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August 23, 1958

SENATOR HUMPHREY PROPOSES WORKS FOR PEACE TO DETER GLOBAL WAR;
ANNOUNCES TENTATIVE PROGRAM FOR WORLD HEALTH STUDY

(Excerpts from Address Prepared for Delivery by Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) at National Christian Education Conference, Purdue University, Lafayette, Indiana, Friday, August 22, 1958) (Now scheduled for delivery via direct telephone line from District Room in Capitol).

This has been, and rightly so, a working Conference.

Your many workshops have enabled you to become better "workers in the Lord's Vineyard," better servants of God.

It is the theme of "work" and the "works for peace" which I want to discuss with you tonight.

In ten days, Americans will be celebrating their annual Labor Day.

The weekend after this, you and your families will be enjoying the relaxation and recreation of the day which has been set aside to honor the laboring men and laboring women of our Country.

Tonight, I should like, respectfully, to call you further unto a labor which is the most important in the world today: - I call you, my friends, and your government and mine unto labor to prevent a global Armageddon, unto labor to prevent a Communist-run world.

I call you unto labor which will, instead, speaking positively, make ours a freer world, a happier world, a better world, a more peaceful world.

GUIDED MISSILES TO MANKIND'S HEARTS

Specifically, I call you yourselves to help create more guided missiles -- but not more "Thors" and "Atlases" and "Polarises" -- as important as they are to deter war.

I call you to create more guided missiles to the hearts of mankind.

I mean "Christian missiles" of love and friendship, such as you are already creating, but which you must still further increase in number and in effectiveness.

What are these "missiles of peace"?

They are both ancient, and modern devices, which have been used in part for 2,000 years -- the weapons against mankind's real enemies.

They are the "weapons" used by the Teacher of Galilee and by His disciples and His followers to "clothe the naked, feed the hungry, heal the sick".

They are the "weapons" of great ideas, the weapons of love and devotion and self-sacrifice which can span vast space and time.

They are "weapons" which must be aimed, principally, among the third of the world which is under-developed, but not limited to that area. I mean the "weapons" against:-

- pain and suffering
- ignorance and superstition and idolatry and illiteracy
- hunger and malnutrition
- disease and disability.

So, I earnestly call your government and mine, just as you yourselves have already heard the call, to prove that we Americans are indeed "our brothers' keeper".

THE "LAUNCHING PADS" OF PEACE

Let us fire our peaceful "weapons" from the only kind of "launching pads" we really desire: - the peaceful launching pads of our farms and our factories, our divinity schools and our normal schools and our land grant and other colleges and universities.

The moon is 230,000 miles away, and we would like to reach it with a missile, but we would like even more to reach the hearts of peoples in Latin America, in Asia, Africa, the Middle East and in Europe, itself.

We want to overcome misunderstanding, fear, envy and want. Suffering and privation are vast.

The average life expectancy in South Asia is still only 33 years or so. Infant mortality is 50% and higher in much of the under-developed world. Per capita income is only \$50 per year. To help relieve this enormous need is the challenge facing us.

Why us? Because it is we Americans who have the wherewithal to fulfill mankind's needs.

Because "every one to whom much is given, of him, will much be required."

Because "if any man has this world's goods and sees his brother in need, yet closes his heart against him, how does God's love abide in him?"

To meet this challenge is truly the "labor of the Lord".

It is labor which parallels the fine educational work which you, yourselves, are already performing in the churches and church schools across the length and breadth of America.

"GO YE UNTO ALL THE WORLD"

I ask you now, however, to widen still further your scope, so that it encompasses the entire globe.

"Go ye unto all the world" -- is now not simply an admonition; it is a dire necessity.

Either we Americans and our friends bring the gospel -- the "Good News" -- of brotherhood, or our adversaries will bring the bad news, the Communist "gospel" -- of hatred and destruction.

THE GREATEST CHALLENGE IN OUR HISTORY

Why do I say that your mission -- all America's mission -- is a "dire necessity"?

It is because this country faces what is, undoubtedly, the severest crisis of its history.

It is not just a crisis involving a military challenge; it involves an economic, a political, an ideological, a spiritual crisis, as well.

For proof of the challenge we face, you need only look at the disturbing headlines on this evening's newspapers. Read the crisis-ridden news dispatches from Beirut and from Amman; from Algeria and from the Chinese mainland.

Much of this crisis is not even reflected in headlines. For some of the most serious developments in the world are those which are not blared over the radio or television.

I refer, for example, to the ceaselessly mounting stockpiles of nuclear weapons and guided missiles in both the United States and Russia. I refer to the continuing build-up -- on both sides -- of the capability of extinguishing, in the event of an all-out conflict, most of the lives here in continental United States and in the Eurasian land mass of Russia.

What is our answer to this crisis?

Our answer must come, as I have indicated, in the form of deeds of peace, or, as we shall call it tonight, "works of peace".

Behind these works there must be ideas -- the ideas of inspired men and women who are carrying out God's Will for peace.

NO WORDS WITHOUT DEEDS, PROMISE WITHOUT FULFILLMENT

"Works for peace" is not just my phrase. It is a phrase, used, among others, by the President of the United States in his State of the Union Message on January 9, 1958. His words were eloquent and encouraging, when he spoke of cooperation for a better world.

But words without deeds can be barren, just as "faith without works" can be barren.

And the near tragedy has been that while our Chief Executive has spoken of works for peace, America has not sufficiently acted to bring into being these works of peace.

There has been promise, but small fulfillment; great expectations, but few results.

We are all familiar with the old saying "What you do, speaks so loudly that I cannot hear what you say."

Today, many of the peoples of the world might say to us of America: "What you don't do speaks so loudly that we cannot hear what you say."

It is our errors of OMISSION, almost as much as our errors of COMMISSION, which serve to limit the effectiveness of what we say to the world.

4 TYPES OF PROGRAMS FOR PEACE

Now, let us be more specific.

What solid works of peace can you and I and our government perform?

Let me refer to four specific works of peace in several areas:

1. Food for Peace
2. Health for Peace
3. Loans for Peace
4. Disarmament for Peace

FOOD FOR PEACE CAN BE A DECISIVE INFLUENCE

One of the most important jobs which we can better perform is to use food for peace.

Fortunately, we in America are blessed with the bounty of a highly productive agricultural economy.

Our vast supply of food is a blessing -- a priceless asset to ourselves and to the world.

Yet, far too often, the efficiency of our farmers and the fruitfulness of our soil have been considered as if they represented a "curse".

Yet, it is ridiculous to be anything but grateful to God for the blessing of our crops.

THE GREAT VALUE OF P. L. 480

In the year ending June 30, 1958, America exported \$4 billion in agricultural products. 26% of our exports during the last four years have been based on what is known as the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act, or Public Law 480, of the 83rd Congress.

Under this Act, we use constructively for overseas aid purposes our so-called "surplus agricultural commodities". Since July of 1954, there has been a grand total of \$6.7 billion of programming of surplus agricultural commodities.

During these four years, I am glad to say, \$1.3 billion have been donated for foreign and domestic relief through nonprofit voluntary agencies -- churches and others -- together with inter-governmental organizations.

In addition, we have negotiated agreements for the sale of agricultural commodities for foreign currency under what is known as Title I of Public Law 480, for a total of \$4 billion.

Time is not available to go into detail to describe all of the constructive uses to which these Public Law 480 amounts have been utilized. It is sufficient to say, however, that not only has our food fed the hungry, but it has been used to generate foreign currency and to develop new markets for our commercial foreign exports. It has been used to help create loans to expand local businesses, to exchange students and technicians, and for many other worthy purposes.

You might not think that such a constructive program would experience any difficulties in the Congress. But, unfortunately enough, we have had to battle for the very continuation of this essential program.

This is an ironic contrast which we frequently find in the Congress. For instance, strangely enough, within one day's brief session, the Senate unanimously approved a \$40 billion Defense Appropriation Bill.

Yet, it takes us far longer and many roll-calls to authorize mere fractions of that sum for constructive peaceful purposes.

IDEAS, NOT MACHINE GUNS WILL WIN THE WORLD

The reason for that contrast is that the thinking of many people tends to lag behind reality.

The Legislative and Executive Branches have developed the habit of massive overseas arms aid appropriations. Yet, events have long since proven the limitation of mere arms aid alone.

For example, we had armed the Iraqi army, but we had forgotten about the thoughts in the minds of the Iraqi officers and enlisted men. And within a few brief hours, the arms which we had given to help defend the Iraq monarchy had been used to overthrow that government.

We cannot win the battle for men's minds with machine guns and mortars. We can win it basically only with superior ideas.

"Food for Peace" is a superior idea.

Giving food generously represents the real America at work.

If we would win, we must be ourselves.

We must act ourselves.

We must fulfill our true nature.

We are not war-mongers. We are not imperialists, as the Soviets picture us.

We are Good Samaritans. We believe in helping people to help themselves. This is the soul of America.

STRENGTHENING HEALTH FOR PEACE

There are few fields in which we can perform more constructive works of peace than in the field of health.

During this session of Congress which is now concluding, it has been my pleasure to help write into the law of the land four pieces of legislation which may contribute, if only in small part, to improving mankind's health.

For example, we wrote into the Mutual Security Act a Declaration that the Congress states it to be the policy of our Land to help further in the research task of eradicating mankind's diseases. The Congress declared it to be our goal to help find the answers to such major killing and crippling ailments as cancer and heart disease, together with other scourges.

Secondly, we wrote into that same Act a new provision whereby the sales of American farm products overseas under Public Law 480 may be utilized henceforth for the purpose of translating scientific works and supporting scientific, including medical, research.

We enacted a separate resolution which "took a cue" from the current successful International Geophysical Year, in which 60 nations are co-operating in studying the earth, the waters and the skies.

In this resolution, the Senate invited the President to assemble representatives through the World Health Organization, and other means, so as to consider the possibility of setting aside an International Health and Medical Research Year sometime in the future.

PURPOSES OF NEW GOVERNMENT OPERATIONS COMMITTEE HEALTH STUDY

And then, on Monday of this week, the Senate approved a Resolution under which the Senate Government Operations Committee will make a study of world-wide health activities.

We will look, not only at America's health assistance, but at additional medical research work which might be performed overseas. It will be my pleasure to serve as Chairman of this study, which will be made by the Subcommittee on Reorganization and International Organizations.

It is still too early to describe any detailed plans under this new study.

But subject to the wishes of the Subcommittee members, I may say that I, for one, feel that this Subcommittee can serve as a significant stimulus toward better world health.

I, for one, propose to invite the great voluntary organizations of this land to assist us. I mean: -

- a) the church groups -- with their vital overseas medical aid programs.
- b) the professional groups - such as the American Medical Association, the American Nurses Association, the American Pharmaceutical Association, the American Dietary Association.
- c) the voluntary health groups - such as the American Heart Association, the American Cancer Society, the National Foundation (formerly the National Foundation for Infantile Paralysis), the Arthritis and Rheumatism Foundation
- d) other private foundations -- such as the Ford Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Carnegie Foundation, the Near East Foundation

We shall ask their best judgment concerning international medical research, assistance and rehabilitation.

We will probably hold hearings and conferences in Washington, in Bethesda, Maryland (the site of the famed National Institutes of Health) and in Geneva, Switzerland (home of the World Health Organization).

We will ask the great private pharmaceutical industry of America to come forth with its ideas and suggestions.

I may say that there are tens of millions of dollars of private drug supplies which are relatively surplus on the American market. Such drugs have been surpassed by newer developments. Yet they are perfectly useable and could be put to invaluable service in relieving foreign distress.

I would like to see a fleet of surplus American ships, carrying surplus American drugs, and with surplus jeeps and trailers dispatched to the four corners of the world. I would like to see them visit the port-cities of underdeveloped areas, with American doctors dispensing these healing medicines and thereafter, proceeding into the interior lands, as well.

This, to me, is a "work of peace".

LOW-INTEREST LOANS FOR PEACE ESSENTIAL

Still another area of "works for peace" is in the form of long-range economic loans to under-developed areas.

I need hardly remind you in detail that the Soviets have been making some of their most spectacular progress in the form of trade and aid agreements to under-developed areas. In Khrushchev's own words, he challenges us "to a war" -- an economic war. He is determined to win that war.

In Indonesia, for example, Russia has made available \$100 million in long term credits. Our own level of credits have been at the level of \$15 million. A similar disparity in aid could be cited in other under-developed countries.

Yet, we can ill afford to let the Soviet Union pre-empt the field of long term, low interest loans. It is far more important to us that the under-developed countries succeed with their various development programs than it is that we insist on acting like bankers, offering only short term loans, and at a high interest level.

THE CHALLENGE OF INDIA

The vast sub-continent of India is a particular case in point. Containing no less than one out of every 7 people on the face of this earth, India is now hard-pressed trying to achieve even a scaled-down version of its second five-year plan.

Even if it achieves all of its ambitious objectives under that plan, rising inflation and the increase in population may mean that after five years, it will have only about held its own in per-capita income and in job totals. Thus, it is having to race merely in order to "stand still". Inevitably, it faces rising discontent among the Indian people.

How do we know there is discontent? The Communists have more than doubled their vote in the second parliamentary elections -- reaching a figure of 12 million votes in all. Although, the Communists have only 27 of 500 seats in the Lower House, they represent the 2nd strongest political party in India.

Of India's 14 states and 6 territories, the Communists now control one state -- Kerala -- and are the 2nd strongest party in 2 other states -- Andhra and West Bengal.

Kerala, I may point out, is, ironically, the state with the highest proportion of Christians in all of India.

But Kerala is ruled by a Communist bloc not because of Christian influence, but despite Christian influence. For Kerala is beset with acute unemployment, especially among intellectuals, together with all the other chronic problems of India.

Then, there, is the contrast -- Christianity and Communism, religion and godlessness.

What do we propose to do about it?

We cannot ignore it. We cannot be indifferent. That would be neither in our Christian tradition nor in our enlightened self-interest.

India needs more aid -- from the U.S. Development Loan Fund and from other means. It needs more power, more schools, more medicines, more of almost everything.

It needs works of peace which will help overcome the unfortunate distrust, which according to public opinion polls, many of her people feel toward us, because of our arms aid to Pakistan.

DISARMAMENT - STEP BY STEP - FOR PEACE

Finally, I should like to mention one other essential work of peace, perhaps the most essential of all.

I refer to the urgency of an imaginative new approach to find some way out of the present alarming deadlock over disarmament. I have consistently urged, as you may know, that we demonstrate more flexibility and resourcefulness in overcoming the present East-West impasse.

I have urged that, instead of rigidly insisting upon the total U.S. disarmament "package" and getting nowhere, that we break down that package into feasible units, one step at a time, and agree with the Russians, for example, on joint cessation of nuclear weapon testing with the safeguards of effective and workable inspection.

As in other diplomatic areas of contest, it is essential that we not be so rigid as to defeat our own purposes.

It would be one thing to concede to the Russians some crucial principle, or to give ground on some phase involving our very survival.

It is another thing to compromise on a less essential point which we may well afford to concede in order to secure at least partial agreement.

Let us not get into the Soviet's habit of saying "Nyet".

Too much is at stake for America to be dogmatic to the point of diplomatic futility.

When agreement is reached on one point, the stage is set for subsequent agreement.

Each new demonstration of teamwork makes further demonstrations possible.

CONTRIBUTING TO AN ATMOSPHERE OF PEACE

So, too, each successive work of peace has both a direct and an indirect effect. The direct effect is to feed the hungry, clothe the naked, and heal the sick. But the indirect effect is to create a climate of understanding and friendship; and to contribute to an atmosphere of peace.

Nowhere is such a climate and atmosphere more important than in the strained relations between the United States and the U.S.S.R.

There is such a wall of suspicion and of misunderstanding between us that anything which can be done to hurdle the wall and have our citizens work side by side with Russian citizens is to the good.

The more Russians and Americans can work fruitfully side by side, on common problems, the more they can increase the likelihood of an overall settlement of peace being achieved.

CONCLUSION

This, then, is my theme of works for peace. One might add to it a great many additional phases, such as schooling for peace.

For widespread illiteracy and the world's hunger for knowledge are two of mankind's greatest needs.

But in whatever the field, let our deeds match our words. Let fulfillment follow promise. Let great works embody great ideas.

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Let us not get into the Soviet's habit of saying "What?"

Too much is at stake for America to be dogmatic to the point of diplomatic inflexibility.

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Purdue University

Tom Daman

Barry Mothers
① Louise MacLean

② Mr. ~~W~~ Williams

The Works Of Peace
Address By
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey

③ Clint MacKinnon
(angle pin \$5.00)

Decl of Faith
in Era of Fear

Bert
Belts
Stanley
Mock

In a world which has a growing capacity to blow

itself up, there is surely no more vital subject than

peace and security

It is most appropriate that I should speak on

"The Works of Peace" before a group which, I know, believes

in those works as strongly as I do. For my part, as a

member of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations

and as Chairman of its Disarmament Subcommittee, and

its Subcommittee on the Middle East, I have the privilege

of being able to ^{work} ~~labor~~ in a field which is devoted to

promoting the works of peace. ~~As you know,~~ the goal of

Dr. Harper

must be to
our foreign policy ~~is to~~ contribute to the twin objectives
of peace and well-being for mankind. These are two ~~ways~~ *objectives*
~~which, either individually or together, constitute essential~~
themes for the conduct of our foreign policy.

Let us approach this subject under three
headings. First, let us examine what this nation has
been doing to promote peace in the world. Secondly, let
us ask ourselves if we are doing enough. Finally, if
the answer is no, *Can we* ~~let us try~~ to discover ways to narrow
the ~~unavoidable~~ gap between what we are doing and what
we should do.

I.- WHAT WE ARE DOING
Marshall Plan

Let me begin by saying that I am ~~imensely~~ proud
of many aspects of our country's conduct of foreign relations

in the period since World War II. ~~Perhaps I am~~
~~proudest of~~ the Marshall Plan, ~~which~~ pulled Western
Europe back from the brink of chaos almost certainly
leading to communist domination. It was a resounding
success by every standard of measurement, including
the self-interest of the United States. But do not
let anyone tell you that only strategic and economic
American interests were responsible for the Marshall
Plan. It was an unprecedented historical act which
both political parties supported as an expression of
the highest principles of the American people. It
fulfilled a moral obligation to ourselves and to our
fellow men.

L Sometimes it appears expensive for us, as

citizens of a great and fortunate nation, to protect ourselves and to do our duty toward less well-endowed peoples.

Yet while the entire cost of the Marshall Plan amounted to roughly 13 billion dollars over a period of several years, we are now spending three times that amount in a single year for military preparedness.

I do not suggest that armed vigilance should not be maintained, whatever the cost, as long as the security of this nation is gravely threatened. I do suggest that in the Marshall Plan an equally vital force for peace was acquired without any decline in the economic well-being of the American people -- quite the reverse.

And I think it would have been well worth any sacrifice that might have been necessary.

You may be wondering why I stress the Marshall
Plan ten years after it began. My answer is that it
remains a constant inspiration - an example of what
this country can accomplish when it really gets down to
the business of working for peace *and when america*
has great leadership,

out

The American people were clearly and fully
informed on the European recovery issue. The best
minds and talents in the United States shaped and
carried out the program. The total effort was brought
to fruition by drawing on the nation's great reservoir
of constructive idealism. This kind of total effort
more than ever needs to be applied to a search for
peace in a world situation far more dangerous than

that of the Marshall Plan years.

DISARMAMENT

~~What~~ What are we currently doing to give full expression to our national concern for peace?

As President Eisenhower said in his State of the Union address last January, ..."of all the works of peace, none is more needed now than a real first step toward disarmament." Our scientists have ~~been~~

met
~~meeting~~ with those of the Soviet Union in Geneva, *and have*

obtained a heartening agreement on an inspection

system which would check for violations of a possible

negotiated suspension of nuclear weapons tests. I

support for the President's new cannot overemphasize my ~~pervent hope for a~~ readiness

~~on our part now~~ to negotiate a ban on nuclear tests

in concert with the Soviets. Not, mind you, on a

basis of mutual trust -- which at the moment does
not and cannot exist -- but with confidence in an
effective inspection system.

Another area in which we are belatedly making
some ~~limited~~ progress is in utilizing the United
Nations framework as an instrument to help ^{effectuate} our
foreign policy. The President, quite rightly, has
been congratulated for going before the UN General
Assembly with broad proposals for the settlement of
a number of Middle East problems. Many of us in the
Senate had been urging just such proposals, and
urging the President personally to present them. We
were very gratified to see them advanced in the UN
forum. We now hope that these broad suggestions will

be followed up with precise, detailed plans -- plans
which only the Executive branch of our government
has manpower enough to develop. Such plans, if
realistic and if pushed with vigor and boldness, will
contribute to peaceful evolution in the Middle East
and will signalize a new willingness to work through
the councils of the UN. Specifically, we look for the
creation of an effective UN military standing force,
and a Middle East Development Authority, particularly
since such moves have strong support in both houses of
Congress.

TRADE

Handwritten signature
I think one of the most significant aspects of
our peaceful endeavors has been the painfully slow

progress toward more sensible measures to increase world trade.

The USSR some time ago blatantly declared war on us

in the field of economic competition, but only now

do we seem to be tentatively moving in the right

direction. Congress has ~~just~~ authorized the absolutely

essential Reciprocal Trade Extension without crippling

amendments. This should permit us to cooperate with

other countries -- notably those which have launched

the European common market scheme -- in removing

barriers to the flow of trade in both directions.

Fortunately, the Development Loan Fund ~~will~~ ^{has} receive

the sums necessary for its continued operation.

~~Unfortunately,~~ these sums represent a rock bottom

minimum. In this connection, we should all realize

by now that the creditor and the recipient are both benefited more, psychologically and materially, by the use of loans rather than grants whenever possible.

PEOPLE-TO-PEOPLE-CONTACTS

Some time ago, we made an advance in principle toward freer communications and exchanges between peoples. This is the sort of work for peace that offers a chance for us all to participate directly. In general, however, only limited progress has been made in translating principle into practice. The major stumbling block has been a tendency for narrow motives of political retaliation to prevail in a sort of "tit for tat" subversion of our desire for contact between peoples.

RECENT NEW DEVELOPMENTS

Nevertheless, we are persevering with our attempts to broaden the field of international cooperation. The International Atomic Energy Agency has been a noble achievement, for which the United States can take much of the credit.

In a related endeavor, we may soon be able to help expand the scientific reserves of the free world by assisting Western Europe with the Euratom program for developing the peaceful uses of nuclear energy. The International Geophysical Year has been a real success. It should be extended until its accomplishments and further aims can be embodied in a permanent institutional structure. Finally, there

is a subject very close to my heart, and one on
which I am expending much effort. We are trying to
bring about a concerted attack on crippling and
enfeebling diseases in the world through the
designation of an International Health and Medical
Research Year.

Ladies and Gentlemen, I have tried to enumerate
briefly our current "works of peace." It is a not
inconsequential program. Even though I have been
unable to refrain from indicating some inherent
limitations, I have sought to give it full credit.
The burning question now is whether this program is
enough, or anywhere near enough.

II - Are We Doing Enough?

My answer is an emphatic NO. What should be a clarion

call for peace is more like the grumbling of a
water-logged tuba.

h The headlines alone in this country will tell
you that we have failed to give adequate expression
or effective implementation to our concern for peace.
This is true despite our very good intention. It
is not only our enemies who question our motives
and our capacity for leadership. A casual reading
of the foreign press will inform you that even old
friends are losing confidence in our good intentions,
not to mention faith in our capacity for leadership
of the free world.

h Why have we forfeited so much of our prestige
and influence at an accelerated pace in recent years?

h Unquestionably, the Soviet achievements in

technical and missile fields have won new respect
for the Communist system among the underdeveloped
and uncommitted countries. After all, sheer power
does compel respect. Our peculiar reaction to the
event, a blend of shrugged shoulders and helter-skelter
alarm, did nothing to recoup the net loss to our
side. However, the launching of sputnik I, significant
as it was, was really one of a series of body blows --

Far East
events in the Middle East, and Latin America were others

we have
~~to a competitor who'd wasted his strength shadow boxing and verbally~~
flailing at his opponent in the earlier rounds.

~~I would say that~~ there are two basic reasons why we

have wasted our strength and mistaken our true interests
since the beginning of this decade. First, we have permitted

military policy to dominate or even to substitute

for foreign policy. Secondly, we have concentrated

on combatting the Sino-Soviet bloc to such a degree

that we have fought Communists where they didn't exist,

and have failed to appreciate other trends and forces

in the world. The latter failure is costing us

dearly in the Middle East.

Let us take a brief look at how these two factors have adversely affected our global policies.

OVEREMPHASIS ON MILITARY SOLUTIONS

In Western Europe, we have permitted military

considerations to weigh ever more heavily since the

outbreak of the Korean war. Our obsession with the

need to rearm West Germany led to the debacle of the

European Defense Community Treaty, which came close to marking the end of the European integration movement. Yet, that movement was -- or should have been -- the touchstone of our policy toward the area. I doubt that integration would have achieved its current successes had the fiasco at Suez ^{has} not shown the Europeans the need for cooperation to deal with their trade problems and power shortage.

Our European allies have become increasingly willing to explore any measures (short of ones placing them in jeopardy) to achieve a relaxation of military tension in order to meet what they consider the more important Soviet economic and political challenge.

We, on the other hand, have held rigidly to the military status quo. Not only have we failed

to initiate any proposals -- no matter how

unacceptable they might be to the Russians -- we have

also failed to counter Soviet propaganda moves.

An image has been created of us in ~~European minds~~ which

certainly does not stimulate ^{others} ~~them~~ to look westward

for leadership in promoting peace. We have placed

ourselves in a position which makes it seem that we

have to be dragged to a conference table.

DISARMAMENT RIGIDITY

Until just lately
we have also been basically inflexible in the
field of disarmament. It is true that we have a few
debating points to our credit, notably the proposal
for mutual aerial inspection of the Arctic regions.
However, the real propaganda coup in this vital field
went to the Soviet Union with its unilateral
renunciation of nuclear tests. No matter that it

was an empty and phony gesture following an exhaustive series of explosions and that it was not accompanied with any provision for inspecting its validity. It worked in the propaganda field as intended. We have now responded with a really heartening proposal for a temporary suspension of tests linked to negotiations on an agreement providing inspections.

Again and again, I have insisted on an effective nuclear inspection system as the key to a first step toward disarmament. Now that the President has taken this constructive initiative, I hope we will persevere

to successful, safeguarded agreements.

FAR EAST

What of our policy in the Far East? ~~What policy?~~

Is it a policy to try to ignore the government of

600,000,000 Chinese? Is it a policy to shovel

arms to a few allies who cannot defend themselves

without our help, and whom we cannot defend without

using nuclear weapons? It may be part of a policy,

but it may even be one which, taken alone, increases

the odds on a nuclear holocaust. Frankly, I am

concerned about the aggressive attitude of the Chinese

Communists, an attitude which thrives on our
intransigent opposition. I find the Communist leaders
no more attractive than does our Secretary of State.
But I do not think the bogeymen will go away if we
ignore them. They are more likely to try harder to
get our attention. ~~Some day they will, especially~~
if we ever hope to find solutions to some of our
many unresolved problems in the area.

MID EAST

I need not rehearse the ~~many~~ ^{many} criticisms that
have been leveled at United States policy in the
Middle East over the past few months. I would like
to emphasize, however, that many of my colleagues and
I consider the area a prime example of our military
"pact-itis", and of our ascription of all revolutionary

violence to Communism. It is not very pleasant to find ourselves pushing weapons into the hands of tottering autocrats to maintain them against the wishes of their people. Nor is it pleasant to find the inheritors of the American Revolutionary tradition trying to prevent political agitation in countless areas of the world. I suggest that our policy-makers would be terrified to plaster our own Declaration of Independence on mud huts in the Middle East.

OBSESSION WITH COMMUNISM

Our obsession with Communism and its corollary, our casual attitude toward trends in "safe areas", were largely responsible for the recent boiling over of

Latin American resentment. Notice that our first reaction to the treatment accorded Vice-President Nixon in several South American countries was just to blame "a bunch of Commies." Sober reflection has caused us to admit that a small number of Communists could not have provoked such a storm of protest had there not been some grounds for resentment.

~~Now let me say that~~ We are doing many excellent things in Latin America. There is much more to do -- particularly to give greater assistance to those countries caught in a vicious balance of payments squeeze, and to try to help hold commodity prices reasonably stable. But basically I think it has been our insensitive attitude which has caused trouble

in the area.

Well then, who is to blame for these policies, obsessions, and cavalier attitudes -- for our inflexibility, caution, and lack of imagination? Let me change one word of a famous quotation and say, "the fault, dear [friends] is not in our stars, But in ourselves ...".

The American people and their government must bear the blame. The people get the government they deserve.

The Congress must accept its share of the burden, though my personal opinion is that its leadership and its record looked quite good in recent sessions. We are directly elected by you and can be removed the same way.

The Executive Branch of your government poses a much more difficult problem. It is a huge and complex

bureaucracy -- there is no opprobrium intended in
that description -- which is highly impersonal and
which has only a tenuous relationship with the
electorate of the country. This bureaucracy for the
most part consists of very devoted and able public
servants with many different points of view about
their generally rather specialized tasks. In order
to achieve a consensus and give it momentum in this
impersonal collection of organizations, there must
be strong, energetic, wise, and consistent leadership.
It is up to the people to provide that leadership. —
The only way they can -- through wise choices during
our periodic national elections.

(X) What are we doing to promote Peace & Security?
(1) Are we doing ^{page 25} Enough?

Who's Running
the Show

✓ Failure of Leadership
✓ Public Relations

III - WHAT SHOULD WE DO?

(1) 85th Cong
Responsible
Leadership

~~Don Simula~~
~~Sen. Mortimer~~
~~Sen. Arthur Hays Sulzberger~~

by Wyley
Mortimer Randle

And now, bear with me a little longer as I

try to outline what I think we should be doing for
peace and the well-being of mankind.

THE MILITARY CHALLENGE

Of paramount importance is the two-fold challenge

thrown at us by the Soviet Union: its growing military ✓

threat, and its martial call to us to engage in

✓ economic competition. With regard to the arms race,

I have already stressed my intense conviction that we

should ^{persevere in} ~~immediately prepare~~ a fresh and vigorous new

disarmament policy. To my mind, this policy should

hinge upon going before the UN with ^{our} first-step

proposal which the USSR would be called upon to accept,

or to veto in a world forum.

~~We have offered to negotiate a separate, safeguarded, inspectable agreement for cessation of bomb tests. Hereafter, as we profit from the lessons derived from our experience in negotiating that agreement, we should broaden our efforts in other, more important aspects of arms control.~~

Keep

Meanwhile it is absolutely imperative that, as our disarmament efforts continue, we also keep abreast of the USSR in our military strength. We must make any sacrifice necessary to assure that we will not invite attack through lack of preparedness. Even as I stress the importance of progress on the disarmament front, I worry over the increasing imbalance of our preparedness vis-a-vis the Soviet Union. We must maintain parity of armament at the same time as we work for peace.

L Even parity of armament and progress toward disarmament,

however, are not enough, since the former course

could dictate division of the world into armed camps

for an indefinite period, with the ever-present

threat of war by miscalculation.

Convin

The Economic Challenge

It is the Soviet economic challenge that requires great stress if we are to understand and try to win a peaceful competition, which even now may be of more significance than the arms race. We must not forget that the Soviet system, abhorrent though it is to us in the West, has brought about spectacular economic development in the U.S.S.R. In only forty years it has virtually passed through the industrial revolution which lasted four or five times longer in the West. The backward peoples of the world can remember when the Soviet Union was in their category; they cannot remember a time when the United States was not rich and powerful. It is thus hardly surprising that they should think they have something to learn from the Soviet experience.

The world of tomorrow will be shaped in large measure by what we do -- or fail to do -- now to give the underdeveloped

countries assurance that we want to help them achieve
 economic progress and human dignity. Of course, we have a
 profound interest in keeping those countries ^{not} from falling under
 the control of the ^{Chinese-} ~~Sino~~-Soviet bloc. We also want to insure
 that frustration and misery in those areas are not ignored to
 the point where they might explode in violence which could
 provoke general war. ~~Having recognized these motives,~~
~~(however, let us put them in the backs of our minds.)~~ Above
 all, we have a ^{Christian} moral obligation to help -- not to compel --
 our underprivileged fellow men to fulfill their aspirations
 for political and economic self-determination. Unless we con-
 centrate on expressing the American ideals of individual freedom
 and worth, we will risk forfeiting our moral and physical
 influence by tying strings to our aid and demanding short-term
^{rewards}
~~recompense.~~

To accomplish this great and urgent task will require the reversal of many of our present habits and practices which contradict the very things we stand for.

We should not be concentrating national and world attention on our development of new and more frightful weapons of destruction. Rather, we should be laboring mightily and noisily in the peaceful fields of international economic development, cultural exchange, and education, while working very quietly but strenuously to stay abreast of the U.S.S.R. in military preparedness.

Specifically, we should reverse the military emphasis in our foreign aid program. Because we do not separate funds for economic development from the military aid -- something which should be done without delay -- Americans have little knowledge of the limited extent of our foreign economic assistance. They believe we are doing a great deal when we

Speak
softly
Carry
big
stick

Mildly
Emphasize

are actually slighting the issue.

Let us put an end to the practice of creating more and more military pacts as a supposed answer to the Soviet threat which increasingly is taking non-military forms. Let us not feel we must have a southern tier to match the northern tier, or eastern and western ones to make it all tidy. This practice has already dangerously over-extended our commitments and hampered our foreign policy by loading it with new military considerations.

Public Relations Diplomacy

h Perhaps our worst habit is our substitution of epithets ~~and slogans~~ and slogans for independent creative thinking. Some of our leaders are the greatest offenders in this respect. They should be striving for clarity of thought and expression ~~instead of hurling charges of "indirect aggression," --- which~~

has not yet been defined after two years of effort.

The words, "socialism" and "neutralism", have become
 dirty words in the American popular ^{vocabulary} ~~lexicon~~, and often, I'm
 afraid, in State Department utterances. What nonsense! Just
 because we do not consider socialism a proper system for our
 country does not mean that it is ^{not} applicable to other countries
 which might want it. Anyway, what is meant by the word? I
 know of no place in the world where it is practiced in its
 pristine sense. England and the Soviet Union, which have
 absolutely ^{opposite} ~~antithetical~~ political and ~~social~~ systems, both
 possess some elements of socialism.

As for neutralism, it is not susceptible to the delicate
 shade of definition accorded it. Why should we demand that
everyone be with us or against us? Does it increase our self-

respect or the respect of the world for us if we play a game of semantics? We should acknowledge the right of India, and ~~equally with~~ Sweden, ~~and~~ Ghana, ~~equally with~~ Switzerland, to hold aloof from the "cold war". To do otherwise is to display an armed-camp mentality.

Why is this so important? Because it is probable, for example, that the majority of newly emerging independent countries in Africa will adopt socialist and neutralist policies. Unless we are prepared to respect their right to pursue such policies and to deal with them openly and courteously, we could alienate most of the continent and increase its vulnerability to Soviet domination.

Development Loan Funds

What concrete measures should we take to counter the Soviet economic challenge and to promote peace? For a start, I believe we should greatly expand the Development Loan Fund, increase the lending authority to the Export-Import Bank,

approve a larger capitalization for the World Bank, and do more to stimulate the flow of U. S. private capital and enterprise into the underdeveloped countries.

U. A. Special Fund

Above all, however, we need a concerted effort through the U. N. to create the organizational means for extending help to the underdeveloped and uncommitted countries of the world. We need multilateral arrangements through which to contribute a major share of that help without arousing suspicions that we intend to dominate the recipients. An initiative has already been taken to set up a Special U. N. Fund for Economic Development, but little interest has been shown in it so far in this country. Thus, we clearly need to create interest and support among the American people for an approach to this vital problem comparable to that which launched the Marshall Plan and made it such a success.

Doing it through the U. N. will be symptomatic of the increased use I think we should make of this unique institution

in many far reaching aspects of our world policy.

This will not be an easy task. It will take sustained effort in terms of money and energy over a number of years. It will not show the quick results of the European Recovery Plan. It will require a major program to inform the American people.

But this is something that we can afford in the material sense of the word, and something that we cannot afford not to do if we wish to work for peace in this troubled world.

We have to blame our own reluctance to take a deep and abiding interest in world affairs when we consider our foreign policy failures. Let us not compound our error by continuing to abdicate responsibility for taking the initiative in peacefully revolutionizing the condition of man.

We can start accepting personal responsibility at the coming election.

*Democrat Responsibility
for 1961!!!*

By speaking out at the ballot box, America can show the world it wants and desires a more positive, more constructive, more aggressive approach to peace *and security*

↳ We need a sweeping Democratic victory, to stimulate that change of attitude. *(Engel)*

One of the reasons why we lack a comprehensive, integrated foreign policy for the United States today is because a conservative government is incapable of coming to grips with a world wide revolution and devising bold, creative, flexible policies.

↳ How can conservative politicians who oppose TVA, public power, health insurance, and even unemployment compensation, really have their hearts in flood control in Africa and village development projects in Asia?

↳ How can politicians who disregard a recession at home appreciate human need abroad?

↳ How can conservative politicians who belittle economic and

social planning here at home cooperate effectively with the governments of many new countries where national economic and social planning is required? How can our generals, corporation lawyers and big businessmen really get in tune with a world revolution? How can the Hollisters, the Hoovers, and the George Humphreys possibly symbolize the hopes and aspirations of the millions of people who for the first time are experiencing national independence and personal freedom.

After all, it is the essence of a conservative government that it is dedicated to the status quo and the conservatives who are directing United States foreign policy have dug in behind the policies of their predecessors, retrenched on some of them, and in any event have been unable to either understand or adjust with the movement of events.

It is this status quo, too little, too late, containment, Maginot line mentality of the Eisenhower-Hulles Administration that

has enabled the Soviet Union with all of its limitations to outflank our positions on the political front, on the economic front, on the technological front, and leave American foreign policy seriously exposed and weakened.

Men who jeer at and oppose the philosophy of a welfare state are the wrong people for the responsibilities of leadership in a world where 3 out of 5 persons are the have-nots of the underdeveloped nations. Where more than half of the population live in hunger, disease, poverty, and insecurity -- where a majority of mankind seeks immediate answers to old problems.

How can a nation that is governed by timid, cautious, and tired old men give the kind of dynamic, fearless, and imaginative leadership that is required if we are to match and outstrip the wily, cunning, strident and vigorous tactics and challenge of Soviet power?

✓ All too often we Americans view our foreign policy
in terms of legislation, treaties, compacts, and public pro-
nouncements. We have failed to properly emphasize the attitudes
and the philosophies which are necessary to give life, meaning
and spirit to these policies and programs. We tend to be more
interested in the forms of diplomacy than in the understanding,
approach, and spirit which is required in these times of tension,
doubt, and insecurity. To put it simply, it is not only what
we do but how we do it. It is not only what we prescribe, but
how it is dispensed. It is not only the dollars that we spend,
give, and loan, but even more basically, the spirit in which the
gift is given, the loan is made, or the exchange accomplished.

This, then, is the challenge facing every American in
November of 1958 -- the challenge to show the world that the American
people want to breathe new life and spirit, new attitudes and
philosophies, new blood and new courage, into our national

leadership.

It can be done -- by a resounding Democratic victory
in November. — State + National

It can be done -- and it WILL be done -- in California
by choosing progressive, militant, Democratic leadership -- by
sending Congressman Clair Engle to the United States Senate, and
"Pat" Brown to your Statehouse as Governor.

By Sending
Lionel Van Deerlin
to represent the 30th Dist
& Ted Boyett, the
28th



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