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Excerpts from an Address Prepared for Delivery by Honorable Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) Before the World Affairs Council Troy, New York Friday, December 12, 1958

SENATOR HUMPHREY URGES "ALL-OUT U.S. EFFORT TO COMBAT SOVIET PENETRATION OF ASIA-AFRICA-MID-EAST"

I want to talk to you tonight about the challenges

to the United States on the world scene.

I will base my remarks to a considerable extent on

my findings during my recent three and one-half week trip in

English South Europe, particularly my week in the Soviet Union.

Europe's challenges are many -

The crisis over Berlin

The question of atomic arms for West Germany

The problem of German re-unification

The controversy over proposed disengagement in Central

Europe

The disputes over Free Trade and the European Common

Market

The Geneva talks on nuclear test suspension and surprise attack, and many other problems as well.

Most of these issues have been rather well publicized.

But tonight, I should like to turn to an even more crucial area,
a less understood area, Asia-Africa-The Middle East.

For one of the principal findings on my recent trip is confirmation of this fact -- the Soviet Union is laying plans and executing plans on these developing areas to a degree that we of the United States have not begun to match.

Soviet agitation in these developing areas, Soviet propagandizing in them, has unfortunately long since begun to "pay off" in terms of rising Soviet influence and prestige there.

We need only look at the disturbing headlines in the United Arab Republic, in Iraq, in Yemen and elsewhere to see proof of that fact.

But most Americans regrettably do not yet perceive

the overall dimensions of the Soviet threat in the underdeveloped part of the world.

In other words, in the years up ahead, unless we take immediate effective action, we are going to find that the grim problems which we now face, for example, in the Middle East, are multiplied many fold in South Asia, Africa, and yes, in South America.

I, for one, believe that it is still time for us to maintain and strengthen freedom among the one-third of the world which is uncommitted.

As you know, it is my privilege to serve as Chairman of the Middle East Subcommittee of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations. In that capacity, I have noted the many facets of the Soviet offensive in this part of the globe: -- the economic facet, such as Soviet purchases of Egyptian cotton; the military facet, such as Soviet barter of arms for

from Eastern Europe pouring in to the Middle East; the psychological facet, such as the "playing on" deep seated resentments, frustrations, and fears within the Middle East against western powers.

enormous stakes. In the Middle East, it is playing for
ultimate control of the billions of dollars of petroleum
reserves lying beneath the hot desert sands. Indeed, everywhere, it is playing for access to raw material reserves
upon which the Western World vitally depends, both for its
factories and mills and for its earnings. Everywhere the
target is people -- discontented, disenfranchised, unhappy
people -- millions of them in the neutralist part of the
globe.

Maleriale Trade

The philosophy of the Kremlin is that the entire

developing area of the world is in a state of revolution against present or past imperial ties with the West. The Kremlin believes, as Premier Khrushchev told interviewers, that the West has no right to seek to impose a status quo in the face of this anti-colonial revolution. Premier Khrushchev has indicated without saying so that the Soviet Union has the right to advance this anti-colonial revolution as it sees fit. But when he says "anti-Colonial" he means, of course, only Western colonialism; he does not include colonialism of Moscow or Peking.

By contrast, Premier Khrushchev denies the right of revolution in Central Europe. Here he insists that the status quo -- meaning Soviet imperial occupation -- continue.

And he further insists that the West cease and desist from any effort to impair that status quo.

W. Berlin

Halw !

This, then, is the inconsistency of the Soviet position. It is not a logical position, it is self-contradictory, but as usual, that does not bother the Soviets.

For one pattern which they always observe and respect is what they regard as their own raw self interest.

And they feel that their self interest requires the exploitation of the conditions of Asia, Africa, and the Middle East -- the exploitation of South Asia, for example where income percapita still averages only \$50.00 per year, the exploitation of hunger, hopelessness, fear and misery, illiteracy and disease.

While I was in Moscow, I could see certain phases of the Soviet Asian pattern developing.

Let me refer to three such evidences:

In the streets of Moscow, in the theaters, the auditoriums, the schools, I could see a tremendous proportion

of visitors from Asia. Many of these visitors were from the Central Asian Soviet Republics which are part of the U.S.S.R. itself.

But many were visitors from Asian countries. For example, I spoke with students from Hanoi - the Viet Minh capital. I encountered youngsters from Mainland China and other Asian countries.

Youth

Always the emphasis of the Soviet is on youngsters

-- youngsters who are the leaders of tomorrow, youngsters on

exchange programs, youngsters who will work in Russia, not

just for a year, but for many years, and whom they hope will

ultimately return as the leaders in the Communist world of

tomorrow.

2) In addition to the Asians whom we encountered,

Mrs. Humphrey and I recall very vividly a Soviet motion picture

which we saw entitled "Panorama". It is basically the American

Cinerama type motion picture with three cameras projecting on a wide angular screen. Its subject was a travelog of the vastness of the Soviet Union.

But the most powerful part of the film was the sequence taken at a mammoth international student festival which was held in Moscow, attended by some 100,000 youngsters of whom around one-third came from abroad.

We can not forget the sequence showing the students in particular from Asia and Africa, parading in the huge will be as a great propaganda spectacle, one which we know is designed for the eyes of Asia, as well as Europe.

3) And let me cite a third point now. A key theme of Soviet propaganda to the developing part of the world is:

> "In 1917, we were relatively a primitive country. Now we are the second strongest

industrial power on earth. What we have done you can do and just as fast.

Follow our example."

This theme one could see throughout Soviet propaganda in Moscow. It has a powerful appeal to Asia-Africa. For these countries are experiencing what Professor Arnold Toynbee has called "a revolution of expectations".

These countries are impatient. They want to jump overnight from the age of kerosene oil lamps to the age of mammoth hydro-electric dams. They want steel mills and all the other symbols of western industry, and they may be attracted to the Soviet mirage that only a collectivist society can fulfill their overnight expectations.

FOUR POINT PROGRAM

What then must be our answer to Soviet action and propaganda in the developing areas? Let me suggest the following program:

(1) We must greatly increase our program of Exchanges and leader-grants with Asia, Africa and the

Middle East. At present, for example, we have a total of 45,000 foreign students studying in the United States.

This may seem like a large figure, but actually when you see the breakdown, country by country, you note how relatively thin is our coverage of some of the distant countries which are the principal Soviet targets.

We have a great many Latin American exchanges, for naturally we are interested in inter-American relations. I hope that we will increase the number of students from this hemisphere studying here and the number of Americans

studying below the Rio Grande. But I also hope that we will greatly increase the number of youngsters from elsewhere in the world, in addition to sending many of our young people to heretofore larger unfamiliar countries in the East.

our overall familiarity with Asia, Africa and the

Middle East. We Americans have tended to be Europe
oriented for many reasons. Most of us stem from European origins. Europe traditionally has been the seat of power in the world, the seat of culture, of economic strength.

> But a new day is dawning. No longer can we afford to be ignorant of or indifferent to the economics, the culture, the religions and aspirations of the Asian-

African-Middle East area.

Our universities must develop centers of familiarity

with the heretofore exotic cultures of the East. Our

newspapers and magazines, television and motion pictures

must seek to give still greater emphasis to these regions

-- not simply to the headline crises but rather to the

long-range developing trends.

(3) The backbone of our policy must be to strengthen the capacity of the newly emerged nations to fulfill their aspiration for a better life for their own people.

Loans at more favorable terms than presently available through the Development Loan Fund, through the Export-Import Bank, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, must be provided if, for example, the second Indian five-year plan and similar efforts are not

India (

to flounder.

Frogram

And as I have repeatedly stressed, we must use the bounty of America's soil, our farm crops, through

Public Iaw 480 sales to antidote the hunger and the shortage of capital in these regions.

(4) A fourth essential point in our program is
that we come face to face with reality on the big problem
of Asia which occupies so much of the thinking of Asian
peoples -- namely, America's future relations with
Mainland China.

As we are all aware, the question of recognition, as such, of Red China is one of tremendous complexity. It has moral, legal, political, economic, military, social and other overtones, none of which can be ignored.

The aggression committed by the Communist Chinese in Korea as confirmed by the indictment of the United Nations, still stands for all to see and remember.

What I am urging, however, is not any premature off-the-cuff approach to the complex problem of Red China. Instead, I am urging a factual reappraisal of U.S.-Chinese relationships, so that we can carefully chart our future policy, based upon the best interests of our nation and of mankind.

Ionger any/iong permit a news blackout on Red China. We cannot afford to be as relatively ignorant as we are of precisely what is going on in that vast land mass of 600 million people.

We must have more facts about the Mainland.

While I was in Geneva visiting at the World Health Organization, I saw one particular phase of the serious consequences of our lack of information about the Mainland.

You will recall that the Asian flu virus which struck the United States and the rest of the world was first reported via health listening and reporting posts in places like Hong Kong, Malaya, Japan and other countries on the periphery of the Mainland.

Fortunately, we had this advance warning that the virus was on its way. And so we were able to prepare vaccine for our citizens. Even with that vaccine, our economy suffered a serious loss in working days because of Asian flu illness.

The important fact to remember, however, is that the

Chinese Mainland, but it did not reach the outside

world in time. The result is that two crucial months

elapsed before the world learned that a new strain of

Type A virus with epidemic possibilities was on its way.

Only subsequently when a letter arrived from the

Mainland to a W.H.O. official was this fact confirmed:

the virus could have been attacked two months ahead of

time -- if only there had been better communications

with the Mainland.

So the feeling among many health officials is that the world cannot afford to continue to be ignorant about even the most elementary health facts inside the Chinese land mass.

Even however, if this health factor did not exist,

(and it does) the question is: how long can even the

most elemental contacts between the West and Mainland

China be barred?

These are problems which cannot be ignored. The

Peking Government is of course seeking to exploit

our interest in facts such as those I have mentioned

above. We know that it has failed to date to fulfill its obligations as a member of the society of man. It has much to account for to the conscience of the world.

These facts too, must not be forgotten.

But above all, we must ask ourselves the question: how best can freedom be maintained and strengthened with all of Asia, Africa and the Middle East? Closing our eyes or "sweeping issues under the rug" can hardly serve to satisfy the needs of our nation.

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