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An Address by

SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY

Senator from Minnesota

Title of Address: Bi-Partisan Foreign Policy: Concept and Practice

(Note: The Senator will follow these remarks pretty closely, but may interject remarks in the course of the speech.)

Madam chairman, ladies and gentlemen, I appreciate the opportunity to be here this morning and to discuss with you the foreign policy of our nation. I do not speak as a partisan, but as an American. I speak as a supporter, in the main, of the postwar foreign policy which our government has developed and is continuing to develop under the Administrations of both President Truman and President Eisenhower. It is a policy of American leadership in the free world, American support of the United Nations, American resistance to Communist imperialism, and American determination to build political, economic and military institutions to achieve peace, freedom and stability in the world.

The fundamental interests of the United States as an industrial and a commercial nation are in peace. We have far too much to lose by war. The fundamental interests of the United States as a moral nation are in peace---for again we have too much to lose by war. It is, to me, a mark of maturity that we in the United States, whether we be Democrats or Republicans, are overwhelmingly united in the realization that the enduring interests of the United States depend upon strengthening of the United Nations and the building of an international organization which will help us to achieve peace.

But maturity, whether of a nation or an individual, does not develop over night. Its birth pangs are painful and we achieve maturity only through experience, understanding and experimentation. The United States and the American people have

achieved international maturity and leadership in one of the most rapid growths in the history of civilization.

The American people look upon themselves as a relatively self-sufficient people. We seek very little from the world and, therefore, do not always understand why others should seek from us. We hate war and see no reason why the nations of the world cannot organize themselves to achieve peace, just as the citizens of colonial America organized themselves into a United States to achieve peace. We have, therefore, in the past eagerly sought to avoid the historical and the perennial disturbances in Europe and in the rest of the world which have constantly disrupted the peace. This feeling is a strong part of our tradition as a nation. Up until very recently it was simple for a political or patriotic orator to bring cheers from an audience by referring to George Washington's Farewell Address wherein he states America's desire to avoid entangling alliances.

In fact, as a result of this deeply engrained facet of our personality, as a nation, we tended to ignore even the study let alone the administration of international problems. We still call our dealings with other nations "foreign policy." To deal with other nations was, indeed, foreign to our desires and only a necessary evil. Our colleges and universities up until very recently did not train our young people to prepare for leadership because it was never our desire as a nation to assume world leadership. Our State Department, although recognized as a necessary instrument of government, was always looked upon as a stepchild of government.

It is, therefore, all the more amazing to me that we, as a nation, were able to respond so quickly, so intelligently and so courageously to the responsibilities of world leadership that faced us immediately at the end of the recent world war.

We emerged from isolation to international maturity through the bitter crucible of war's experience. We learned that our failure to recognize our responsibility for world events after the first world war helped direct the course of world events which in turn produced a second world war. This has been on our national conscience as a people. We did not forget this painful experience as we emerged from World War II and saw continents in ruins, hunger and unemployment everywhere, devastated farms and closed factories, and thousands of refugees clogging relief camps.

I ask you to recall the world of 1945, in order to fully understand the tremendous and indeed miraculous feat that our people have performed in the eight years since the end of the war.

The United States took the lead in seeking quick and effective remedies to meet the starvation and the human wreckage problems that faced the continent of Europe. We helped create UNNRA and we contributed a major portion of supplies and funds which helped that international agency bring relief and the beginnings of rehabilitation to millions of human beings and their children who suffered the horrors of war. Were it not for UNNRA and our participation in it---were it not for CARE and the participation of the American people in it---were it not for the scores of voluntary relief organizations who worked to heal the sick and care for the wounded and feed the hungry and clothe the needy---Western civilization in Europe, as we know it, might not have survived.

We extended credit to needy nations and thus provided a fiscal transfusion which avoided economic catastrophe and permitted Europe to get on its feet. We helped organize the International Bank and Monetary Fund, as well as other specialized international agencies to assist in achieving world economic recovery.

During this time the United States was disarming as fast as it could. The American people wanted to return to a peaceful life.

The leaders of the Soviet Union, on the other hand, were convinced that the American people were turning back to isolationism and that we in the United States would soon have a depression.

Thus, with the echoes of the sounds of cannons still dinning in our ears, the Soviet Union began to spread its tentacles beyond the areas that its armies had captured. It stirred up civil war in Greece and threatened Turkey. It looked as though these two countries would fall victim to Soviet aggression.

But again the American people through their government rose to the crisis and accepted the so-called Truman doctrine which brought aid to Greece and Turkey. At the same time, by vigorous action in the Security Council of the United Nations, we checked Soviet thrusts at strategically placed oil-rich Iran.

The results were a victory for freedom and world peace. Soviet troops were withdrawn from Iran and the Communist regime in the northern province collapsed. Insofar as Greece and Turkey are concerned, we have no stronger allies in the world and those nations are today essential parts of our national defense.

Within a few short months after the Greek-Turkish crisis, we faced another international crisis. The Winter of 1947 was expected to be the most miserable since the war. In the depressed conditions that existed, Communism was gaining control of France, Italy and Western Germany. Once again, the American people maturely and effectively faced the crisis. The Marshall Plan revived the economies of Western Europe. It was a program without historical precedent---for no powerful nation of the world had ever before used its power to give rather than to take from other nations. The Marshall Plan dealt a severe blow to the Communist hopes for penetrating Western Europe. Since the war, in no Western European government has either the extreme right or the extreme left come into power.

But we faced another crisis. The Soviet Union attempted to capture Berlin by a blockade. Once again, our Government responded to the challenge. The Berlin lift saved Berlin and the free world. It was one of the boldest political feats of all time.

This was followed by the North Atlantic Treaty for common defense against aggression. Today we have the combined strength of free Europe to meet any aggression. Tomorrow, with the help of the mutual defense program, we hope the NATO organization will become part of a European Defense Command, a European Army and a European community.

Unable to make gains in Europe and fully cognizant that centuries of colonial rule have made Asia susceptible to the appeal of Communist ideology, the Soviet Union turned to Asia. The Nationalist Government of China, even with billions of dollars of financial and military assistance from the United States, was not strong enough to overcome its handicap of internal corruption and hold the mainland of China.

During this period, we in the United States developed a new understanding of Asia. We helped new nations to give birth to their freedom in India, Pakistan, Burma, Indonesia, Philippines, Indo-China and Korea. In Japan, under the progressive occupation policy, we helped the people of that country make rapid strides toward democracy and freedom.

Knowing that the problems in Asia and Africa were of a different sort than those we faced in Europe, we sought and found new methods of achieving peace and resisting Communism in those areas. The Point Four Program, which we developed, has become the symbol of humanitarianism and good works in the world. It has helped us to strengthen the forces of freedom in Asia and to undermine the Communist ideological appeal to the underprivileged, teeming millions of that new rising

civilization.

Stifled in their attempt to gain converts and victory in Asia by propaganda, the Communist forces turned to military might. The Communist assault against Korea in June of 1950 was a dramatic challenge to our foreign policy as a nation and to the hopes and aspirations of the people of the world for peace and security. The Communists expected at one blow to shatter the hopes of all the free nations of Asia and destroy the United Nations. The willingness of the American people to sacrifice and resist Communist aggression in Korea is the most dramatic assertion of American leadership and courage in our patriotic history. Acting through the United Nations, we again rose to meet the crisis, and may have thus prevented a third world war by doing what the free world failed to do when Ethiopia and Austria were overrun by the aggressors in the 1930's.

We may regret that the most dramatic event of American foreign policy has had to be military in nature, but we can take pride in reflecting that our stand in Korea has saved for both the present and the future, the economic, social and political framework which we have been building within the United Nations to achieve peace in the world.

It is our hope that the Korean episode is now coming to an end. We all pray for that end. We welcome it, however, with the assurance that by our action we maintained the United Nations as a reality. We spoke the most effective language which the Communist forces respect and we demonstrated to the Communist world that aggression is unprofitable and will be met.

Our policy, therefore,---the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan, NATO, the Mutual Security Program, and tomorrow, we may hope, the European Defense Community---has been one of "containment." It has been necessary as the first step in meeting the Communist threat. It is a policy of rebuilding nations, mobilizing resources, creating alliances and developing friends. In other words, it has been a policy of building a shield of strength.

But a shield must be accompanied by a sword to be an effective defense. Our strength is that the sword of democracy has both spiritual and military blades. It is essential that we arm ourselves and I am opposed to efforts to curtail our air force below its full strength. But we must also strengthen our spiritual resources by good works, good neighborliness, and by the practice of democracy here and abroad. These are the prerequisites of an effective foreign policy. These are the attributes of real power.

We have power. The question remains: Can we use our power effectively, intelligently and maturely?

I was impressed with a recent statement by that distinguished citizen and soldier-statesman, General Omar M. Bradley. His warning to the American people is to understand that "patience is power." He referred not to patience in the sense of idleness or indifference. As General Bradley put it, not "sittin' patience" but "workin' patience." Such workin' patience he said was "an essential ingredient of good leadership."

My plea is that the American people fully understand and fully develop the virtue of workin' patience. It is understanding that the power of free men lies in the strength that comes through compassion, service, and faith. It is understanding that we can fail in our responsibilities if our emphasis is only on armed might and economic strength. The wise use of power means that we must understand that force is only one part of power. Force must be accompanied by patience, understanding and the quality of spiritual faith if our power is to be meaningful.

Let us not forget as leaders of the free world that we are the leaders of great but of weary nations and peoples. Allies and friends are not responsive to whip lashes of authority or control, but by the comforting hand of friendship, guidance and counsel. Just as we believe in freedom of discussion, freedom of thought and freedom of action at home, so must we accept those principles in our relations with our partners in the free world.

We seek obedience. We desire cooperation. Our manner, our actions set the standard of international conduct. If we lose our heads, if we unduly criticize, if we belittle and condemn those with whom we live and work---then we must expect repentment in kind.

In a world filled with the storm of passion and hysteria, at a time when men's tempers are frayed and patience is at a low ebb, we must guide a steady course and by precept and policy at home and abroad, give faith and courage to those who journey with us.

The stakes are high. Our task is a just and enduring peace. Our sacrifices have been great. I pray that we will not risk our security and our civilization by irresponsibility and impatience.

To counsel patience, however, is not to counsel inactivity. Working patience means that we must assume the initiative in the battle of ideas and strength between the free world and the Communist world. My chief concern today is that as a nation we may be losing that initiative.

What can we do to regain our initiative in international affairs?

1. The revolts behind the iron curtain, particularly in East Germany today, give us a golden opportunity to press immediately for the unification of Germany and the holding of free elections throughout that country. Such a program is necessary for European stability. It is an essential ingredient in the struggle for the minds and hearts of the German people. This would be taking the initiative.

We ought at the same time to be making more assistance available to Germany to help her care for the thousands of refugees crossing the iron curtain. I am pleased that on the very afternoon that I introduced a resolution in the Senate and made a plea on the Senate floor for such a program, President Eisenhower announced a policy of increased economic aid to Western Germany.

2. We must intensify and increase our Voice of America and other international informational programs. We can throw light and pierce the iron curtain and the bamboo curtain by keeping the hope for freedom alive for the brave people in Czechoslovakia, Albania, Ukraine, Poland, and elsewhere within the Soviet sphere who have shown their determination to achieve freedom for themselves in our lifetime.

We have failed to see the full importance of radio and motion pictures and books in the struggle against totalitarianism. It is easy to get Congress to vote for billions in armaments, but nearly impossible to obtain millions for the educational and propaganda arm of our democratic offensive.

The results of this failure and tragic shortsightedness are becoming apparent. We were all disturbed in recent days by the Italian election results showing one out of every three Italians voting Communist. Back in April, I wrote to the Secretary of State asking for information about the Voice of America activities in Italy. I brought his attention to the fact that the Russian Communist broadcasts to Italy were more than three times as frequent as the combined Voice of

America and the British Broadcasting Company broadcasts to that country. I asked him to check the facts. His reply to me is dated May 15th. Let me refer to his letter.

Secretary Dulles confirmed my information that as of June 30, 1952, one year ago, Communist broadcasts to Italy totaled 78 hours a week as compared to 13 hours per week for the BBC and less than 10 hours for the Voice of America. A total of 23 hours for democracy vs. 78 hours for Communism.

But let me go on with Secretary Dulles' letter. By December 31, 1952, with the Italian elections approaching, the Communists increased their broadcasts by 15 hours and we reduced our Voice program by 5 hours a week. The score became 93 for the Communists and 18 for democracy.

By May 1, 1953, a month before the elections, the Russians increased their total to 100 hours, while our program for democracy remained at 18.

This is deplorable. I warned the Senate of this development on June 4th before the Italian elections. I made a plea to the administration then and I repeat it now. If we are to seize leadership in the world, the President must seize leadership and come to the Congress with a proposal for a strong and effective informational program which will help us prevent further democratic setbacks.

3. To regain the initiative in international affairs, we as a nation must continue to maintain and increase pressure on the iron curtain. We must strengthen our defenses. We must support NATO. We must maintain our economic aid program rather than cut it as the Congress is now attempting to do. We must strengthen Point Four and not abandon it as some are counseling.

4. An additional step and perhaps at the moment one of the most important steps that we can take toward regaining the initiative, lies in developing a broader policy for world trade. We must renew the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act as it now stands, but we must go further.

We must act as if we believe in "trade, not aid" and not merely repeat the phrase by rote because it sounds so good. I fear that in spite of President Eisenhower's speeches in behalf of world trade, we seem in fact to be weakening the Reciprocal Trade program which began with Cordell Hull in 1934.

Let me give you the basis for my fears.

An effective Reciprocal Trade program depends not only on the laws that are passed, but on the people who administer those laws. I was disturbed and troubled when the President recently appointed to the Tariff Commission a man who, when he was a Member of Congress, voted against the Reciprocal Trade program and who has since openly stated his preference for a high tariff policy.

I am troubled by Secretary of State Dulles' report to the Congress that he will not negotiate any new trade agreements for a year—a statement that undoubtedly came from pressure within the majority party in the Congress.

I am troubled because the President has accepted the provision of the Simpson Bill which would make the Tariff Commission a partisan body and which would create a commission to study our foreign economic policy which will also be a partisan body. Such commissions have, in the past, been non-partisan. It bodes ill for the future of reciprocal trade.

This does not sound much to me like "trade, not aid." Yet we must be assuming the initiative at this point. Our trade policy may well be the Achilles heel of

the democratic world. It is the announced policy of the Soviet Union today to separate and divide the free world. Russia is bidding hard for trade with those nations who are hit by our tariffs. If we do not give our allies a chance to trade with us, we shall simply force them to trade with the Soviet Union, for with those nations it is a question of economic survival. If we do not liberate our trade policy and encourage trade with other nations, we shall lose those nations to the Soviet sphere of influence.

On Tuesday of this week, I brought this urgent matter to the attention of the Senate. I quoted from the Communist Press, from Communist leaders and from the Communist Congress demonstrating conclusively that the Soviet Union is basing its hope for victory in the immediate years to come on separating the United States from its allies. We must not allow that to happen. We must instead assume the initiative in developing, fostering and strengthening world trade. It is important that we act and not just talk.

5. We must also assume the initiative in the underdeveloped areas of the world. We have the resources and the technical know-how to strengthen our Point Four Program and expand our program of technical assistance to the underprivileged people and underdeveloped areas of the world.

In this connection we can utilize the great food reserves that we have in the United States. We have huge stores of wheat and butter and milk and other agricultural commodities now lying in our warehouses. What better use can we make of these agricultural commodities than to share them with our less fortunate citizens of the world?

I commend the administration on its proposal to provide a million tons of wheat to Pakistan to help meet the threat of famine and starvation on that democracy. I introduced such a bill on April 27th. Five weeks later the administration submitted its proposal which I enthusiastically supported.

I have also introduced in the Senate and urged support for a proposal to establish an International Food Reserve within the United Nations to serve notice to the whole world that the United States is concerned with empty stomachs and not just full cartridge belts.

It is also my intention as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee to press for adoption of an amendment to the Mutual Security program to authorize the President to use American agricultural commodities as a means of extending aid to other countries as a way of promoting the foreign policy of the United States. It is my hope that this amendment will be supported by the administration.

These are but a few suggested steps which we as a nation might take to regain the initiative in foreign affairs. They are all consistent with our post-war policy. They are all part of a policy to achieve peace, stop Communism and eventually bring about the retreat of Communism.

Tyranny and depression are still with us. We stand in the United States today as the world leader against that tyranny and depression. We did not seek that leadership—it sought us. Fifty years ago, Americans were concerned with manifested destiny. Today thoughtful Americans are concerned with mankind's destiny. Our power in the world is a heavy burden on us. It is a burden on our conscience, on our resources and on our hearts. The fact that we have gone so far and done so well in fulfilling the responsibilities of leadership is a tribute to democracy and to our maturity, but the challenge ahead is still real. Our national survival is at stake. I am confident that the American people want to fulfill their responsibilities of world leadership and that the free world is yearning for such leadership. I fervently pray that it will come.

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America must accept the challenge of leadership by "assuming the initiative in the battle of ideas and strength between the free world and the Communist world," Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D-Minn.) declared today.

"Our chief concern today should be that as a nation, we are losing that initiative," Senator Humphrey warned.

Addressing the Annual convention of the American Association of University Women at Minneapolis, Minnesota, Senator Humphrey this morning outlined a five-point program for "regaining our initiative in international affairs".

His five recommendations for "positive action", along with some of his comments on each, were:

1. Take advantage of the revolts behind the iron curtain, particularly in East Germany, as a "golden opportunity to act".

"We should press immediately for the unification of Germany, and the holding of free elections throughout the country....Such a program is necessary for European stability, and is an essential ingredient in the struggle for the minds and hearts of the German people....At the same time we ought to be making more assistance available to Germany, to help her care for the thousands of refugees crossing the iron curtain".

2. Intensify and increase our Voice of America and other informational programs of our government beamed to Europe and to the iron curtain area.

"We must keep the hope for freedom alive for those brave people in Czechoslovakia, Albania, Ukraine, Poland, and the other areas within the Soviet sphere who have shown their determination to achieve freedom for themselves in their lifetime....We have failed to see the importance of radio and motion pictures and books in the struggle against totalitarianism... It is easy to get Congress to vote for billions in armaments, but nearly

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impossible to obtain millions for the educational arm of our democratic offensive. Communist strength in the recent Italian elections is partially the result of the fact that the Russians beamed 100 hours of radio to Italy a week compared to a total of only 18 for the United States and Britain combined."

3. Continue to maintain and increase our pressure on the iron curtain.

"We must strengthen NATO...We must maintain our economic aid programs, rather than cut it as the Congress is now attempting to do...We must strengthen Point Four, and not abandon it as some are counseling."

4. Develop a broader policy for world trade, "perhaps at the moment one of the most important steps that we can take."

"We must renew the Reciprocal Trade Agreement Act as it now stands, but we must go further...We must act as if we believe in "trade, not aid", and not merely repeat that phrase by rote because it sounds so good... in spite of President Eisenhower's speeches in behalf of world trade, we seem in fact to be weakening the reciprocal trade program...This may very well be the Achilles heel of the Democratic world...It is the announced policy of the Soviet Union today to supply the free world abroad. Russia is bidding hard for trade with those nations who are hit by our tariffs....If we do not liberate our trade policy and encourage trade with other nations, we shall lose those nations to the Soviet sphere of influence."

5. Exert leadership in strengthening under-developed areas of the world.

"We have the resources and the technical know-how to strengthen our Point Four program, expand technical assistance to the under privileged people and under-developed areas of the world....We can utilize the great food reserves that we have in the United States. We have huge stores of wheat and butter and other agricultural commodities ~~that~~ now lying in our warehouses. What better use can we make of these agricultural commodities than to share them with less fortunate citizens of the world?...Serve notice to the whole world that the United States is concerned with empty stomachs, and not just full cartridge belts."

In summarizing the five points, Senator Humphrey Said:

"These are but a few suggested steps which we as a nation might take to regain initiative in foreign affairs. They are all consistent with our post war policy. They are all part of a policy to achieve peace, stop Communism, and eventually bring about the retreat of Communism. This cannot be done until we actually have the initiative. This means deeds, not words."

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"I am confident that the American people want such a program, and that the free world is yearning for such leadership, I fervently pray that it will come."

Reviewing developments of the nation's foreign policy since conclusion of World War II, Senator Humphrey cautioned that "America's new role of world leadership is putting Democracy's maturity to test."

Democracy can stand "growing pains of misunderstanding" in the process of achieving maturity in foreign relations, Senator Humphrey said, "but there is no room for the juvenile delinquency of irresponsibility and impatience."

Our entire security and civilization are threatened, he added, by "reckless irresponsibility and impatience" interfering with real leadership.

"We didn't seek the leadership-- it sought us," Senator Humphrey reminded.

"Our power in the world is a heavy burden. It is a burden on our conscience, on our resources, and on our hearts.

"But as long as the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism still continues, our responsibilities of leadership will continue."

Senator Humphrey warned of the pitfalls confronting our nation in its new and unwanted role:

"To be impatient, to falter, to express lack of faith in our ability to lead, to weaken our association with our allies and the U.N., is to invite chaos and disaster.

"We cannot 'go it alone'. For anyone to suggest a policy of go it alone when the problems of leadership become increasingly difficult is to confess to the world our inadequacy, and our own inability to lead."

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Senator Humphrey also offered some advice on avoiding such pitfalls:

"Let us not forget, as leaders of the free world, that we are the leaders of not only great but of weary nations and peoples.

"Allies and friends are not responsive to whip lashes of authority or control, but add to our strength under the comforting hand of friendship, guidance, and counsel.

"Just as we believe in freedom of discussion, freedom of thought and freedom of action at home, so must we accept those principles in our relations with our partners in the free world.

"We seek obedience. We desire cooperation. Our manner, our actions, set the standard of international conduct.

"If we lose our heads, if we unduly criticize, if we belittle and condemn those with whom we live and work -- then we must expect repayment in kind.

"In a world filled with storm of passion and hysteria, at a time when man's tempers are frayed and patience is at a low ebb, we must guide a steady course, and by precept and policy at home and abroad give faith and courage to those who journey with us.

"The stakes are high. Our task is a just and enduring peace. Our sacrifices have been great. I pray that we will not risk our security and our civilization, by irresponsibility and impatience."



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