. The Communist China of today is an enemy. The nationalist China of today on Formosa is weak and not representative of the new Asia. Our proposal for seating India on the Security council can be a positive rather than a negative answer to the constant Soviet harrangue for the seating of Red China. Such a dramatic move would attract the attention and support of our friends all over the world.

"If the Soviet Union opposes this suggestion, our position in Asia would be strengthened. If our suggestion is accepted, we would have a strong, democratic Asian nation sitting in its rightful place of leadership in the councils of the world."

But in addition to making "a bolder bid" for Asia, the United States must keep a watchful eye on Communist strategy and maneuvers throughout the world, Senator Humphrey warned.

"You cannot meet a world-wide communist conspiracy by a provincial, parochial mentality," he said. Democracy is world-wide in its implications, and it must be backed up with a world-wide strategy."

Senator Humphrey also urged expanding the UN Security Council to include both Japan and Germany as a means of strengthening its effectiveness.

"We fully recognize the importance of Western Germany's participation in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization for the defense of Western Europe. Likewise, the importance of Japan as a major military and industrial power in Asia cannot be ignored. A United Nations that does not include these two powerful countries within its security system is unrealistic. Both of these nations are closely allied with the non-Communist forces. They can better play their part in establishing peace by being full-fledged participants in the collective security machinery of the United Nations."

Speaking on the topic, "America's Choice: Responsibility or Retreat", Senator Humphrey outlined a six-point program aimed at asserting our initiative diplomatically, economically, militarily, and ideologically. The six points included:

1. Strengthening the UN by revising its charter to "include India rather than China on the Security Council, adding Japan and West Germany as new members of the Council, and admitting Italy, Spain and Finland to the United Nations."
2. Changing our sights on military preparedness" so that we can negotiate from strength, not weakness; so that we avoid the perils of complacency in letting budgetary considerations endanger our security by unwise reductions in military power."
3. Start substituting "substance for slogans, and eliminate all signs of bluster from our foreign policy", so that empty threats and ambiguity do not weaken our strength with our allies.
4. Recognize "the importance of international trade as a vital part of our struggle with Communism" by immediate enactment of the reciprocal trade program now before the Congress.
5. Make a more dynamic bid for Asia through "a comprehensive program of economic and technical assistance, both on our own and through the UN", including "more dramatically using our food and fiber reserves or surpluses as weapons for peace in a world of hunger" by calling for an international food and fiber conference through the UN and being prepared to dedicate America's agricultural production to world needs, and by taking the offensive ideologically through increasing our library and information programs and expanding our student exchange program with emphasis on Asian and African countries.

"We need boldness and decisiveness, not dalliance and ambiguity", Senator Humphrey said.

"Effective foreign policy is not built on hesitation. While we hesitate, the Soviet union is able to announce that she is going to build a large steel plant in India. The Communists are concentrating their technicians into Asian countries, while we are uncertain as to our plans with regard to technical assistance to the under-privileged nations."

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(More)

Other excerpts from Senator Humphrey's address:

Analyzing recent changes in the Soviet regime, Senator Humphrey warned:

"Experts on Communist strategy advise that there is good reason to believe that the Soviet Union has decided that the year 1955 is the critical and crucial year of decision, both in Europe and Asia."

"The Soviet Union has no reason to hold back Peiping from engaging in a provocative attack. On the contrary, the Soviet Union has a great deal to gain if the United States becomes involved, at a time of Soviet choosing, in a war on the China mainland. We can, therefore, expect more trouble, serious trouble, in Asia."

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"The American people must not lull themselves into a dangerous complacency with regard to these problems. Marshall Zhukov is now the Minister of Defense, and he and General Eisenhower developed a fine friendship in Europe. But Marshall Zhukov is nothing but a pawn in the Soviet hierarchy, a pawn of the powerful Communist Party, a pawn to be used on the international front so that the Communists can have the lure of his name to help bring complacency to our shores."

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"With determination and strength, we can defeat the Communist conspiracy.

"Communism is a philosophy, and we can defeat it as a philosophy because our principles of freedom and democracy are more attractive to men than the principles of slavery and subjugation."

"Communism is also a system of power backed by divisions, by ruthless state planning, by unscrupulous use of resources and economics. We can defeat Communism as a power by being more powerful ourselves, by showing that there is greater strength in the mobilization of free men and free institutions than there is in the mobilization of a totalitarian society."

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