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U.N. Speech - Sept 7

It is our task and it is our responsibility to generate a public opinion and a determined public will that can make possible the successful functioning of an international peace organization. All too often we conceive master plans which are superimposed upon a society that is unwilling to accept them. Social and political institutions are effective only when they are understood by the people, and when they are derived from the will of the people.

A clear-cut statement of American foreign policy at this time is a basic essential for world peace and any hope of success for the United Nations. America is the nation to which the world looks for leadership. We are the people who must assume responsibility for political, economic and social direction. It is ever more clear that it is upon this nation that the major burden of a war-stricken and impoverished world will rest for many a year.

It is equally clear that new tensions have developed in the field of international relations. In one sense, we have made progress in that the United Nations organization is a going and established instrumentality of policy organization. However, on the other hand, the whole game of power politics, of divide and conquer, of imperialistic designs, spheres of influence and all of the ragged baggage of 19th Century diplomacy, is back on the world scene.

Let us face the issue squarely. As I have stated before, this may be one world, but very few people are willing to admit it and so govern themselves. There are conflicting philosophies in this one world of ours. There are unhealed wounds of previous battles that seem to be festering

anew. Politicians and statesmen of the period prior to World War II are working their way back into the councils of government. Trade rivalries are reappearing. Many of our hopes stand precariously close to extinction.

Every day it becomes more evident that we are having more and more difficulty with some of our war-time allies, and with the Soviet Union in particular. Just as many of us are alarmed, and at times discouraged by Soviet foreign policy, so we are perplexed at times with British diplomacy. And then if we will add to this our own lack of coherent policy, it becomes easy to see why there is talk of World War III.

We need to clear the decks. We need to be a bit objective in our thinking. World War II did not erase the difficulties between the Soviet Union and its philosophy of government and the western democracies. We fought together against a common enemy, but as yet we have not identified the common enemy that we must fight against in this period of what we call peace. Let us further face the issue. Ours is a government of representative institutions, based upon the cardinal principles of freedom: free speech, free press, freedom of religion, and freedom of assembly. There is none so foolish as to claim that the Soviet Union has practiced these freedoms. Even their own exponents admit that Russia is in a state of transition — that it is a dictatorship.

These remarks are not made in the spirit of criticism. They are obvious facts and need to be faced as we judge our relationships with the great power of Russia. Russian diplomacy is hard-headed. Her diplomats know what they want and are out to get it. These same realistic men are fully aware, just as you and I, that if there is to be world peace, it can come about only when the United States and the Soviet Union work together to maintain law and order in the world. If this is not attainable, we are deluding ourselves into a sense of false security.

Likewise, it is important that we recognize that all of the nations on the side of the Allies which suffered severe material and physical losses during this war, Russia stands at the top of the list. Her sense of insecurity that was apparent before World War II, has been intensified by her severe sacrifice and losses on the field of battle from the day that Hitler marched his forces into the Soviet Union.

Events since V-E Day and the victory in the Pacific have in many ways brought new fears to Russian leadership. With memories of unfriendly relationships with Western democracy prior to 1933, and the fears as to her future after World War II, the Soviet Union has entered upon a program of obtaining security by direct and unilateral action.

Something must be done to bring this great nation to the realization that we do not threaten her place in the world. She must be brought to understand that we are a friendly nation and seek only to live at peace with our neighbors.

In this post-war world now being tossed about in a turbulent storm of power politics, it is time for progressive democracy to speak out and to stand boldly and steadfastly for democratic ideals. Our foreign policy must be crystallized and must become known to every American and every lover of freedom throughout the world.

Then let's state it concisely:

- (1) We must recognize our position of power and subsequent responsibility.
- (2) We as Americans must make foreign relations our No. 1 item of business.

We must select men to fill our democratic posts who believe in democracy; who believe in the ability of people everywhere to govern themselves.

We must place a premium upon ability and integrity in our state department and consular services.

- (3) We must be prepared to feed and to assist in the economic and political rehabilitation of Europe, Asia and Africa. We can no longer think in terms of loans and gifts, but should regard these as investments in the attainment of democratic institutions.
- (4) We must repudiate imperialism in all of its forms. We must have the courage to call to task either our friends in Britain, or our former allies in the Soviet Union. We must demand an end to outmoded diplomatic techniques, of spheres of influence, trade rivalries, and power politics.
- (5) We must demand respect for treaties in the name of international law and order.
- (6) We must be unyielding in our program for the free flow of commerce between the nations. Such forward steps as reciprocal trade treaty agreements and the lowering and ultimate removal of tariff barriers, must be at the very head of our economic program.
- (7) We must demand respect for the rights of smaller nations. Democratic principles do not favor the big and powerful at the expense of the small and the weak. If there is an equality amongst men, there likewise must be an equality amongst people grouped in nation states.
- (8) We must be prepared to stand firmly in defense of the right of the smaller nations and less advanced peoples to be free of political domination and economic exploitation by their larger and more powerful neighbors.
- (9) World peace can never be obtained by law and political machinery. We must come to know and respect the peoples and cultures of other nations. It is only through understanding that respect can be obtained. It is only through knowledge that we have real strength.
- (10) We must press upon our wartime allies and our fellow members of the

United Nations a respect for law and order and the universal acceptance of the basic rights of free speech, free assembly, free press, freedom of conscience, and freedom of elections. We must crusade in the halls of international diplomacy for these essentials of world order.

Sonner or later America must ask the world for total disarmament. We must relinquish our claims to military bases which, in the eyes of other nations, may stand as a threat to their security. We must come to grips with, and ultimately solve our problem of minorities and their rights within a democratic framework. In other words, we must come forth with clean hands and an example of democratic living which can command the respect and the confidence of people everywhere. This will be the true test of our idealism. Such a policy requires strength of character, but it will do us no good to criticize the evils of others if we are unable or unwilling to rectify our own abuses. A Chinese philosopher once said, "It is better to light a candle than to curse the darkness." Our task in world affairs today is to light the candle of progressive democracy.

Let those of us who are dedicated to the essentials of a world organization for a just and enduring peace become free thinkers. Regimented minds that become the pawns of "official line" or "party line" stand as threats to peace and security. We must stand ever ready to accept or reject, to praise or criticize the policies of any nation. Our acceptance or our rejection, our praise or our criticism, must be on the merits of the issue, and not on the trademark of the manufacturer or dispenser. Just as we may well criticize some of the policies of the Soviet Union, so should we praise and accept those policies which are directed towards the ends of world order. We have not always been right. We have failed miserably in many a crisis. None of us should lay claim to having all the answers to the multitude of problems that beset us. We would do well

to accept the challenge of Jesus of Nazareth when he said, "Seek ye the truth and the truth shall make you free." There can be no search for truth when minds are being directed by some outside force. There is no hope for freedom when truth is obscured by partisan prejudice or ideological purpose.



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