

Speech  
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The life of Wallace H. White, Jr., from the day he graduated from Bowdoin in 1899 spanned the transformation of the United States from a small, almost completely isolated power in the Western Hemisphere to a world power of the first order and importance.

With much of that evolution in our governmental stature Senator White was rather intimately associated.

At the dawn of this century the United States with considerable doubt and hesitation after the sinking of the so-called Battleship Maine (6000 tons) <sup>now nearly extinct</sup> (compared with the <sup>^</sup>60,000 ton dreadnaughts of 1940) ~~since sunk without a trace with the disappearance of the Prince of Wales and Resolute off Singapore) in Havana Harbor, had moved to free Cuba and the Philippines.~~

Tom Reed, Bowdoin 1860, as Speaker of the House had retired from public life in unspeakable disgust because we had moved into the Orient.

Wallace White went immediately to Washington to serve as clerk to his grandfather, William P. Frye, <sup>Bowdoin 1870</sup> who was then a Senator from Maine with long service and was shortly to become the President pro tem of the Senate on the death of President William McKinley and the accession to the Presidency of Vice President Theodore Roosevelt.

Senator Frye was then Chairman of the Senate Committee on Commerce and one of the key figures in the operation of the Senate.

Yet Wallace as clerk was his sole assistant and ran all the details of the office -- a half-dozen letters of a morning on a busy day with answers to some indicated and others brushed aside but all ending up in the waste-basket as filing was practically unknown.

What a transformation to the office of today with ten to twenty assistants to do research and detail and keep some sort of track of all the infinite involvements of individual <sup>constituents</sup> Americans with affairs all over the world and particularly in Washington !

Wallace was privileged to see behind the scenes in the unfolding panorama of America. Unique as was his experience as a young man fresh from the Bowdoin pines in coming in contact with many of the persons and events of a rapidly expanding nation it never affected the elemental simplicity and humility of his approach to life.

Always modest to all alike he became finally the majority leader of the Senate in the only Republican Senate of the last twenty years -- the perfect tribute from his colleagues as it does not rest upon seniority but upon deserts. Through it all he never lost the common touch.

With a dry sense of humor and a down-east Yankee accent that was susceptible of adaptation to occasion, Wallace was always a delightful companion and one who was ~~always~~ welcome in any company with his unflinching fund of stories and reminiscences of other days and other persons, who were yet always portrayed in a very kindly light.

Wallace was to witness the entire transformation of transportation and communication from the horse and buggy and the still rather primitive railroads to the jet plane and the radio and radar and television of today. More than any other individual in government he was to leave a profound impress in this latter field as he became thru diligent application over many years the unquestioned governmental authority in the field of communication and was selected repeatedly to head the American delegation at international communication conferences even when he was a member of the minority. Under our two-party system this was the final accolade.

Studying law in Washington while working still as a clerk in the Senate, Wallace entered practice in Lewiston with the lure of politics very naturally in his blood.

Starting at the bottom he took on the rough and tumble of the political arena in those most turbulent days and soon emerged as the challenger for the seat in Congress then occupied by "Dan" McGillicuddy, a very formidable Democratic foe with a Democratic administration in power in Washington. Earlier he had won his spurs by running for office as a Republican in the hopelessly Democratic city of Lewiston. His was no easy road. The tenacity and courage with which he entered the fray was always masked under a most deceptive mildness that often threw his opponents entirely off their guard.

Returning to Washington in 1917 as a member of Congress, Wallace White served with distinction to himself and his State of Maine for the next thirty years without interruption in the House and Senate.

In this thirty years in Congress Senator White became recognized as a thorough master of all the intricacies of Congressional procedure and parliamentary law and also an authority in the highly technical field of draftmanship which involved putting words together in legislation to carry out the Congressional intent.

As Chairman of the Committee on Merchant Marine and Fisheries in the House and Chairman of the Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce in the Senate Senator White left <sup>the mark of his craftmanship</sup> a deep impress upon the legislation of the last quarter of a century.

The White Act on shipping marked the rebirth of the American Merchant Marine and the restoration of the American flag to the high seas.

The entire evolution of legislation dealing with wireless communication and later radio, radar, and television came naturally under his guidance from

the initial use of wireless telegraphy on ships at sea.

Careful and thoro in all he did, Senator White was an indispensable participant in any legislation or international conferences dealing with shipping or communication where American interests were involved.

Wallace White remained to the end, in spite of all his myriad contacts with the modern world, a mid-Victorian in the finest sense of the term.

His greatest comfort and joy and solace thru all the vicissitudes of public life was a quiet evening at home reading out loud to Mrs. White from the classics or from some more modern works that did not too much violate the proprieties of an earlier day.

A certain whimsical view of himself as utterly detached as tho he were discussing a complete stranger was one of his chief charms.

All who were fortunate enough to know him intimately join in recognition of the unique qualities that made him both a fine and a rare person.

As one who was closely associated with Senator White during the last ten years of his public service I shall always treasure the memory of the association with a great gentleman of the old school and a great citizen of today.

The influence and love he commanded among his colleagues on both sides of the aisle constitute the real tribute to his character and his works. More than any other Senator in our day Wallace White possessed the complete confidence of those across the aisle. Yet he gained and held that confidence with no sacrifice of his devotion to the principles and political convictions which varied very much from theirs.

The character of Wallace White was best revealed in his advice to President

Truman, whom he had known well in the Senate, on his accession to his new office: "Mr. President, never forget that you are President of the United States — and never let anyone else forget it".

To sum up, the life of Wallace White may well serve as both a model and an inspiration for Bowdoin men.

Not all are favored as was he in starting out with a grandfather in the Senate. But all too frequently such an ancestry proves a handicap rather than an <sup>asset</sup> unless one possesses the unique combination of a friendly personality, a deep humility, a willingness to work, and an ambition to be of service to his fellow men that characterized the career of this distinguished son of Bowdoin.

Bowdoin has added one more to the galaxy of those <sup>sons of Bowdoin</sup> who have served their country well.

One may well ponder how different might have been the history of ~~the past~~ recent years if that advice had been kept more constantly in mind.

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## FOREIGN RELATIONS

Is peace possible in our day? That is the \$64,000,000,000. question that is being asked by thoughtful citizens everywhere.

Every mother is naturally and vitally concerned that her son shall not be sacrificed in some far land.

Every growing boy looks forward to a life of usefulness and service to his community and his country that shall enable him to follow in the footsteps of the generations that have built America and made it the productive marvel of all lands.

Americans love to build. Americans love to leave their town and their country better than they received it from those who went before.

Under that impelling incentive each generation of Americans have built more stately mansions to shelter the good things of this life that America has been able to produce in increasing measure and to furnish also the temples of the spirit in which Americans may worship God.

The Victorian charm of the last century seems to have been shattered with those recurring wars. Is it possible to call a halt? Are we condemned to carry on this strife until mankind descends once again into the abyss of the dark ages.

Civilization seems to be approaching the edge of the abyss. A third world war almost inevitably would mean the development of totalitarian regimes that would spell the end of the American dream of liberty for mankind everywhere.

We may well look back in order to guide our feet in the obvious difficult days ahead.

A wise man has wisely said that good judgment is often the product of a good many bad judgments if we profit by our experience.

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In 300 years America has had enough experience to assist us very greatly in meeting the challenge of this distraught world if we can read the lessons aright.

Certain fundamental principles have guided us on this journey to the position of pre-eminence we now occupy.

Our nation had its birth in the sturdy determination of individuals who loved liberty and would not be denied.

Our colonial ancestors came over to this country to escape from the tyranny of Europe which denied them the right to live and worship God in the way in which they thought was right.

Later, in our Declaration of Independence we laid broad and deep the foundation upon which has been erected a great nation dedicated to the purpose that liberty is the inalienable right of all men.

This indissoluble union was forged in the fires of a great civil strife.

Through all these centuries America has progressed to its present position of power and prestige but the loving self-sacrificing labor of millions of men and women who placed service above self.

In the first half of this century America has moved with amazing speed from one of the lesser powers on earth to one of the greatest under the stimulus of the American genius for organization and invention that has made America the productive marvel of all the years.

Yet we shall find that our progress through the centuries has been guided in substantial measure by consideration of the welfare of our fellowmen.

All the differences and divisions among the Colonists were controlled by the determination of the majority to ~~xxx~~ gain their independence and form an association in which the liberty of the individual to work out his own destiny

should be the primary consideration. That was the guiding consideration in the Declaration of Independence and in the formulation of the Constitution of the United States. That was the consideration that animated the men who stayed with Washington at Valley Forge.

Meanwhile, however, even a century ago, Americans were giving thought to the welfare of people of other lands.

President Monroe laid down the historic Doctrine bearing his name not only to preserve and protect the United States of America but also to

The Western Hemisphere should no longer be a place of exploitation by ~~xxxxxxx~~ either European or Asiatic powers.

The Monroe Doctrine served well the interests of the Americas as a whole and received the continuing firm support of every succeeding administration without regard to party.

At the dawn of this century a similar declaration of the "Open Door" by Joyn Hay recognized our concern with the peace of the Pacific and with the preservation of China from domination by any foreign power.

Succeeding administrations, Republican and Democrat alike, implemented this policy. Eliahu Root, Robert Lansing, Henry Stimson and Cordell Hull, all recognized this fundamental tenet of our world relations and refused to recognize or permit the exploitation of China by any foreign power.

These two cornerstones of our foreign policy must be kept constantly in mind as we consider our responsibilities to our fellow Americans in this very troubled modern world. The essence of a successful foreign policy is that it shall be simple and easy to understand. It must be related to the capacity of the country to implement. It must commend itself to Americans rather generally as calculated to serve our security and do justice to our ideas and our ideals. It must be formulated with great care taking into account all the varied interests of a great nation such as ours. Its effectiveness must depend upon the degree to which it commands rather general support in order that it may



invite the respect and confidence of the people of other lands. This was conspicuously the case with the Monroe Doctrine and the "Open Door" in China.

These policies reflected the love of liberty that has always been characteristic of the American spirit and the idealism that has the somewhat peculiar quality of the American people although at the same time these Doctrines reflected the very sound common sense of America concerned with our own security in times when we were not too sure as to how long we ourselves might survive.

All this is preliminary to our consideration of the conditions which we face in the present day and the probleming of formulating a policy that which result in a period of peace.

We are all too often apt to forget that many of us were born in a century that knew no worldwide war. The Pax Britannica prevailed for one hundred years from the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 to the time of the challenge of British seapower by Kaiser Wilhelm in 1914.

During that century there were a variety of localized wars but no worldwide strife such as we have known twice now in recent years. This century of comparative peace was due in substantial measure to the domination of British seapower and during that century civilization made more progress in a material sense than in the previous 1800 years.

Our generation has now participated in two worldwide wars at an enormous cost in casualties and in treasure and a third war in Korea that has cost us more casualties than most of the wars of our country and is exacting a tragic toll in a variety of ways.

As Republicans it is easy for us to put the blame for this condition of affairs upon the Democrats. The Democrats cannot deny that these three wars of our generation have all occurred under Democratic administrations.

Nor can they say that they were a heritage from Republican administrations

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since the First World War came after the Democrats had been on undisputed control of the government for five years. The Second World War came after the Democrats had been in undisputed and overwhelming control of the government for nine years. The Korean war came after seventeen years of Democratic incumbency of the presidency.

With such a record it is inconceivable that the Democratic Party can appeal to the nation as the peace party. Republicans can certainly say with complete assurance that while they may not have been able to do any better they certainly could not have done any worse.

Recriminations, however, serve no useful purpose except as we discuss the lessons of these tragic experiences.

Woodrow Wilson won the election of 1916 on the slogan "I kept us out of war". German militarism cultivated confidence in ultimate conquest on President Wilson's declaration that "we were too proud to fight".

President Roosevelt in spite of his earlier advocacy of the League of Nations refused to impress the League of Nations during the 30's when he was in unquestioned control of our foreign policies and scuttled the economic conference in London designed to stabilize the economies of the world.

As a candidate for a third term in 1940 with Europe in flames President Roosevelt proclaimed "again and again and again, I tell you, your sons shall never fight in any foreign war" and at Boston in the concluding stages of the campaign he left off the qualifying phrase "unless we are attacked" as shown in his published addresses.

Finally President Truman and Secretary Acheson made it abundantly clear in the months before the Communist attack in Korea that Korea was outside our sphere of interest and our troops were withdrawn and we refused to re-arm the South Koreans except with police weapons "for fear the South Koreans might attack the North Koreans".

In each instance the words of our leaders furnished fuel to the aggressive influences that are always lurking in totalitarian regimes.

In each instance we were compelled to recognize too late that we should be compelled to fight.

In each instance our lack of adequate preparation, material and spiritual, compelled a heavy sacrifice by our younger generation who were in no way at fault since they had little if any voice in the formulation of the policies which brought about the tragic crises.

These preliminaries to our involvement in war are pointed out not primarily to fix responsibility on individuals or parties since the universal desire of all Americans is to avoid war but only in order that we may profit by these lessons in order to keep America secure and establish a peace that shall endure.

There is growing confidence in the world that further world wide strife may be prevented.

In a 30,000 mile flight around the world made at our own expense during the vacation of the Congress between Thanksgiving and New Years, Mrs. Brewster and I visited some twenty countries conferring with our Ambassadors and military representatives abroad and the officials of many foreign countries.

I came home more convinced than ever that peace is possible in our time, the darkest hour precedes the dawn and man's extremity is God's opportunity.

Everywhere we found the people in the countries bordering on the Iron Curtain so frightened by the menace of Soviet aggression that they were ready to forget ancient antagonisms and join with their enemies to meet the menace of atheistic, materialistic Communism.

In the Orient after years of almost constant strife the new Japanese regime and the Chinese Nationalists are in conference in Formosa on developing a program for mutual defense against Communist aggression.

In the Middle East the most outstanding and out-spoken leader of the Arab nations, Azzam Pasha, the Secretary of the Arab League, has publicly declared that the worst enemy of the Moslems is not the Christian with whom they fought for centuries in the period of the Crusades for control of the Holy Land nor the Jew with whom they have been fighting in more recent years for the control of Israel nor even the British with whom they have been long at odds but is the Communist.

On this basis of ~~the~~ mutual fear of Communist aggression it is now possible to accomplish accord of the Moslem, the Christian and the Jew in the turbulent Middle East that shall serve as a bulwark against Communist aggression and mobilize the indispensable oil resources of these lands for the protection of the liberty of the free world.

In Europe, meanwhile, the French and the Germans are nearing to an accord than they have been in two thousand years since Julius Caesar led his Roman legions across the Rhine and 55 B.C. at the very spot where our own sons crossed the Rhine to drive back the invaders in A.D. 1945.

The French and Germans have already agreed upon the Shuman Plan for mobilizing the steel resources of Central Europe that are the very foundation of success in modern war. Accord has similarly been reached upon the creation of a European Army with only some arguments remaining as to who shall pick up the check. Finally the countries of western Europe have agreed to proceed with the discussion of political federation.

All these developments furnish a firm foundation for the hope that people of every nation and region are preparing to unite against the Communist menace in order to preserve their liberty to worship God in the way they feel is right. Whether it be the Buddhist of the Orient or the Moslems of the Middle East or the ~~Christians~~ <sup>Christians</sup> and the Jews scattered all over this wide world, there is the indispensable element of accord in the recognition of the common peril.

What a curious commentary it may be upon our day if the catalysts that unite God fearing people everywhere is the very ideology that denies the assistance of any God and seeks to destroy all reverence for God in the minds of those whom it controls.

In the discussions with our own diplomatic representatives abroad and of our military representatives as well as the representatives of foreign government there was almost complete accord in December 1951 that the ~~xxxx~~ masters of the Kremlin do not at this time desire or design a major war. Tito, the former intimate of Stalin in happier days, is responsible for the statement that Stalin in the days before the atom bomb feared more than anything else the industrial potential of America for which he had a most wholesome respect as a result of the experiences of the First and Second World Wars. The Russian leaders in the opinion of the best informed of our representatives are as fearful of our fighting potential as we are of theirs.

This is not to say that there will be no further strife. Certainly it is not to suggest that we should cease preparing for eventualities in every proper way.

This is even designed to say "we told you so" to those who one or two years ago predicated our policies upon the dangers that the Soviet might attack. This considered opinion of our representatives abroad has been developing as a result of all the experiences of recent years and is, as of the present time, a very wide spread conviction. What does this then mean in terms of our own foreign policy? All this adds up to the conviction that in our conduct of foreign affairs we should be fair and firm. The United Nations has been a great concept formulated by the wise foresight of Cordell Hull who sacrificed every other consideration ~~ix~~ to the erection of this structure of good will among the nations.

Completely bipartisan in its ~~inception~~ inception as a result of the happy

accord that prevailed through the self-renunciation of Senator Tom Connally in foregoing his right of recognised leadership and the genius for conciliation of Senator Arthur Vandenberg and the six other members of the Senate drawn equally from the two political parties who labored in season and out of season to formulate the charter that finally met with the overwhelming approval of the Senate reflecting the sentiment of the people of the United States.

Now that we have found in the unhappier experiences of recent years that the United Nations possesses feet of clay is no fault of the founders but rather their the failure of ~~xxx~~ successors to rise to the spirit with which they accomplished this accord.

As a supporter of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan and the Rio Pact and the Atlantic Pact one may take proper pride in their accomplishments without being obligated to consider that they solve every economic and social ill.

William Ladd, the Apostle of Peace, founder of the American Peace Society, dreamed in the Hills of Oxford County, Maine, a century ago of the day when the war drums would be silenced in the federation of mankind and dedicated his life to the achievement of this goal.

Mankind everywhere yearns for this ideal of peace on earth, good will to man, first by the man of Galilee in the hills of Judea two thousand years ago.

We may well rededicate our lives and efforts to this vision. We may well realize that America possesses the power and the resources to bring about in this century a Pax Americana that shall represent a new day of liberty for all mankind untarnished by the colonialism that marred the Pax Britannica of the last century if only we shall retain the spiritual vision that will enable us to command the respect and confidence of mankind.

What shall it profit a man or a nation to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

Practical common sense mixed with American idealism are the indispensable elements.

America has always wished to help the unfortunate among mankind. Literally almost without limit, we have poured out of our material resources to help the hungry who were in need and to help the orphan and the oppressed.

The same prudence, however, that has characterized the charitable activities of Americans at home must guide our steps in our relations with the people of foreign lands.

We all know in our communities the delicacy and the difficulty of assisting our fellow citizens without destroying their self-respect.

In our relations with foreign peoples, we have all too often failed to recognize the dangers inherent in profligate expenditures, however well-intentioned they may be. All too often they have sacrificed the self respect of the beneficiaries and destroyed all respect for the benefactors.

We have an old saying that charity begins at home. We must bear this constantly in mind as we approach the breaking point in the burdens we are imposing upon the people of the United States.

Eliminating extravagance and waste at home and abroad is our duty if we are to preserve our heritage of an incentive economy and the respect of those whom we seek to aid.

Respect for America and Americans is vital if we are to continue America as the leader in the building of a ~~xxx~~ better world.

In recent decades in our relations with our neighbors in this hemisphere and with our friends in the Pacific we have repeatedly and conspicuously demonstrated that we desire domination of no other land or people.

The freedom we freely accorded to Cuba and the Philippines are the firm

guarantees to all the modern world that America has no designs for domination of any other land.

The Communist propaganda as to the evil designs of America are completely refuted by the record of the last 50 years.

This record is ~~our~~ our most precious heritage in our relations with foreign nations and confirms our leadership in the path of peace.

No other great power can point with pride to a record of such disinterested idealism.

America voluntarily relinquished all claims for territorial gains of any character after we had emerged as victor in two world wide wars.

At Eniwetok on July 1, 1946, I witnessed the first explosion in time of peace of an atom bomb, the mightiest demonstration of material power the world had ever seen. The world shivered in alarm as to whether America was flexing its muscles with the design of world wide domination. Three days later at Manila on July 4, 1946, I witnessed the greatest demonstration of spiritual power the world had seen in two thousand years when a great nation gave liberty to another people without the firing of a shot.

There was the assurance to all the people of the Orient and of the world that the only objective of America was to help mankind to realize the inherent exploration of every people for liberty to work out their own destiny and to worship God in the way they thought was right.

From that point let us move on, raising a standard to which the wise and honest may repair. The event is in the hands of God.

Peace is possible in our day if America shall stir its course erect with complete freedom from passion and bitterness with tolerance with those who different and yet with firmness as it is given to us each to see the light. Let us lead America in the path of self-reliant independence and rally the still free people of the world in an invincible accord that will bring down the Iron



Curtain with the trumpets we shall sound.

doubt

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Let there be no ~~stank~~ about it behind the Iron Curtain that there are millions upon millions of human beings who share with us the desire to live their lives in peace upon the beautiful lands which God has given them to cultivate.

Exactly as the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord fired the shot heard round the world, so may America in the present ring out the clarion call that will unite the people of every land who love liberty and penetrate as surely as day follows night the dark recesses that shelter hundreds of millions of human beings under Communist domination who desire as devoutly <sup>do</sup> as we the liberty that is the cherished heritage of all the children of God.

he was supported by all his fellow members in the Congress and the Representatives and Senators from Ohio without regard to party, having been recommended by Democrats and appointed by a Democratic President.

As a member of the Senate Committee on Interstate and Foreign Commerce having jurisdiction over appointments <sup>merits</sup> to the Federal Communications Commission, the appointment came before our committee for consideration, and Senator White, my senior colleague from Maine, who was then chairman of the committee in the 80th Congress, designated me as chairman of the subcommittee to hold hearings on the Pearson charges, which were of a very grave character. Pearson was duly notified and given every opportunity to produce witnesses and to substantiate his charges. A full, fair public hearing was accorded, extending over several days.

~~The witnesses were not of a character to invite confidence on their own statements as to their record and their knowledge of the case.~~

In fact, the matter became almost a laughing stock before it was concluded because of the character of the testimony that they gave. At the conclusion of the hearings, the subcommittee, on which there was a Democratic as well as a Republican member, unanimously decided the charges were utterly without foundation, and so reported to the full committee who accepted the report with similar unanimity and the nomination of Robert Jones was duly reported to the

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sums as well as by tremendous campaigns of propaganda. <sup>C</sup>

One prominent Maine citizen of the highest credibility, holding high public office by vote of the citizens of Maine, told me recently he was offered \$150,000 to run against me for the Senate. He declined.

~~A~~ It is quite evident that very considerable amounts of money are flowing into Maine to try to defeat me. It will be very interesting to see how far they can affect the result.

~~B~~ Now as to the propagandists. I think all will agree that my number one enemy seems to be Drew Pearson who is using all of his undoubted talents to misrepresent my record in the minds of the people of Maine.

I appreciate somewhat the hold that ~~Mr.~~ Pearson has established in the minds of many Americans and do not in any way underestimate his capacity to influence public opinion by the exceedingly devious and sometimes devilish devices with which he presents his particular contentions to the American public, dressed up always in the guise of the public good.

Curiously enough, during my early years in Washington I was regarded by him as a good public official and was repeatedly cited in very favorable terms.

One may well ask why the change. Was it a result of my conduct that caused him to change his attitude or was it

interest and welfare of the people of the State of Maine.

That Drew Pearson does not like me I shall readily admit.

That Drew Pearson has reason not to like me I shall also admit.

That Drew Pearson desires my elimination from public life is entirely obvious.

~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> elimination <sup>of Welles from State Dept who was perhaps</sup> perhaps his chief source of secret <sup>information</sup> information in the State Department along with the two hundred perverts who followed Mr. Welles into retirement from the State Department ~~and~~ <sup>his</sup> failure thus far to

secure the invaluable franchise for a great radio station in Baltimore, which he much desires, <sup>is an additional</sup> ~~are ample reasons~~ for his animus <sup>as it affects his pocketbook</sup> and also a complete warning to the people of Maine to be on their guard as to what he says, ~~to determine~~ whether or not it is in their interest or in the interest of Mr. Pearson, also.

amply accounts for ~~the~~ <sup>the</sup> Pearson's animus toward Brewster.

Maine people are entirely capable of judging the value to attach to his perversions of the truth in the light of these facts.

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STATE OF MAINE  
1980

Charles E. C. Collins

(A) Shortly <sup>after this</sup> one who had repeatedly declared he would not ~~to enter~~ ~~any other~~ ~~causes~~ become a candidate for any other office while serving in his <sup>present</sup> position announced ~~that~~ ~~he would become~~ <sup>a</sup> candidate for the Senate.

(B) It will be interesting to see how far the people of Maine will permit outside interests and influences to affect their choice of a Senator.

(C) I have incurred the animosity of many of the New Dealers and Fair Dealers and some of the more extreme internationalists as well as most of the paulist-pinks and fellow travelers. I count this a tribute to the effectiveness of my service.

full  
To be substituted for second/paragraph on  
Page 9 of "Dear Jim" letter.

Pearson promised to present evidence and witnesses to sustain his charges against Robert Jones. Three of the witnesses were:

Virgil H. Effinger

Glen E. Webb

Frank Barber

← follow  
along on  
two

Mr. Effinger was convicted on a contempt charge and was involved in extradition proceedings in connection with a murder charge in Michigan.

Mr. Webb admitted under oath that he had committed forgery in connection with pay checks.

Mr. Barker had been committed to an insane asylum.

All these witnesses were accompanied from Ohio to Washington ~~by~~  
~~Jack N. Anderson, an employee of Drew Pearson,~~ and escorted to the Mayflower Hotel by  
Jack N. Anderson, an employee of Drew Pearson.

United States Senate

WASHINGTON, D. C.

Heading for speech

Peace is Possible in Our Day

An address by Senator Owen  
Brewster of Maine at Monmouth,  
Maine on Sunday evening, April 6, 1952  
under the auspices of the United Church  
of Monmouth.

Also use on brown envelope  
this item:

Peace is Possible in Our Day  
An address by Senator Owen Brewster

## American FOREIGN RELATIONS Policy

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President Monroe laid down the historic Monroe Doctrine bearing his name not only to preserve and protect the United States of America, but also to assist our neighbors in the Americas to work out their own salvation. The Western Hemisphere should no longer be a place of exploitation by ~~any~~ either European or Asiatic powers.

The Monroe Doctrine served well the interests of the Americas as a whole and received the continuing firm support of every succeeding administration without regard to party.

At the dawn of this century a similar declaration of the "Open Door Policy" by John Hay recognized our concern with the peace of the Pacific and with the preservation of China from domination by any foreign power.

Succeeding administrations, Republican and Democrat<sup>ical</sup> alike, implemented this policy. Elihu Root, Robert Lansing, Henry Stimson and Cordell Hull, all recognized this fundamental tenet of our world relations and refused to recognize or permit the exploitation of China by any foreign power.

These two cornerstones of our foreign policy must be kept constantly in mind as we consider our responsibilities to our fellow Americans in this very troubled modern world. The essence of a successful foreign policy is that it shall be simple and easy to understand. It must be related to the capacity of the country to implement. It must commend itself to Americans rather generally as calculated to serve our security and do justice to our ideas and our ideals. It must be formulated with great care taking into account all the varied interests of a great nation such as ours. Its effectiveness must depend upon the degree to which it commands rather general support in order that it may

*This policy was founded in the concept that a free and independent China would mean peace for us in the Pacific and contribute very greatly to world stability.*

Essentials of Foreign Policy

Open Door Policy in China

Monroe Doctrine

invite the respect and confidence of the people of other lands. This was conspicuously the case with the Monroe Doctrine and the "Open Door" in China.

These ~~policies~~ <sup>doctrines</sup> reflected the love of liberty that has always been characteristic of the American spirit and the idealism that <sup>political</sup> ~~has~~ <sup>was</sup> the somewhat peculiar <sup>property</sup> ~~quality~~ of the American ~~people~~ <sup>people</sup> although at the same time these ~~doctrines~~ <sup>policies</sup> reflected the ~~very~~ sound common sense of America concerned with our own security in times when we were not too sure as to how long we ourselves might survive.

### Peace and Security

All this is preliminary to our consideration of the conditions which we face in the present day and the ~~problem~~ of formulating ~~a~~ <sup>may</sup> policies that ~~which~~ result in a period of peace.

We are all too often apt to forget that many of us were born in a century that knew no worldwide war. The Pax Britannica prevailed for one hundred years from the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 to the ~~time~~ of the challenge of British seapower by Kaiser Wilhelm in 1914.

During that century there were a variety of localized wars but no worldwide strife such as we have known twice now in recent years. This century of comparative peace was due in substantial measure to the <sup>all</sup> ~~domination~~ of British seapower, ~~and~~ during that century civilization made more progress in a material sense than in the previous 1800 years.

### Peace is not Partisan

Our generation has now participated in two worldwide wars at an enormous cost in casualties and in treasure and a third war in Korea that has cost us more casualties than most of the wars of our country and is exacting a tragic toll in a variety of ways.

As Republicans it is easy for us to put the blame for this condition of affairs upon the Democrats. The Democrats cannot deny that these three wars of our generation have all occurred under Democratic administrations.

Nor can they say that they were a heritage from Republican administrations

since the First World War came after the Democrats had been <sup>in</sup> undisputed control of the government for five years. The Second World War came after the Democrats had been in undisputed and overwhelming control of the government for nine years. The Korean war came after seventeen years of Democratic incumbency of the presidency.

With such a record it is inconceivable that the Democratic Party can appeal to the nation as the peace party. Republicans can certainly say with complete assurance that while they may not have been able to do any better they certainly could not have done any worse.

Recriminations, however, serve no useful purpose except as we discuss the lessons of these tragic experiences.

Firmness in the Right  
Woodrow Wilson won the election of 1916 on the slogan "I kept us out of war". German militarism cultivated confidence in ultimate conquest on President Wilson's declaration that "we were too proud to fight".

President Roosevelt in spite of his earlier advocacy of the League of Nations refused to <sup>for participation in</sup> ~~press~~ the League of Nations during the 30's when he was in unquestioned control of our foreign policies and scuttled the economic conference in London designed to stabilize the economies of the world.

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In each instance the words of our leaders furnished fuel to the aggressive influences that are always lurking in totalitarian regimes.

In each instance we were compelled to recognize too late that we should be compelled to fight. Youth Pays the Price

In each instance our lack of adequate preparation, material and spiritual, compelled a heavy sacrifice by our younger generation who were in no way at fault since they had little if any voice in the formulation of the policies which brought about the tragic crises.

These preliminaries to our involvement in war are pointed out not primarily to fix responsibility on individuals or parties, since the universal desire of all Americans is to avoid war, but only in order that we may profit by these lessons in order to keep America secure and establish a peace that shall endure.

There is growing confidence in the world that further world wide strife may be prevented.

In a 30,000 mile flight around the world, made at our own expense, during the vacation of the Congress between Thanksgiving and New Years, Mrs. Brewster and I visited some twenty countries conferring with our Ambassadors and military representatives abroad and the officials of many foreign countries.

Peace is Possible in Our Time  
I came home more convinced than ever that peace is possible in our time, ~~of~~ found this conviction based upon two old maxims, ~~the~~ the darkest hour precedes the dawn, and Man's extremity is God's opportunity.

~~the~~ Everywhere we found the people in the countries bordering on the Iron Curtain so frightened by the menace of Soviet aggression that they were ready to forget ancient antagonisms and join with their <sup>former</sup> enemies to meet the menace of atheistic, materialistic Communism.

The Orient  
In the Orient, after years of almost constant strife, the new Japanese regime and the Chinese Nationalists are in conference in Formosa ~~on~~ developing a program for mutual defense against Communist aggression.

# The Middle East

In the Middle East the most outstanding and out-spoken leader of the Arab <sup>world</sup> ~~nations~~, Azzam Pasha, the Secretary <sup>General</sup> of the Arab League, has publicly declared that the worst enemy of the Moslems is not the Christian, with whom they fought for centuries in the period of the Crusades, for control of the Holy Land, nor the Jew with whom they have been fighting in more recent years for the control of Israel, nor even the British with whom they have been long at odds, but is the Communist.

On this basis of ~~the mutual fear~~ <sup>the common concern over</sup> of Communist aggression it is now possible to accomplish accord of the Moslem, the Christian and the Jew in the turbulent Middle East, that ~~shall~~ <sup>it may well</sup> serve as a bulwark against Communist aggression and mobilize <sup>the manpower, and</sup> the indispensable oil resources of these lands ~~for the protection of~~ <sup>to bulwark</sup> the liberty of the free world.

In Europe, meanwhile, the French and the Germans are nearer to an accord than they have been in two thousand years since Julius Caesar led his Roman legions across the Rhine <sup>in</sup> ~~and~~ 55 B.C. at the very spot where our own sons crossed the Rhine to drive back the invaders in A.D. 1945.

The French and Germans have already agreed upon the Shuman Plan for mobilizing the steel resources of Central Europe <sup>and is</sup> that ~~are~~ the very foundation of success in modern war. Accord has similarly been reached upon the creation of a European Army with only some arguments remaining as to who shall pick up the check. Finally the countries of western Europe have <sup>even</sup> agreed to proceed with the discussion of political federation.

All these developments furnish a firm foundation for the <sup>confident</sup> ~~hope~~ that people of every <sup>have religion</sup> ~~nation~~ and ~~region~~ are preparing to unite against the Communist menace in order to preserve their liberty to worship God in the way they ~~feel~~ <sup>believe</sup> is right. Whether it be the Buddhist of the Orient or the Moslems of the Middle East or the <sup>Christians</sup> ~~Christians~~ and the Jews scattered all over this wide world, there is the indispensable element of accord in the recognition of the common peril.

# Communism as the Catalyst

What a curious commentary it may be upon our day if the catalyst that unites God-fearing people everywhere is the very ideology that denies the ~~existence~~ <sup>existence</sup> of any God and seeks to destroy all reverence for God in the minds of those whom it controls!

In the discussions with our own diplomatic representatives abroad <sup>and military</sup> ~~and our~~ ~~our military representatives~~ as well as the representatives of foreign governments there was almost complete accord in December 1951 that the ~~masters~~ masters of the Kremlin do not at this time desire or design a major war. <sup>#</sup> Tito, the former intimate of Stalin in happier days, is responsible for the statement that Stalin in the days before the atom bomb feared more than anything else the industrial potential of America for which he had a most wholesome respect as a result of the experiences of the First and Second World Wars. The Russian leaders in the opinion of the best informed of our representatives are as fearful of our fighting potential as we are of theirs.

This is not to say that there will be no further strife. Certainly it is not to suggest that we should cease preparing for eventualities in every proper way.

This is <sup>not</sup> even designed to say "we told you so" to those who one or two years ago predicated our policies upon the danger <sup>in Europe</sup> that the Soviet might attack. This considered opinion of our representatives abroad has been developing as a result of all the experiences of recent years and is, as of the present time, a very wide spread conviction. <sup>#</sup> What does this then mean in terms of our own foreign policy? <sup>#</sup> All this adds up to the conviction that in our conduct of foreign affairs we should be fair and firm. <sup>#</sup> The United Nations ~~has~~ <sup>is</sup> a great concept formulated <sup>under guidance</sup> by the wise foresight of Cordell Hull who sacrificed every <sup>personal and political</sup> ~~other~~ consideration ~~to~~ to the erection of this structure of good will among the nations.

Completely <sup>un</sup> ~~is~~ partisan in its ~~inception~~ inception <sup>the United Nations had its birth</sup> as a result of the happy

A static policy can never satisfy America leaving the initiative always with our foe.

On the other hand the idea of a preventive war is both repugnant and impossible.

The middle ground between these two extremes is gradually emerging as we counter the infiltration tactics of the Soviet with a little infiltration of our own.

Thus far this effort has been confined in large part to the Voice of America with considerable question as to whether the results were at all commensurate with the expense.



←  
This is to be inserted in my speech on  
World Peace & Foreign Policy. Check over  
with Jeff <sup>United States Senate</sup> ~~with me~~ <sup>WASHINGTON, D. C.</sup> ~~with me~~ <sup>they talk</sup> ~~with me~~ <sup>properly</sup> ~~with me~~ <sup>OB</sup>

The policy of containment ~~cannot~~  
is becoming recognized as no  
longer adapted to the genius of  
America. & its implication of a  
25000 mile Maginot line around  
the world to contain the Soviet  
has been justly characterized by  
John Foster Dulles as 100 times  
worse than the Maginot line of  
France because it is 100 times  
as long!

To maintain a merely defensive  
position indefinitely means exhaustion  
of our resources as we maintain  
a constant state of readiness  
awaiting the time when the enemy  
shall decide to strike.

3.

A new avenue is now opening up as more and more ~~disillusioned~~ disillusioned refugees come outside the Iron Curtain.

Legislation sponsored by Senator Lodge and myself has already provided for recruiting refugees into a foreign legion to be prepared to share any necessary sacrifices with our own sons.

Further legislation has been proposed by us that would emulsion the training of spies to penetrate the Iron Curtain and spread the message of ~~good will~~ peace and good will to those misguided unfortunates who are being told we are their foe.

4.

This is carrying the ideological  
war to the Soviet by the very  
methods <sup>the Truman has</sup> ~~they have~~ sought to  
use on us. Our objective is  
not to conquer but to liberate  
~~the~~ <sup>the millions of the misled</sup> ~~them~~ from the fear of us by  
which their masters hold them  
in subjection.

Here is a positive approach  
anted to the ~~genius and~~ situation  
and offering hope of steady  
progress toward peace and  
good will everywhere.

accord that prevailed through the self-renunciation of Senator Tom Connally in foregoing his right of recognized leadership and the genius for conciliation of Senator Arthur Vandenberg, ~~and~~ <sup>the</sup> six other members of the Senate drawn <sup>unceasingly and unselfishly</sup> equally from the two political parties ~~who~~ <sup>^</sup> labored in season and out of season to formulate the charter that finally met with the overwhelming approval of the Senate reflecting the sentiment of the people of the United States. <sup>My own</sup>

<sup>beloved colleague, the late Senator Wallace H. White, Jr. was one</sup>  
 Now that we have found in the unhappier experiences of recent years that <sup>we must recognize this</sup> the United Nations possesses feet of clay is no fault of its founders but rather <sup>respond</sup> their failure of ~~our~~ successors to <sup>rise</sup> to the spirit <sup>in</sup> with which <sup>the progenitors</sup> they accomplished this accord.

*of this unique committee of the Senate*

<sup>an early</sup> of the League of Nations and As a supporter <sup>^</sup> of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan and the Rio Pact and the Atlantic Pact one may take proper pride in their accomplishments without being obligated to consider that they <sup>can</sup> solve every economic and social ill.

The Apostle of Peace

William Ladd, the Apostle of Peace, founder of the American Peace Society, dreamed in the ~~hills~~ <sup>hills</sup> of Oxford County, Maine, a century ago of the day when the war drums would be silenced in the federation of mankind, <sup>he</sup> ~~and~~ dedicated his life to the achievement of this goal.

Mankind everywhere yearns for this ideal of peace on earth, good will to man, <sup>men portrayed</sup> ~~first~~ by the man of Galilee in the hills of Judea two thousand years ago.

We may well rededicate our lives and efforts to ~~this~~ vision. We may well realize that America possesses <sup>^</sup> the power and the resources to bring about in this century a Pax Americana that shall represent a new day of liberty for all mankind untarnished by the colonialism that marred the Pax Britannica of the last century if only we shall retain the spiritual vision that will enable us to command the respect and confidence of mankind.

What shall it profit a man or a nation to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

Practical common sense mixed with American idealism are the indispensable elements.

America has always wished to help the unfortunate among mankind. ~~Literally~~ Almost without limit, we have poured out of our material resources to help the hungry who were in need and to help the orphan and the oppressed.

The same prudence, however, that has characterized the charitable activities of Americans at home must guide our steps in our relations with the people of foreign lands.

We all know in our communities the delicacy and the difficulty of assisting our fellow citizens without destroying their self-respect.

In our relations with foreign peoples, we have all too often failed to recognize the dangers <sup>in</sup> ~~adherent~~ <sup>in</sup> profligate expenditures, however well-intentioned they may be. All too often they have sacrificed the self-respect of the beneficiaries and destroyed all respect for the benefactors.

We have an old saying that charity begins at home. We must bear this constantly in mind as we approach the breaking-point in the burdens we are imposing upon the people of the United States.

Eliminating extravagance and waste at home and abroad is our duty if we are to preserve our heritage of an incentive economy and the respect of those whom we seek to aid. America stands for Liberty

Respect for America and Americans is vital if we are to continue America as the leader in the building of a ~~the~~ better world.

In recent decades in our relations with our neighbors in this hemisphere and with our friends in the Pacific we have repeatedly and conspicuously demonstrated that we desire domination of no other land or people.

The freedom we freely accorded to Cuba and the Philippines <sup>is</sup> ~~are~~ the firm

guarantees to all the modern world that America has no designs for domination of any other land.

The Communist propaganda as to the evil designs of America <sup>upon the liberty of other peoples</sup> ~~are~~ completely refuted by the record of the last 50 years.

This record is ~~with~~ our most precious heritage in our relations with foreign nations and confirms our leadership in the path of peace.

No other great power can point with pride to a record of such disinterested idealism.

America voluntarily relinquished all claims for territorial gains of any character after we had emerged as victor in two world-wide wars.

At Eniwetok on July 1, 1946, I witnessed the first explosion in time of peace of an atom bomb, <sup>material and spiritual power</sup> the mightiest demonstration of material power the world had ever seen. The world <sup>shuddered</sup> ~~shivered~~ in alarm as to whether America was flexing its muscles with the design of world-wide domination. <sup>#</sup> Three days later at Manila on July 4, 1946, I witnessed the greatest demonstration of spiritual power the world had seen in two thousand years when a great nation gave liberty to another people without the firing of a shot.

There was the assurance to all the people of the Orient and of the world that the only objective of America was to help mankind to realize the inherent <sup>desire</sup> ~~exploration~~ of every people for liberty to work out their own destiny and to worship God in the way they thought was right. <sup>Let us recognize that colonialism belongs to another day and age.</sup>

From that point let us move on, <sup>Let us</sup> raise a standard to which the wise and honest may repair. The event is in the hands of God.

Peace is possible in our day if America shall <sup>steer</sup> ~~steer~~ its course ~~erect~~ with complete freedom from passion and bitterness <sup>and</sup> with tolerance <sup>for</sup> ~~for~~ those who differ <sup>in the right</sup> ~~ent~~, and yet with firmness as it is given ~~to~~ us each to see the right.

<sup>#</sup> Let us lead America in the path of self-reliant independence and rally the still free people of the world in an invincible accord that will <sup>penetrate</sup> ~~bring down~~ the Iron

Curtain with the ~~trumpets we shall sound~~ <sup>still a small voice of truth.</sup>  
 doubt

Let there be no ~~doubt~~ about it behind the Iron Curtain ~~that~~ there are  
 millions upon millions of human beings who share with us the desire to live  
 their lives in peace upon the beautiful lands which God has given <sup>to</sup> them to  
 cultivate.

Exactly as the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord fired the shot  
 heard round the world, so may America in the present <sup>day sound</sup> ~~ring out~~ the clarion call  
 that will unite the people of every land who love liberty and penetrate as  
 surely as day follows night the dark recesses that shelter hundreds of millions  
 of human beings under Communist domination who desire as devoutly <sup>do</sup> as we the  
 liberty that is the cherished heritage of all the children of God.

PEACE IS POSSIBLE IN OUR DAY

*Corrected  
copy.*

An address by Senator Owen Brewster of Maine at Monmouth, Maine, on Sunday evening, April 6, 1952, under the auspices of the United Church of Monmouth

American Foreign Policy

Is peace possible in our day? That is the \$64,000,000,000 question that is being asked by thoughtful citizens everywhere.

Every mother is naturally and vitally concerned that her son shall not be sacrificed in some far land.

Every growing boy looks forward to a life of usefulness and service to his community and his country that shall enable him to follow in the footsteps of the generations that have built America and made it the productive marvel of all lands.

Building America

Americans love to build. Americans love to leave their town and their country better than they received it from those who went before.

Under that impelling incentive each generation of Americans have built more stately mansions to shelter the good things of this life that America has been able to produce in increasing measure and to furnish also the temples of the spirit in which Americans may worship God.

The Dark Ages

The Victorian charm of the last century seems to have been shattered with <sup>e</sup> those recurring wars. Is it possible to call a halt? Are we condemned to carry on this strife until mankind descends once again into the dark ages?

Civilization seems to be approaching the edge of the abyss. A third world war almost inevitably would mean the development of totalitarian regimes that would spell the end of the American dream of liberty for mankind everywhere.

We may well look back in order to guide our feet in the obviously difficult days ahead.

A wise man has wisely said that good judgment is often the product of a good many bad judgments if only we profit by our experience.



## Experience Teaches

In 300 years America has had enough experience to assist us very greatly in meeting the challenge of this distraught world if we can learn the lessons aright.

Certain fundamental principles have guided us on this journey to the position of pre-eminence we now occupy.

Our nation had its birth in the sturdy determination of individuals who loved liberty and would not be denied.

Our colonial ancestors came over to this country to escape from the tyranny of Europe which denied them the right to live and worship God in the way which they thought right.

## Declaration of Independence

Later, in our Declaration of Independence we laid broad and deep the foundation upon which has been erected a great nation dedicated to the proposition that liberty is the inalienable right of all men.

This indissoluble union of ours was forged in the fires of a great civil strife.

Through all these centuries America has progressed to its present position of power and prestige by the loving and self-sacrificing labor of millions of men and women who placed service above self.

## America Grows Great

In the first half of this century America has moved with amazing speed from one of the lesser powers on earth to one of the greatest under the stimulus of the American genius for organization and invention that has made America the productive marvel of all the ages.

Yet we shall find that our progress through the centuries has been guided in substantial measure by consideration of the welfare of our fellowmen.

All the differences and divisions among the Colonists were controlled by the determination of their leaders to gain their independence and form an association in which the liberty of the individual to work out his own destiny

should be the primary consideration. That was the controlling factor in the Declaration of Independence and in the formulation of the Constitution of the United States. That was the consideration that animated the men who stayed with Washington at Valley Forge.

Meanwhile, however, even a century ago, Americans were giving thought to the welfare of people of other lands.

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<sup>Certain</sup> ~~These two~~ cornerstones of our foreign policy must be kept constantly in mind as we consider our responsibilities to our fellow Americans in this very troubled modern world. The essence of a successful foreign policy is that it shall be simple and easy to understand. It must be related to the capacity of

the country to implement. It must commend itself to Americans rather generally as calculated to serve our security and do justice to our ideas and our ideals. It must be formulated with great care taking into account all the varied interests of a great nation such as ours. Its effectiveness must depend upon the degree to which it commands rather general support in order that it may invite the respect and confidence of the people of other lands. This was conspicuously the case with the Monroe Doctrine and the "Open Door" in China.

These doctrines reflected the love of liberty that has always been characteristic of the American spirit and the political idealism that was the somewhat peculiar property of Americans although at the same time these policies reflected the sound common sense of America concerned with our own security in times when we were not too sure as to how long we ourselves might survive.

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*Vacillation seems to have been the key to our involvement in these three wars*  
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In each instance our lack of adequate preparation, material, and spiritual, *erected a tragic* ~~compelled a heavy sacrifice~~ *from our youth* ~~by our younger generation~~ who were in no way at fault since they had little if any voice in the formulation of the policies which brought about the tragic crises.

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Everywhere we found the people in the countries bordering on the Iron Curtain so frightened by the menace of Soviet aggression that they were ready to forget ancient antagonisms and join with their former enemies to meet the menace of

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In the Orient, after years of almost constant strife, the new Japanese regime and the Chinese Nationalists are in conference in Formosa developing a program for mutual defense against Communist aggression.

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In the Middle East the most outstanding and outspoken leader of the Arab World, Azzam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, has publicly declared that the worst enemy of the Moslems is not the Christian, with whom they fought for centuries <sup>since</sup> ~~in~~ the <sup>era</sup> ~~period~~ of the Crusades, for control of the Holy Land, nor the Jew with whom they have been fighting in more recent years for the control of Israel, nor even the British with whom they have been long at odds, but is the Communist.

On this basis of the common concern over Communist aggression, it is now possible to accomplish <sup>an</sup> accord of the Moslem, the Christian, and the Jew in the turbulent Middle East. That may well serve as a bulwark against Communist aggression and mobilize the manpower and the indispensable oil resources of these lands to bulwark the liberty of the free world.

Europe

In Europe, meanwhile, the French and the Germans are nearer to an accord than they have been in two thousand years since Julius Caesar led his Roman legions across the Rhine in 55 B.C. at the very spot where our own sons crossed the Rhine to drive back the invaders in A.D. 1945.

The French and Germans have already agreed upon the Schuman Plan for mobilizing the steel resources of Central Europe and that is the very foundation of success in modern war. Accord has similarly been reached upon the creation of a European Army with only some arguments remaining as to who shall pick up the check. Finally the countries of western Europe have even agreed to proceed with the discussion of political federation.

All these developments furnish a firm foundation for the confidence that

People of every race and religion are preparing to unite against the Communist menace in order to preserve their liberty to worship God in the way they believe is right. Whether it be the Buddhist of the Orient or the Moslems of the Middle East or the Christians and the Jews scattered all over this wide world, there is the indispensable element of an accord in the recognition of the common peril.

#### Communism as the Catalyst

What a curious commentary it may be upon our day if the catalyst that unites God-fearing people everywhere is the very ideology that denies the existence of any God and seeks to destroy all reverence for God in the minds of those whom it controls!

In the discussions with our own diplomatic and military representatives abroad as well as the representatives of foreign governments there was almost complete accord in December, 1951, that the masters of the Kremlin do not at this time desire or design a major war.

Tito, the former intimate of Stalin in happier days, is responsible for the statement that Stalin in the days before the atom bomb feared more than anything else the industrial potential of America for which he had a most wholesome respect as a result of the experiences of the First and Second World Wars. The Russian leaders in the opinion of the best informed of our representatives are as fearful of our fighting potential as we are of theirs.

This is not to say that there will be no further strife. Certainly it is not to suggest that we should cease preparing for eventualities in every proper way.

This is not even designed to say "we told you so" to those who one or two years ago predicated our policies upon the danger that the Soviet might attack in Europe. This considered opinion of our representatives abroad has been developing as a result of all the experiences of recent years and is, as of the present time, a very widespread conviction.

What does this mean then in terms of our own foreign policy?

All this adds up to the conviction that in our conduct of foreign affairs we should be fair and firm.

### The United Nations

The United Nations is a great concept formulated under the wise guidance of Cordell Hull who sacrificed every personal and political consideration to the erection of this structure of good will among the nations.

Completely unpartisan in its inception, the United Nations had its birth as a result of the happy accord that prevailed through the self-renunciation of Senator Tom Connally in foregoing his right of recognized leadership and the genius for conciliation of Senator Arthur Vandenberg. The six other members of the Senate drawn equally from the two political parties labored unceasingly and unselfishly in season and out of season to formulate the charter that finally met with the overwhelming approval of the Senate reflecting the sentiment of the people of the United States. My own beloved colleague, the late Senator Wallace H. White, Jr., was one of this unique committee of the Senate.

Now that we have found in the unhappier experiences of recent years that the United Nations possesses feet of clay we must recognize this is no fault of its founders but rather the failure of their successors to respond to the spirit in which the progenitors accomplished this accord.

As an early supporter of the League of Nations and of the United Nations and the Marshall Plan and the Rio Pact and the Atlantic Pact, one may take proper pride in their accomplishments without being obligated to consider that they can solve every economic and social ill.



9A

## A Positive Approach

The policy of containment is becoming recognized as no longer adapted to the genius of America. Its implication of a 25,000-mile Maginot Line around the world to contain the Soviet has been justly characterized by John Foster Dulles as 100 times worse than the Maginot Line of France because it is 100 times as long.

To maintain a merely defensive position indefinitely means exhaustion of our resources, as we maintain a constant state of readiness awaiting the time when the enemy shall decide to strike.

A static policy can never satisfy America <sup>leaving</sup> ~~having~~ the initiative always with our foe.

On the other hand, the idea of a preventive war is both repugnant and impossible.

The middle ground between these two extremes is gradually emerging as we counter the infiltration tactics of the Soviet with a little infiltration of our own.

Thus far this effort has been confined in large part to the Voice of America with considerable question as to whether the results were at all commensurate with the expense.

A new avenue is now opening up as more and more disillusioned refugees come outside the Iron Curtain.

Legislation sponsored by Senator Lodge and myself has already provided for recruiting refugees <sup>into</sup> ~~with~~ a foreign legion to be prepared to share any necessary sacrifices with our own sons.

Further legislation has been proposed by us that would envision the training of exiles to penetrate the Iron Curtain and spread the message of peace and good will to those misguided unfortunates who are being told we are their foe.

9B

This is carrying the ideological war to the Soviet by the very methods the Kremlin has sought to use on us. Our objective is not to conquer but to liberate the millions of the misled from the fear of us by which their masters hold them in subjection.

Here is a positive approach suited to the situation and offering hope of steady progress toward peace and good will everywhere.

The Apostle of Peace

William Ladd, the Apostle of Peace, founder of the American Peace Society, dreamed in the hills of Oxford County, Maine, a century ago of the day when the war drums would be silenced in the federation of mankind. He dedicated his life to the achievement of this goal.

Mankind everywhere yearns for this ideal of peace on earth, good will to men, portrayed by the man of Galilee in the hills of Judea two thousand years ago.

We may well rededicate our lives and efforts to this vision. We may well realize that America possesses the power and the resources to bring about in this century a Pax Americana that shall represent a new day of liberty for all mankind untarnished by the colonialism that marred the Pax Britannica of the last century if only we shall retain the spiritual vision that will enable us to command the respect and confidence of mankind.

What shall it profit a man or a nation to gain the whole world and lose his own soul?

Practical commonsense mixed with American idealism are the indispensable elements.

America has always wished to help the unfortunate among mankind. Almost without limit, we have poured out of our material resources to help the hungry who were in need and to help the orphan and the oppressed.

The same prudence, however, that has characterized the charitable activities of Americans at home must guide our steps in our relations with the people of foreign lands.

We all know in our communities the delicacy and the difficulty of assisting our fellow citizens without destroying their self-respect.

In our relations with foreign peoples, we have all too often failed to recognize the dangers inherent in profligate expenditures, however well-intentioned they may be. All too often they have sacrificed the self-respect of the beneficiaries and destroyed all respect for the benefactors.

We have an old saying that charity begins at home. We must bear this constantly in mind as we approach the breaking-point in the burdens we are imposing upon the people of the United States.

Eliminating extravagance and waste at home and abroad is our duty if we are to preserve our heritage of an incentive economy and the respect of those whom we seek to aid.

America Stands for Liberty

Respect for America and Americans is vital if we are to continue America as the leader in the building of a better world.

In recent decades in our relations with our neighbors in this hemisphere and with our friends in the Pacific we have repeatedly and conspicuously demonstrated that we desire domination of no other land or people.

The freedom we freely accorded to Cuba and the Philippines is the firm guarantee to all the modern world that America has no design ~~for domination of any other land.~~ *nor desire for control of other countries.*

The Communist propaganda as to the evil designs of America upon the liberty of other peoples is completely refuted by the record of the last 50 years.

This record is our most precious heritage in our relations with foreign nations and confirms our leadership in the path of peace.

No other great power can point with pride to a record of such disinterested idealism.

America voluntarily relinquished all claims for territorial gains of any character after we had emerged as victor in two world-wide wars.

Material and Spiritual Power

At Eniwetok on July 1, 1946, I witnessed the first explosion in time of peace of an atom bomb - the mightiest demonstration of material power the world had ever seen. The world shuddered in alarm as to whether America was flexing its muscles with the design of world-wide domination.

Three days later at Manila on July 4, 1946, I witnessed the greatest demonstration of spiritual power the world had seen in two thousand years when a great nation gave liberty to another people without the firing of a shot.

There was the assurance to all the people of the Orient and of the world that the only objective of America was to help mankind to realize the inherent desire of every people for liberty to work out their own destiny and to worship God in the way they thought was right. Let us recognize that Colonialism belongs to another day and age.

From that point let us move on. Let us raise a standard to which the wise and honest may repair. The event is in the hands of God.

Peace is possible in our day if America shall steer its course with complete freedom from passion and bitterness <sup>and</sup> with tolerance for those who differ, and yet with firmness in the right as it is given us each to see the right.

Let us lead America in the path of self-reliant independence and rally the still free people of the world in an invincible accord that will penetrate the Iron Curtain with the still small voice of truth.

Let there be no doubt about it—behind the Iron Curtain there are millions upon millions of human beings who share with us the desire to live their lives in peace upon the beautiful lands which God has given to them to cultivate.

Exactly as the embattled farmers at Lexington and Concord fired the shot heard around the world, so may America in the present day sound the clarion call that will unite the people of every land who love liberty and penetrate as surely as day follows night the dark recesses that shelter hundreds of millions of human beings under Communist domination who desire as devoutly as do we the liberty that is the cherished heritage of all the children of God.

## PEACE IS POSSIBLE IN OUR DAY

An address by Senator Owen Brewster of Maine at Monmouth, Maine, on Sunday evening, April 6, 1952, under the auspices of the United Church of Monmouth

### American Foreign Policy

Is peace possible in our day? That is the \$64,000,000,000 question that is being asked by thoughtful citizens everywhere.

Every mother is naturally and vitally concerned that her son shall not be sacrificed in some far land.

Every growing boy looks forward to a life of usefulness and service to his community and his country that shall enable him to follow in the footsteps of the generations that have built America and made it the productive marvel of all lands.

### Building America

Americans love to build. Americans love to leave their town and their country better than they received it from those who went before.

Under that impelling incentive each generation of Americans have built more stately mansions to shelter the good things of this life that America has been able to produce in increasing measure and to furnish also the temples of the spirit in which Americans may worship God.

### The Dark Ages

The Victorian charm of the last century seems to have been shattered with those recurring wars. Is it possible to call a halt? Are we condemned to carry on this strife until mankind descends once again into the dark ages?

Civilization seems to be approaching the edge of the abyss. A third world war almost inevitably would mean the development of totalitarian regimes that would spell the end of the American dream of liberty for mankind everywhere.

We may well look back in order to guide our feet in the obviously difficult days ahead.

A wise man has wisely said that good judgment is often the product of a good many bad judgments if only we profit by our experience.

## Experience Teaches

In 300 years America has had enough experience to assist us very greatly in meeting the challenge of this distraught world if we can learn the lessons aright.

Certain fundamental principles have guided us on this journey to the position of pre-eminence we now occupy.

Our nation had its birth in the sturdy determination of individuals who loved liberty and would not be denied.

Our colonial ancestors came over to this country to escape from the tyranny of Europe which denied them the right to live and worship God in the way which they thought right.

## Declaration of Independence

Later, in our Declaration of Independence we laid broad and deep the foundation upon which has been erected a great nation dedicated to the proposition that liberty is the inalienable right of all men.

This indissoluble union of ours was forged in the fires of a great civil strife.

Through all these centuries America has progressed to its present position of power and prestige by the loving and self-sacrificing labor of millions of men and women who placed service above self.

## America Grows Great

In the first half of this century America has moved with amazing speed from one of the lesser powers on earth to one of the greatest under the stimulus of the American genius for organization and invention that has made America the productive marvel of all the ages.

Yet we shall find that our progress through the centuries has been guided in substantial measure by consideration of the welfare of our fellowmen.

All the differences and divisions among the Colonists were controlled by the determination of their leaders to gain their independence and form an association in which the liberty of the individual to work out his own destiny

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should be the primary consideration. That was the controlling factor in the Declaration of Independence and in the formulation of the Constitution of the United States. That was the consideration that animated the men who stayed with Washington at Valley Forge.

Meanwhile, however, even a century ago, Americans were giving thought to the welfare of people of other lands.

#### Monroe Doctrine

President Monroe laid down the historic Doctrine bearing his name not only to preserve and protect the United States of America but also to assist our neighbors in the Americas to work out their own salvation.

The Western Hemisphere should no longer be a place of exploitation by either European or Asiatic powers.

The Monroe Doctrine served well the interests of the Americas as a whole and received the continuing firm support of every succeeding administration without regard to party.

#### Open Door Policy In China

At the dawn of this century a similar declaration of an "Open Door Policy" for China by John Hay recognized our concern with the peace of the Pacific and with the preservation of China from domination of by any foreign power.

Succeeding administrations, Republican and Democratic alike, implemented this policy. Elihu Root, Robert Lansing, Henry Stimson, and Cordell Hull, all recognized this fundamental tenet of our world relations and refused to recognize or permit the exploitation of China by any foreign power. This policy was founded in the sound concept that a free and independent China would mean peace for us in the Pacific and contribute very greatly to world stability.

#### Essentials of Foreign Policy

These two cornerstones of our foreign policy must be kept constantly in mind as we consider our responsibilities to our fellow Americans in this very troubled modern world. The essence of a successful foreign policy is that it shall be simple and easy to understand. It must be related to the capacity of



the country to implement. It must commend itself to Americans rather generally as calculated to serve our security and do justice to our ideas and our ideals. It must be formulated with great care taking into account all the varied interests of a great nation such as ours. Its effectiveness must depend upon the degree to which it commands rather general support in order that it may invite the respect and confidence of the people of other lands. This was conspicuously the case with the Monroe Doctrine and the "Open Door" in China.

These doctrines reflected the love of liberty that has always been characteristic of the American spirit and the political idealism that was the somewhat peculiar property of Americans although at the same time these policies reflected the sound common sense of America concerned with our own security in times when we were not too sure as to how long we ourselves might survive.

Peace and Security

All this is preliminary to our consideration of the conditions which we face in the present day and the problem of formulating policies that may result in a period of peace.

We are all too often apt to forget that many of us were born in a century that knew no worldwide war. The Pax Britannica prevailed for one hundred years from the downfall of Napoleon in 1815 to the challenge of British seapower by Kaiser Wilhelm in 1914.

During that century there were a variety of localized wars but no worldwide strife such as we have known twice now in recent years. This century of comparative peace was due in substantial measure to the dominance of British seapower. During that century civilization made more progress in a material sense than in the previous 1800 years.

Peace is not Partisan

Our generation has now participated in two worldwide wars at an enormous cost in casualties and in treasure and a third war in Korea that has cost us more casualties than most of the wars of our country and is exacting a tragic toll in a variety of ways.

As Republicans it is easy for us to put the blame for this condition of affairs upon the Democrats. The Democrats cannot deny that these three wars of our generation have all occurred under Democratic administrations.

Nor can they say that they were a heritage from Republican administrations since the First World War came after the Democrats had been in undisputed control of the government for five years. The Second World War came after the Democrats had been in undisputed and overwhelming control of the government for nine years. The Korean war came after seventeen years of Democratic incumbency of the presidency.

With such a record it is inconceivable that the Democratic Party can appeal to the nation as the peace party. Republicans can certainly say with complete assurance that while they may not have been able to do any better they certainly could not have done any worse.

Recriminations, however, serve no useful purpose except as we discuss the lessons of these tragic experiences.

#### Firmness in the Right

Woodrow Wilson won the election of 1916 on the slogan "I kept us out of war". German militarism cultivated confidence in ultimate conquest on President Wilson's declaration that "we were too proud to fight".

President Roosevelt in spite of his earlier advocacy of the League of Nations refused to press for participation in the League of Nations during the 30's when he was in unquestioned control of our foreign policies and scuttled the economic conference in London designed to stabilize the economies of the world.

As a candidate for a third term in 1940 with Europe in flames President Roosevelt proclaimed "again and again and again, I tell you your sons shall never fight in any foreign war" and at Boston in the concluding stages of the campaign he left off the qualifying phrase "unless we are attacked" as shown in his published addresses.

Finally President Truman and Secretary Acheson made it abundantly clear in

the months before the Communist attack in Korea that Korea was outside our sphere of interest. Our troops were withdrawn. We refused to re-arm the South Koreans except with police weapons "for fear the South Koreans might attack the North Koreans".

In each instance the words of our leaders furnished fuel to the aggressive influences that are always lurking in totalitarian regimes.

In each instance we were compelled to recognize too late that we should be compelled to fight.

Youth Pays the Price

In each instance our lack of adequate preparation, material, and spiritual, compelled a heavy sacrifice by our younger generation who were in no way at fault since they had little if any voice in the formulation of the policies which brought about the tragic crises.

These preliminaries to our involvement in war are pointed out not primarily to fix responsibility on individuals or parties, since the universal desire of all Americans is to avoid war, but only in order that we may profit by these lessons in order to keep America secure and establish a peace that shall endure.

There is growing confidence in the world that further world wide strife may be prevented.

In a 30,000 mile flight around the world, made at our own expense, during the vacation of the Congress between Thanksgiving and New Years, Mrs. Brewster and I visited some twenty countries conferring with our Ambassadors and military representatives abroad and the officials of many foreign countries.

Peace is Possible in Our Time

I came home more convinced than ever that peace is possible in our time. I found this conviction based upon two old maxims. The darkest hour precedes the dawn. Man's extremity is God's opportunity.

Everywhere we found the people in the countries bordering on the Iron Curtain so frightened by the menace of Soviet aggression that they were ready to forget ancient antagonisms and join with their former enemies to meet the menace of

atheistic, materialistic Communism.

The Orient

In the Orient, after years of almost constant strife, the new Japanese regime and the Chinese Nationalists are in conference in Formosa developing a program for mutual defense against Communist aggression.

The Middle East

In the Middle East the most outstanding and outspoken leader of the Arab World, Azzam Pasha, the Secretary-General of the Arab League, has publicly declared that the worst enemy of the Moslems is not the Christian, with whom they fought for centuries in the period of the Crusades, for control of the Holy Land, nor the Jew with whom they have been fighting in more recent years for the control of Israel, nor even the British with whom they have been long at odds, but is the Communist.

On this basis of the common concern over Communist aggression, it is now possible to accomplish accord of the Moslem, the Christian, and the Jew in the turbulent Middle East. That may well serve as a bulwark against Communist aggression and mobilize the manpower and the indispensable oil resources of these lands to bulwark the liberty of the free world.

Europe

In Europe, meanwhile, the French and the Germans are nearer to an accord than they have been in two thousand years since Julius Caesar led his Roman legions across the Rhine in 55 B.C. at the very spot where our own sons crossed the Rhine to drive back the invaders in A.D. 1945.

The French and Germans have already agreed upon the Schuman Plan for mobilizing the steel resources of Central Europe and that is the very foundation of success in modern war. Accord has similarly been reached upon the creation of a European Army with only some arguments remaining as to who shall pick up the check. Finally the countries of western Europe have even agreed to proceed with the discussion of political federation.

All these developments furnish a firm foundation for the confidence that