FOREIGN POLICY PROGRAM

PREAMBLE

I. The United States today is the strongest nation in a world shattered by war. It cannot withdraw from foreign affairs; rather it is being compelled to assume an increasingly active role abroad. Our national security and happiness depend upon the establishment of a peaceful and democratic world, a goal which is possible only if we assume responsibilities proportionate to our power.

II. We must exercise our power, so far as possible, through the United Nations. The General Assembly and its economic and social organizations, if fully developed with our aid, offer unprecedented possibilities of international cooperation for economic well-being. They also offer safeguards against the unilateral use of economic power for imperialist ends and against actions by a minority of the nations to obstruct the will of the majority.

III. It should be our policy, operating as a good neighbor through the United Nations, to support and encourage nations and groups devoted to democratic ideals -- freedom of thought and worship and the rights of the individual under law -- to let the world know they have our support, and to provide material aid for the creation and expansion of economic and social conditions favorable to the growth of such ideals. Only in this way can we present other countries with an alternative to totalitarianism of either the right or the left.

We believe that the essential issue is not between capitalism and socialism, but between those who believe in the inalienable rights of the individual and those who do not. In our dealings with foreign nations, therefore, we must not
insist that capitalism as we know it is a prerequisite of democracy, nor equate
democratic socialism with dictatorship.

IV. A positive policy in support of democratic ideals requires far more of our
energies, our thought and our resources than we have hitherto deemed necessary.
We must, through the United Nations, wage peace with the same determination and
the same conscious use of our economic power as we once waged war. We must com-
bat totalitarianism by striking boldly at the conditions of hunger, want, and
insecurity which breed desperate political solutions. If we are to avoid war,
we must employ our economic abundance to the full to restore world stability.
We must oppose imperialist tendencies within our own country which lead us to
policies of the nature we condemn in others.

- A -

1. U.S.S.R. We firmly believe in the need for and in the possibility of a
working understanding with the U.S.S.R. We do not believe that such an under-
standing can be achieved either by indiscriminate resistance to every Soviet
proposal, or by continuous surrender to Soviet political and territorial pres-
sures. Experience has shown that appeasement does not aid the moderates in the
country appeased, but strengthens those who insist on further aggressions. We
therefore favor a policy of patience and firmness, based on an understanding of
the legitimate needs of the Soviet Union, and on a resolute determination to
sacrifice no interest vital to the growth of democracy or the development of
the United Nations.

2. Great Britain. We favor all possible political support and increased econ-
omic aid to the Labor government in its efforts to solve Britain's acute internal
difficulties and to find democratic solutions to its colonial problems. We
believe that the British experiment in reconciling political liberty with econ-
omic planning is of the highest significance, and that the future of democracy
in Europe depends, in no small measure, on its success.

3. Germany and Japan. We urge that peace treaties covering Germany and Japan be signed as swiftly as possible. We favor the eradication of Fascist and war-making forces in those countries directly and through a long-term program of re-education. We support a reparations program to help fill the needs of the countries devastated by Nazi and Japanese aggression, but we believe that the ex-enemy countries must be able to support their own populations at a reasonable standard of living, and contribute, through trade, to the economic stability of the nations which surround them. We favor vigorous and concrete support of the democratic forces within the ex-enemy countries, looking toward the eventual reconstruction of their political life on a democratic basis. To carry out these ends we see no alternative to the maintenance in these countries of security forces over a long period of time.

4. China. We fully back the Marshall report on China. We do not believe that unqualified support either for the Kuomintang or for the Communists will solve the Chinese dilemma. We affirm the necessity for the abolition of the one-party system in every part of China. We therefore favor the continuation of U.S. efforts to build up a middle group of democratic elements drawn from both camps and from other groups. We also favor an international agreement stabilizing the political and economic situation so that democratic habits and traditions may have a chance to develop in an increasingly industrialized society.

5. Eastern Europe. While we recognize the special security interests of the U.S.S.R. in portions of Eastern Europe, we favor continued U.S. concern for economic welfare and political freedom in this area, in accordance with the Yalta and Moscow agreements, and the purposes of the United Nations. The police state is as repugnant to us in Yugoslavia as it is in Spain.
6. **Palestine and the Near East.** We are for the establishment in Palestine of a homeland for the Jewish people, and for the immediate admission of the homeless Jews of Europe. We believe that the United States should accept such responsibilities for the establishment of the homeland and the settlement of the Jewish population as the United Nations may require, or as may otherwise be necessary.

We firmly believe that a fundamental cause of friction in the Near East is the low standard of life prevailing there. Accordingly, we strongly favor economic aid for the industrial development of Palestine and the other nations of the Near East, and particularly for such projects as the Jordan Valley authority.

7. **Spain.** We condemn the Fascist regime in Spain. We are for political and economic support to the exile government and to the democratic forces of Spain in their efforts to put an end to dictatorship.

8. **Greece.** We believe that the problems of Greece should be the responsibility of the United Nations. We believe that the United States should promptly advise the United Nations of its program for Greece, and should undertake to operate within the framework of the United Nations as soon as the United Nations acts to assume responsibility. Pending action by the United Nations, we believe that the United States must assume responsibility for achieving conditions in Greece under which free institutions may grow. We therefore favor immediate aid to Greece.

We believe that this aid can and should be made the instrument for carrying out Secretary Marshall's recommendations, in his recent note, for further broadening of the government to include all loyal parties, amnesty for political prisoners, disarming of illegal bands, tax and financial reforms, the
modernization of the civil service, and the even-handed administration of justice. We believe that, under supervision, the aid provided can further a democratically controlled economic system in Greece. Military aid must be so supervised as to prevent military interference with the liberties of the people, and diversion of national strength to armaments.

9. Latin America. We are for the strengthening of the Good Neighbor policy by providing economic aid to increase industrialization and to raise standards of living. We believe that the improvement of mass living standards under U.S. leadership will provide the only lasting answer to Peronism and to Communism in Latin America. We believe that the U.S. should act in concert with other American nations and not unilaterally with respect to the internal affairs of any Latin American state.

- B -

1. Atomic Energy and Disarmament. We favor the U.S. proposals for the international development and control of atomic energy. We believe this plan offers the solution of this crucial international problem, and that its provisions for inspection and United Nations action against violations are essential. We favor the multilateral reduction of all types of armament by all nations, as essential to economic recovery and world prosperity, but we realize that the feasibility of armament reduction depends in large measure upon the abatement of current political tensions through the completion of the peace settlement, the improvement of economic conditions, and the strengthening of the United Nations.

2. Economic Aid to Foreign Nations. The vast material resources of the United States must be utilized to establish economic conditions in which democratic forces can live and grow and to demonstrate to the nations of the world that...
there is a dynamic alternative to totalitarianism of the right and of the left.

In furtherance of this objective we favor providing relief supplies without repayment to meet the needs of countries whose foreign exchange resources are otherwise inadequate to prevent hunger and economic chaos. We also favor the large scale loans for reconstruction and rehabilitation abroad in furtherance of democratic objectives, through national and international lending agencies; and the furtherance through such loans of international trade and the abolition of nationalistic barriers. We regard our national loan program as inadequate, and the delays in the operation of the World Bank and Fund as calamitous.

3. Colonialism and Trusteeship. We believe that countries throwing off the bonds of colonialism should be assisted in their entrance on national responsibility. Where the peoples of colonial areas are not afforded economic opportunity and free institutions, we favor international trusteeship with the aim of eventual self-government as provided under the Charter of the United Nations.

4. International Trade. We regard the continuation and extension of the Reciprocal Trade Agreements Act as vital to our foreign policy. We support the International Trade Organization as a necessary measure for the removal of trade barriers and the expansion of world trade, and favor the creation, subject to the United Nations, of such regional international economic organs as are required to revive war-shattered economies and integrate them on a planned basis. We fully support the purposes of the International Bank and the International Monetary Fund. We favor the development of the Food and Agricultural Organization into an authority capable of carrying out a permanent world food plan which will eliminate famine and provide a steady demand for farm products.

5. Freedom of Information. We are for the free exchange of information among the peoples of the world; we oppose government censorship. We favor the right
to freedom of movement and reporting in all countries. We support the State Department cultural relations and information programs.

6. Displaced Persons. We favor the development of an effective International Refugee Organization. We believe that the United States should admit a large share of the displaced persons and victims of totalitarian brutality to resettlement in this country. We support the U.S. position that the repatriation of displaced persons shall be voluntary.

7. World Government. While we do not believe that constitutional forms alone can resolve complex economic and political tensions, we endorse the ultimate objectives of world government and believe that this can best be accomplished through the strengthening of the United Nations.