

Democratic Principles and Foreign Policy

Remarks by

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What is happening in Cuba, what is happening in  
Laos and in South Viet Nam, what threatens to happen in  
more trouble spots around the world ~~than I care to~~<sup>as more</sup>  
~~contemplate~~ must be examined in the context of a broad,  
complex and infinitely serious power struggle -- between  
two systems of social and political organization.

Further, it must be understood that this power  
struggle is superimposed on an even broader social and  
political struggle which would be taking place were there  
no Soviet Union and no International Communism.

*Poverty*

In every area in which the United States and the West are in deep trouble today we can see the results of a failure to face and to cope with the great political fact of life in the Twentieth Century -- that the men and women of the exploited peoples -- exploited by the white races and exploited by their own native tyrannies -- will bear it no longer.

And where we are not already in deep trouble, we most certainly will be ~~in trouble~~ unless very <sup>basic</sup> fundamental changes are made in the policies of the United States and of the entire "West" -- the coalition of the industrialized Free World.

*L. America*  
In Asia and in Africa, ~~on our doorstep here in~~ the ~~Western Hemisphere~~, the masses of the people are in full

revolt against the <sup>past - the life of yesterday</sup> ~~lives they have been leading~~. Yes, they  
are sick, and bitterly hungry. They are deprived of even  
the simplest of civilized luxuries.

<sup>this</sup>  
But we must never forget ~~this~~: ~~more than these~~  
<sup>not only</sup>  
people want goods, they want to be free. <sup>to guide their own destiny</sup>

More than they hate poverty, they hate domination.

They want not only food and shelter. They want ~~and demand~~  
respect, dignity, equality. They demand recognition,  
acceptance, status.

These cannot be bought with money. <sup>nor can they</sup> ~~They cannot~~  
be legislated. (Check Book Diplomacy)

They require as a first step, a change in the  
heart of the West. Thank God, this at least has already  
begun. For most Americans, there are no longer "gooks"  
or "greasers" or "niggers." Such words have become harsh

and distasteful to America. But these hateful, contemptible  
old words in the mouths of some Americans still poison  
the air.

And the ghosts of slaveowners, the shadows of  
exploiting mine-owners, still haunt relations between the  
former colonial powers and their former colonies.

These are ghosts that must be laid <sup>to rest</sup> through the  
demonstration by us -- ~~by the people of the industrialized~~  
~~West, the former exploiters, the former masters --~~ that we  
are ready to meet the black man, the brown man, the yellow  
man, on equal terms -- in friendship and mutual respect.

Once this has been clearly established, we have  
at least the opportunity to develop cooperative, mutual programs  
of assistance which can have some hope of success. Until then,

Communist power will continue to expand in the world --  
not because of any inherent superiority of the Communist  
system, but because of the vacuum caused by the West's lack  
of a coherent and rational policy in the underdeveloped  
nations.

~~As Walter Lippman has so clearly pointed out,~~  
the Soviet leaders appear convinced that in the newly-  
developing nations, Soviet policy should be simply to  
encourage nature to take its course. They seem convinced  
that the drive for the broadier sharing of wealth, freedom  
from Western domination and from corrupt local leadership  
is irresistible. They clearly believe that the inefficient  
right-wing regimes still remaining will be swept aside  
sooner or later by popular uprisings. They believe, also,

*Soviet  
Confidence*

that governments with the forms of parliamentary democracy cannot and will not undertake the basic social and economic reorganization that the people demand, and therefore are also doomed to fall before the "revolution."

The two techniques of Soviet foreign policy in the newly-developing nations, then, are: (1) to train young leaders who can ride the crest of the "inevitable wave" of social revolution (and hence guide the form of the revolutionary government into the Soviet Format) and (2) to use the military strength of the Soviet bloc to prevent overt American military opposition to the revolutionists.

h Cuba is a textbook of this Soviet policy.

On the other hand - even the most enlightened programs of American economic and technical assistance of the past decade have been largely ineffective in the face of "host" governments which would not undertake concurrently the major social and economic internal reforms that would gain the regimes popular support. } Enormous amounts have been distributed to governments, many of which made not the slightest effort to use these funds for anything but personal aggrandizement, strengthening the regime militarily, and "showcase" public works.

1 } Governments which refuse to reform cannot be bailed out by U.S. money forever. Ruling classes which refuse to surrender even part of their power <sup>are more of a obstacle to economic & social progress than the Communies</sup> cannot be bolstered up indefinitely. Massive transfusions of dollars, military assistance, even

technical assistance -- none of these really reach the heart

of the difficulty.

so long as the recipient nation's government resists change & reform.

Not the United States -- ~~not even the entire~~ *joined with*  
*an more prosperous allies*  
~~united West~~ -- can save societies which will not give  
their people a break. Unless the owners of the country's  
wealth - its farm land, its plantations, its mines and  
its factories -- are willing to share their riches with  
the people of their country, to share their power with  
the majority, they are simply done for.

Only if the ruling classes are willing to accept  
a peaceful revolution will they be able to avoid the  
violent revolution which can fix on them the yoke of  
Communist tyranny.

And if we of the Western democracies are not able  
to persuade these ruling classes to permit basic reform -  
~~now, not next year~~ -- then we ~~are going to watch~~ *shall see* one nation  
after the other ~~of the countries~~ *that* we have tried to help  
go down the drain. *lost to dictatorship*  
*+ Communism.*

*For a sick man, the will to live, is as  
important as the skill of the doctor and  
the ~~int~~ effect of the drugs.*



For the past eight years we have had conservative government in the United States, and the foreign policy of a conservative government. I have always felt that the conservative philosophy was totally inadequate to deal with the rapidly changing problems of American foreign policy.

No group which has so consistently opposed democratic social reform in the United States can be expected to look upon social reform in the developing nations of the world as anything less than <sup>completely</sup> sinful. And one can hardly expect those who have opposed progressive taxation and continue to oppose Federal aid to education, medical care for the elderly, improved minimum wage standards and social security, who have always fought rural electrification and public power <sup>at home</sup> -- for a few examples -- to support such ideas in other nations.

Those who oppose the reforms of Wilson and Roosevelt can see no good in the land, tax and educational reforms that must surely be conducted throughout Asia, Africa and Latin America.

Coops.

~~For the past eight years, the tendency of American~~  
~~diplomacy -- inefficient and ineffective as it has been --~~  
~~has been to foster in the developing nations regimes~~  
~~which would be patterned on, or would favor, the~~  
~~concepts of 19th-century American conservatism.~~  
~~Government planning was positively discouraged.~~

Our

contacts in the underdeveloped nations of the world ~~were~~ have been

more or less confined to the officials of the current

regimes, the industrialists and the landowners. ~~No~~ little

evidence is available that any consistent effort was

made to make contact with the "outs" -- the non-Communist

outs. The young intellectuals, the trade union leaders,

the peasant leaders, were perforce driven away from us --

often lumped as "Reds" and consigned to the Communists,  
special delivery. <sup>have all to offer</sup> We allied ourselves firmly with  
corrupt and inefficient regimes, and our influence  
went down with these regimes when they fell.

The belief of the Soviet leaders in the inevitable  
triumph of the Communist system in the backward areas  
could only have been strengthened by their observation  
of American foreign policy in the fifties.

True -- we have supported active "anti-Communist"  
efforts all over the world. We have repeatedly  
denounced and deplored the growth of Communism in the  
developing nations. But there has been no concerted effort  
to get at the root of the problem -- ~~the problem without~~  
~~which the Communists have nothing to offer~~ -- through  
the development of substantial economic and social  
reforms and the support of genuinely democratic leadership.

It has been said that we have had no choice except to work with the existing governments. It has been pointed out that if we did not support or at least tolerate the corrupt and dictatorial ~~regimes~~ ~~Chiang Kai-Shek and Syngman Rhee and Batistas and Trujillos~~, that the only alternative would be a Communist coup. The best that can be said of this thinking is that it has merely postponed the day of reckoning. We <sup>may</sup> have bought time with this policy. But we have not used <sup>the time</sup> ~~it~~ to develop new policies which would result in the establishment of popularly-supported regimes, free of control by the international Communist apparatus.

Our support, in short, has been consistently on the wrong side. And it well may be that in some nations, this support has already lost us the struggle. We have acquiesced, in a sense, to the grinding down and

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*for Democratic forces*

extermination of the non-Communist ~~Left~~. The resultant polarization of the nation into two extremist camps may be irreversible. But in many areas there is still time to make a new decision to throw our weight into the balance for social and economic justice.

President Kennedy has sounded the call in his message on Latin American economic development, and again in his brilliant White Paper on Cuba. We will now support programs of economic development, but only if <sup>are</sup> they/soundly planned and will contribute to expanding social and economic opportunity for the people of the nations of Latin America. He has placed the new American Administration on record against dictatorship of either the Right or the Left.

↙ This means that we must move to a vigorous support of governments which are acting in the direction of reform and democracy. And it means the active

encouragement and support of those elements within a nation who <sup>are</sup> struggling to overthrow a tyrannous order -- whether it be the old tyranny of the oligarchy or the new tyranny of the Communist bureaucracy.

This new policy means making contact with all political movements. The targets of the Communist activists must become our targets. Where they seek to seize control of the native revolutions, we should seek to establish independent leaders -- oriented toward the West, but not subservient to our will.

Neutrality, yes. If it is a strong independent neutrality. If it is based on a social order that is changing for the better, and with sufficient rapidity, if the freedom of individuals to speak, to

meet, to engage in political activity, is protected.

~~This is all that we can ask --~~ <sup>We must not seek an</sup> ~~not an American~~ empire, but a society of genuinely free nations -- free in the sense of freedom from exterior domination

Neutrality  
no Sin!

from any quarter, free in the sense of civil liberties,  
free in the sense of broad opportunities for the masses  
of the people to share in the fruits of twentieth  
century material achievements.

The hour is very late. We have talked perhaps too  
long about cooperation. It is high noon. We of the  
non-Communist world must ~~now begin to~~ <sup>begin to</sup> cooperate, ~~in truth.~~ <sup>in truth.</sup>

For it is <sup>at this</sup> cooperation or destruction. Those are the  
alternatives.

The ~~rest~~ <sup>free nations</sup> is not just a collection of colored inks  
on a map of the world. ~~We of the West must once and~~

~~nations must see themselves~~  
~~for all conceive of ourselves~~ as one society -- one

entity. There must be a pooling of resources, of

talent, of skills, capital -- a concerted effort on a

scale such as we have never before dreamed. There must

be a Western program of massive economic assistance --

not <sup>only</sup> unilateral U. S. Assistance. One international

system -- the Communist empire -- must be offset by what is inherently a far more powerful international system. Like the thirteen colonies, we must take steps to confederate, for if we cannot unite, in truth we shall fall.

But we in America must take the lead. For too long in Asia, Africa and Latin America, we have projected an image of America only as the boss -- the mine owner, the plantation foreman, the banker, the industrialist, the tourist. We must let the world know that we also have a great trade union movement, that we believe in the dignity of labor, in fair wages, in collective bargaining.

h We stand for a strong, democratic trade union movement.

L The great ~~farm~~ cooperative movement in America, as in Scandinavia, has meaning for the underdeveloped peoples. Credit unions, farm producer cooperatives, consumer cooperatives. . . these are as much a part of American life as our banks, our merchants, and our factories.

Coop



America's agricultural plenty is nothing to be  
ashamed of. How we grow food and fiber in abundance  
is a secret that can unlock the door to a better life  
for the peoples of these emerging areas. It is not  
enough to give them food. Let us teach them how to  
grow their own.

*and* Of course, there must be planning. How else can  
a great industrial nation like our own progress without  
planning at every level of government and how -- without  
planning -- can we possibly expect anything but waste,  
corruption and chaos in a society which is going through  
the throes of industrialization and urbanization?

L We are for education for every American child.

Let us forthrightly declare for, and begin programming

~~for~~ education for every child in the Americas.

We are for adequate medical care and hospitalization  
for every American community. Let us work for the same  
healthy communities in every Asian community.

*African & Latin American*

*and modern*  
We are for humane working conditions in American factories. Let us work for humane conditions in the mines and factories of Africa.

We are for equal opportunity for every American citizen -- regardless of race or creed or color. Let us carry that great concept forward into the world.

A black nation, a yellow nation, a brown nation must have the same rights to independence and self-respect, to a decent standard of living, as a white nation.

The Communists say they are for these same objectives. But their promises consistently are followed by the rankest betrayal. They bring not independence, but submission to a new international tyranny. They establish not education for a free life, but ~~education~~ *indoctrination* for a robot society, training for the submergence of the individual in the monolithic state. They establish not liberty, but informers, torture and firing squads.

K

By their deeds the Communists will be judged --  
and not by their words. They will be known by Hungary  
and Tibet and Cuba.

And so, too, by our actions -- not our words --  
America and the West will be judged. By the programs  
we support. By the groups to which we ally ourselves.  
By the reforms we accomplish. By our steadfast dedication  
and loyalty to the rights of man. By our demonstration  
that great social and economic advances can be  
accomplished without the stifling of liberty and the  
degradation of the individual.

I do not mean to suggest that the survival of  
freedom in the world can be guaranteed by strictly  
economic and political means. Over the past decade we  
have dangerously reduced our capability to meet the  
military and para-military thrusts of non-nuclear  
Communist forces. In our concentration on preparing

a nuclear deterrent, we have left ourselves vulnerable to the type of guerrilla infiltration that is now a major tool of Communist military power.

In the underdeveloped nations, political warfare of a savage and relentless nature is the order of the day. But within that framework, every resource of the Communist apparatus -- including naked military force, will be brought to bear. We must match military

*Strength Power*  
~~force~~ with ~~force~~ across the board. But we must keep

always in mind the overriding political nature of the

broad struggle with Communism.

*Power in the 20th Century is not the defined in terms of military weapons alone.*

Let us consider any specific military action in

the light of its global political consequences. But

when force must be met with force, let us not shrink

from its use.

*Power is  
People -  
Power is  
Ec. Stgth  
Power is*

*included the  
Political marriage  
the Social System  
Educa, Health  
Production*

*but above all leadership for well defined  
objective*

With confidence in our arms, with steadfast conviction that our cause is right, with an open commitment to policies of self-determination and political freedom, of social justice and of full opportunity for all peoples, we can go forward. We can, and will, survive and prosper.

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