

**A Proposal for . . .**

# **A Total Peace Offensive**

To

**Stop Communist Aggression by Taking  
the Initiative in the World Contest for  
Men's Minds, Hearts and Loyalties**

By

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**We need a positive program of economic and social  
action to eliminate poverty, human insecurity and in-  
justice which are the sources of Communist power.**

**We can win with a combination of adequate military  
defense plus a positive peace offensive.**





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**Foreword**

In view of the character of world Communism and the impossibility of predicting the next power move of the Politburo, no one can be certain that war is or is not inevitable. What we can be certain of is that America, the strongest nation among the free peoples of the world, has a moral obligation and duty to ourselves and to the world to make an all-out effort to avoid war and to build a just and lasting peace.

This proposal is suggested in the sincere belief that our best prospect of avoiding war and winning the peace lies in our pursuit of a plan of action that combines a fully adequate military defense with a positive peace offensive. The proposal set forth herein is an effort to outline the essentials and scope of such a peace offensive.

**We cannot give up hope for peace. To do so would weaken the moral fiber of our people and our allies, drying up the well-springs of hope and aspiration which are the source of the spiritual strength of a free people. To give up hope for peace makes war inevitable.**

**We must not lose faith in the cause of peace. We must not lose faith in ourselves.**

**We must believe in peace. We must be prepared to work and fight for peace.**

There are no pat answers to the problem of our complex and explosive world situation. There is no one simple action to stop the threat of communist aggression and to establish lasting world peace.

America rejects the theory of preventive war as the answer to Soviet aggression. We could not live with ourselves nor stand before the world as a defender of human freedom and of the worth and dignity of the individual if we accepted the moral responsibility for launching a war of aggression.

We must work at the task before us on every sector of the world problem—on the military front—the political front—and the economic and social front. This proposal is an effort to underscore the importance and the compelling need for bold positive action on the economic and social front.

**The Marshall Plan and the work of ECA were an important beginning on this front, but a broader, more comprehensive, long range program of economic and social action must be launched as a total peace offensive.**



gible and comprehensive plan of action to achieve economic and social justice which will win for the cause of freedom the loyalties of hundreds of millions of people whose poverty and misery are now exploited by the communists.

**Even at this late hour and perhaps because of the very lateness of the hour, such a program will mobilize a positive spiritual and material force in the world greater than the negative power of the H-Bomb. It will release the pent up powers stored in every man's hidden reservoir of hopes and aspirations everywhere in the world. It will provide hope against despair and promote revolt against rule by terror.**

Only the United States has the material resources for the bold, constructive action needed to banish the fear that holds the world paralyzed on dead center, hypnotized by negative values based on men's fears and hatreds.

The compelling necessity for quick, positive, daring action is more than a matter of high purpose; it is a matter of democratic survival. If we fail now to launch a bold, tangible, practical program for peace, we will surrender the world to the apostles of fear, hatred and hysteria. The negative values in which they trade will contribute further to world panic and will make war inevitable.

#### **MORE THAN MILITARY VICTORY IN KOREA IS NEEDED**

The Korean situation is not an isolated development. It is part of total communist strategy. The dictators in the Kremlin will repeat the technique employed in Korea with varied patterns of infiltration, subversion and aggression whenever and wherever they find a soft spot. We may push the communist aggressors back in Korea only to find a repeat performance in Indo-China, Burma, Iran, Turkey, Berlin or in any one of a dozen other spots.

This pattern of aggression is now clear. The prompt and decisive action of President Truman and the United Nations has united and inspired the free peoples of the world with new hope and determination. And the Politburo was no doubt startled to find that the free world has at last profited by the tragic lessons of the appeasement at Munich.

The experts generally agree that the rulers of the Soviet Union are not yet ready for total war and that therefore the Korean situation will remain limited in scope. American forces, supported by forces of other nations acting through the United Nations, will be successful in pushing back the communists and in re-establishing the political status quo in Korea based on the 38th parallel. While this task must be pursued with the full strength and united determination of free peoples acting through the United Nations, we must not delude ourselves into believing that, having achieved this military objective, we have brought

about any fundamental change in the basic circumstances out of which the Korean aggression developed.

The communists have perfected the technique of exploiting poverty and human insecurity and are forging human misery into a political weapon of aggression. They did this in Greece and in Italy. They have done it in China, in Korea. They are doing it in Southeast Asia, in South Africa and in Latin America. In terms of the cold war invented and launched by the Politburo, this political and propaganda weapon, now in use around the globe, can be as devastating as a stock pile of H-Bombs.

#### **800 MILLION PEOPLE NOW UNDER COMMUNIST DOMINATION**

Since 1945 the number of people under Soviet domination has increased from 180 million to 800 million. This vast reservoir of humanity is being tapped for slave labor and military manpower to meet the requirements of communist aggression. The engineers of Soviet aggression have shown that they can recruit by propaganda and pressure vast numbers of satellite troops, thereby holding in reserve the entire Russian army, navy and airforce. They need commit little more than equipment and military advisors while we must throw our own men into battle. This means that our manpower and the manpower of the few nations that can supply troops for the United Nations' armies may be bled white whenever and wherever the Kremlin decides to launch a new aggression.

This danger was recognized by Walter Lippmann when he recently stated:

*" . . . unless our present position in the Asiatic Far East can be held in large measure by the will and the native force of Asiatic peoples, even larger bodies of American troops will become frozen there. Then the advantages of holding these positions will—in view of our global interests—have to be weighed against the heavy liabilities."*

Only by a combination of fully adequate military measures and prompt bold action to wipe out human misery and desperation can we be successful in winning the loyalty and support of hundreds of millions of people and strip the Kremlin of its power to exploit them and sacrifice them in battles of aggression. Only by such a combination can we mobilize the will and the force of peoples to defeat the Politburo's plan for world conquest.

#### **FREEDOM'S FIGHT FOR ASIA MUST BE WON IN THE RICE FIELDS**

The cold war is essentially a struggle for men's minds and hearts and their loyalties. The propaganda of the communists is based on deceit, distortion and outright falsehood. We must meet the challenge of communism, not by pious slogans about



democracy's virtues, but by a positive program of social action that can and does win a fuller measure of economic and social justice for people everywhere.

**The current Korean situation is a by-product of our failure in China. Communism did not succeed in China; we failed in China. Our failure in China was typical of the general failure of the West to understand or pay heed to the social dynamics and ferment that stir the exploited and oppressed Asiatic peoples. Western powers too often have attempted to sit on the lid and at best to treat the people of these countries as children, entitled only to second-class economic and political citizenship. Even the most enlightened type of colonial policy will not satisfy people who aspire to full independence.**

We made the tragic mistake of believing that freedom's fight in China could be won on the battlefields alone, when all the time we should have known that basically freedom's fight had to be won in the rice fields. When hundreds of millions of people are hungry, when they are struggling to get the bare necessities to keep body and soul together while their officials are living in luxury, we cannot fill their empty bellies with pious slogans about the virtues of democracy. The communists have not conquered China; they have merely moved in to fill the vacuum created by our failure.

The loss of China and the resulting developments in Korea should make us understand the method in the madness of the men who sit in the Kremlin and plan to rule the world. They are carrying out a planned program of provocation designed to throw the United States and our allies off guard and off balance. First, Greece, then Berlin, then Indo-China, and now Korea. On the Kremlin's world-wide checkerboard, there are still many more power moves to be attempted.

#### **THE POLITBURO STRATEGY IS TO PROMOTE PANIC**

The Politburo strategy is to create a series of crises, each serious in its proportion and potential, in order to condition and influence American policy in the direction of relying more and more on military power as the sole means of meeting the power of communism. The Kremlin dictators seek to divert us entirely from the pursuit of a positive program of social action which is the key—the only key—to winning the loyalty and support of the hundreds of millions of people who are living in a state of dire poverty and who are being denied the smallest element of economic security and human dignity. The unceasing fury of the communist attack upon the Marshall Plan is proof of the power of positive programs which help people help themselves to win a better life.

**The communists can and in many areas are now out-maneuvering us. They provoke and force us into greater military expenditures while, posing as the liberators of enslaved people fight-**

**ing for bread, peace and freedom, they circulate throughout the world their dishonest petitions for peace.**

The success of the Kremlin strategy in throwing us off balance is sharply illustrated in the United States Senate. In the face of the Korean situation, while the Senate voted unanimously for the necessary \$2 billion increase in military funds, it cut ECA funds by \$250 million. The Senate Appropriations Committee then cut President Truman's recommendation for \$45 million for Point Four aid to \$10 million. A day or so later, Governor Dewey proposed that the United States go on a "hardship economy," not for the purpose of stepping up both military strength and constructive aid to other nations, but solely for the purpose of increasing military strength. Ex-President Hoover followed through by stating that all we need to do about communism is to oppose military aggression "and trust to time for this evil to abate."

Such proposals to place sole reliance upon military strength in the world struggle against Soviet aggression would commit us to a policy of sending more and more American troops to fight throughout the world against more and more troops recruited from the increasing millions of people who would fall under expanding Soviet domination. Under such a policy of sole reliance on military power, there would have been no Marshall Plan and the Communists would now dominate Western Europe.

#### **POVERTY AND HUMAN INSECURITY— THE SOURCE OF COMMUNIST POWER**

We shall not make effective lasting progress against the communists, we shall not win the millions of democratic allies needed to convert the negative defense against the Kremlin into a positive building of the peace until we understand and do something practical about the basic unsolved economic and social problems that are the source of communist power. Until we understand why deeply religious peasants attend mass in the morning and communist rallies in the afternoon, we have not grasped the fundamentals of communist power.

It is not a historic accident that in the countries of Europe, such as the Scandinavian nations, England and Switzerland, where there is an acceptance of social responsibilities with strong free democratic labor unions and where the average person enjoys a measure of economic security and human dignity, the communists are without any appreciable strength or influence.

#### **THE PROPAGANDA OF THE DEED WILL WIN FOR DEMOCRACY**

It is not enough merely to make the Voice of America louder and stronger so that democratic slogans may be carried to more people. Slogans and phrases ring hollowly in the ears of hungry men without concrete action to give the words mean-



ing. Without the proof of performance, they are ignored, rejected and, if shouted too often and too loudly, are resented and become ammunition for the enemy.

We cannot win in a battle of words. There is no ceiling on promises except men's respect for the truth. The agents of the Kremlin, therefore, find it easy to out-promise us. They have in many countries a wealth of real grievances to denounce; in too many instances they have the mistakes and failures of anti-communist nations to exploit.

**But communism cannot compete in performance. The Voice of America will be able to rekindle hope for peace and belief in freedom and justice in the hearts of men when it can answer totalitarian promises with democratic performance.**

Our propaganda must be the propaganda of the deed. We must prove in action that bread and freedom can live together in the same house.

**We must launch a total peace offensive.**

## **A Proposal for a Total Peace Offensive**

It is proposed that along with the building of adequate military defense we further strengthen our position in the world by launching total war against poverty and human insecurity, thereby striking at the heart of communist power and influence.

We can seize the initiative for peace by putting into effect a greatly expanded foreign aid program geared to the economic and social needs of people throughout the world while promoting a practical program of economic and social justice at home. This direct attempt to destroy the sources of communist power will have to be supported by an adequate system of defense based on joint planning and pooling of strength with our democratic allies.

It is proposed in effect that we take the price tag off peace. It is proposed that we agree to win peace with freedom and justice with whatever it takes to win it. It is proposed that we mobilize our people morally, spiritually, economically and politically in a total effort for peace.

### **A 9-POINT PROGRAM FOR BUILDING LASTING PEACE**

It is proposed that the American people, through their government, express concretely their devotion to peace, justice and humanity by making a fixed commitment to the peoples of the world as follows:

- 1.** For the next hundred years (1950-2050) the people of the United States through their government pledge themselves to make available through the United Nations an an-

nual sum of \$13 billion. (This, over the hundred-year period, will equal the final money cost—\$1,300,000,000,000—of the last war to the American people.)

Other nations will be asked to make similar investments in peace according to their ability, but the United States investment will not be conditional upon payments by other nations.

- 2.** The annual sum of \$13 billion made available by the people of the United States through their government shall be deposited in a special United Nations Fund for Economic and Social Construction. This fund shall be used solely to help people in other nations to help themselves by developing and expanding the economic resources and facilities of the participating nations and for other purposes that will contribute to improvement of living standards, including nutrition, housing, health and education of their people. An annual report will be made to the people of the world listing expenditures and specific results achieved.

- 3.** The annual sum of \$13 billion shall be made available to the peoples of all nations including the Soviet Union and its satellite nations on equal terms, subject to the conditions set forth below, and shall be allocated among the participating peoples according to a formula based on objective measures of their respective economic and social needs.

- 4.** This proposal, upon adoption by the Congress of the United States, shall be submitted to the peoples of the world by the President of the United States through the United Nations.

- 5.** Upon acceptance of this proposal by a majority of its member nations, the United Nations shall convene an international conference for the purposes of achieving total disarmament, establishing universal inspection and other appropriate security controls and creating an international police force. The refusal of one or more nations to cooperate in disarmament shall not affect the commitment of the people of the United States who shall nevertheless through their government make the \$13 billion annual payment into the United Nations Fund for Economic and Social Construction. Aid from the Fund shall, in that case, be made available to those remaining nations which agree



to cooperate in a program of mutual defense until such time as a disarmament program is universally accepted. Such mutual defense program shall be developed by the United Nations; and all participating nations shall agree not to employ their armed forces outside their boundaries except at the direction of the United Nations.

6. After acceptance of this proposal in principle by all or a majority of its member nations, the United Nations shall convene a Peoples' World Assembly for Peace to discuss the proposal in detail and to make recommendations to the United Nations concerning its implementation.

Each member nation of the United Nations shall be entitled to be represented in the Peoples' World Assembly for Peace by eighteen delegates in all, composed of two each from the organization or organizations most representative of the following groups in its population: dirt farmers, industrial workers, housewives, youth, veterans, educators, scientists, professional persons, business men, and religious leaders.

The Peoples' World Assembly for Peace shall present its recommendations to the Secretary-General of the United Nations who shall forward them to the governments of all member nations for official action by the UN Assembly. The Peoples' World Assembly for Peace shall be reconvened annually to hear reports on expenditures, projects and achievement and to discuss and make recommendations concerning future operation and projects of the peace program.

7. The United Nations shall be requested to expand its existing agencies and to create such new agencies as may be needed to administer the world-wide program of economic and social construction made possible and financed by the funds made available by the people of the United States through their government and by other peoples through their governments.

8. The United Nations shall create a special agency which shall be authorized to employ scientists and technicians to develop programs and techniques for the development and application of atomic power and energy for peacetime use within the limits permitted by security measures made necessary by the refusal of one or more nations to agree

to universal disarmament and inspection. Such atomic project shall be financed out of the United Nations Fund for Economic and Social Construction and the services of this agency shall be made available to assist the peoples of all participating nations to build a richer life for themselves and the world community.

9. The United Nations and its member nations who accept and pledge cooperation in carrying forward this peace proposal shall take effective steps to expand and strengthen the means of mass communication and to use them to familiarize the peoples of all nations with the commitment of the peoples of the United States and of other nations and with the provisions, possibilities and concrete economic and social achievements of this peace proposal.

## **A Positive Program Will Win The Loyalty of Peoples**

The facts of performance can penetrate the Iron Curtain. People now in the free nations who came originally from any nation rejecting this proposal should be asked to make direct appeals to the peoples of those nations. Such appeals, based on personal knowledge and experience, are more effective than professionally written statements as was proved in the letter-writing that preceded the Italian elections in the Spring of 1948. They, plus United States action on the Marshall Plan, did much to defeat the communist drive for power in Italy.

We must develop the techniques to penetrate the Iron Curtain so that people in any country which might reject this peace proposal will realize the magnitude of their losses because of inability to share in the United Nations Fund for Economic and Social Construction and because of being forced to continue to bear the crushing burden and anxieties of armament for aggression.

The cost of armaments must be spelled out in bread and butter terms. The Russian people must be made aware, for example, that in 1947 their expenditures on national defense came to 56.7 billion rubles, an amount equivalent to 51 percent of the 130 billion ruble total value of their entire industrial output. They must be helped to realize what their own industries could provide in shoes for their feet, in shirts, dresses and coats for their backs, in chairs and tables for their homes, in scarce drugs for their sick children, in all the necessities and comforts that they now lack, if only their government could be gotten to agree to join with others in universal disarmament and inspection.



## **SPELL IT OUT TO THE VICTIMS OF COMMUNIST DOMINATION**

The victims of communist domination must be told how much more they could have in food, in clothing, in improved shelter, in comfort and convenience, in machinery to lighten their toil and to enable them to produce more with less effort if their governments would permit them to share in the \$13 billion a year that the people of the United States are putting up on behalf of peace in the world and a better tomorrow for all peoples.

Day by day, the Voice of America must be enabled to reach the farthest corners of the vast totalitarian prison behind the iron curtain with reports of factories built in other countries to produce the things that make life richer; of stoves, radios, refrigerators, washing machines and automobiles made available to new millions; of lands cleared of malarial mosquitos; of new dams preventing floods, irrigating arid lands and producing vast supplies of energy; of crop yields rising; of empty bellies filled and of deficiency diseases banished; of infant mortality declining and literacy rising; of thousands of new homes, hospitals and schools; of labor eased, hours of toil shortened and real wages and living standards rising everywhere on the face of the earth where governments have responded to their peoples' yearnings for peace and plenty in place of war and weapons and the costs of war.

We must create the realities, the factual conditions that will make such reports possible. With the people in communist dominated satellite countries fully conscious of the cost in bread and butter terms of the refusal by their governments to join with other nations on the basis of this peace proposal, the internal pressures would be such that no police state could for long continue to defy the will of the people by refusing to participate in the program for universal disarmament and peace.

Faced with the loss of their satellite nations, and the weakening of their ability to further exploit poverty and misery as political weapons for the expansion of their sphere of domination, the Commissars in the Kremlin may recognize that they cannot conquer and enslave the world.

The strategists of the Politburo are schooled in the politics of power. They respect only superior power. If they are forced to recognize that they can neither win nor hold the loyalty of other peoples throughout the world, they may yield to the facts of superior strength possessed by aroused and united peoples. Thus the world may be saved from the catastrophe of total war. But even if worst comes to worst and the power-drunk men in the Kremlin decide to stake all on victory in total war, we shall have taken millions of potential allies away from them; we shall have won these people to our side by having made a supreme effort to avoid war by the launching of a positive peace offensive.

Whichever decision the men in the Kremlin make, we must

intensify the fight against Soviet enslavement in the field of economic and social action where the weight of our advanced technology and developed productive resources gives us an overwhelming margin of superiority in power which the communists cannot ignore.

We must do more than fight defensively in the Kremlin's cold war, and do more to win the peace our way, the way of ECA and Point 4, with the fire power of our peace offensive stepped up at least four times its present intensity.

## **POLITBURO STEALS WEALTH AND CONSCRIPTS MANPOWER**

A total peace offensive will expose, by contrast, in all its cynical and coldly calculated brutality, the Kremlin's exploitation and enslavement of the people under its control. Once it has established domination and installed its rule by force and terror, the Politburo systematically drains wealth out of the nations governed by its puppet dictators. In Eastern Germany and throughout its sphere in Eastern Europe it has already dragged living standards down toward the appallingly low levels of the Russian people.

The manpower and the wealth of Soviet satellite nations are conscripted to feed the insatiable communist war machine. Millions of Poles, Germans, Czechs and other Eastern Europeans now serve as slave labor. To these are to be added uncounted millions of the peoples of China and Asia drawn into the Soviet war machine as slave laborers and as expendable front-line troops.

## **WINNING PARTNERS IN PEACE AND ALLIES IF TOTAL WAR COMES**

Instead of taking, we propose to give.

Instead of reducing the living standards of other people, we propose to help them raise their living standards.

Instead of confiscating their crops, we propose to help them modernize their agriculture for the production of more food.

Instead of drafting men and women for forced labor in the service of the Soviet war machine, we propose to free them and assist them in the building of a richer life.

Instead of draining their countries of mineral wealth and other natural resources, we propose to help them develop and use these resources for the fulfillment of their own needs.

Instead of driving their bodies in speeded up production for the Soviet war machine, we propose to assist them in achieving decent wages, hours, working conditions and the right of collective bargaining, and obtaining medicine, hospitals and schools for them and their families.



This is an offer understandable in any language because it talks in terms of tools, jobs, food, housing, health, education, security and freedom.

It is on this front that we can achieve our greatest success in winning the loyalty of millions of people as partners in the positive job of building the peace or, in the event of war, as fighting allies in the defense of freedom.

### **BLESSINGS OF PEACE AND DISARMAMENT AT HOME**

The achievement of universal disarmament would bring the blessings of lasting peace to America in terms of intangible human values on which no price can be set. In addition, it would make it possible for the American people to make substantial social progress in the form of higher living standards, greater security, increased social services and a fuller and richer life in educational and cultural values.

The heavy financial burden of war is reflected in the current Federal budget of over \$40 billion of which approximately 75 percent is earmarked to meet the cost of past and possible future wars.

We are currently spending approximately \$15 billion annually out of the Federal budget for military purposes and this will no doubt be sharply increased if the world situation continues to deteriorate.

The achievement of universal disarmament would permit America to divert the billions of dollars now being spent for military requirements and national security to the task of meeting the unlimited peacetime needs of our people.

## **We Must Practice at Home What We Preach Abroad**

Nowhere is the gap between our promises and our performance as great as in the field of civil rights. Among peoples in underdeveloped countries, greatest doubt about our high moral statements on democracy, freedom and the worth of the individual is caused by our continued practice of a double standard of citizenship here at home. The United States cannot provide unassailable moral leadership in the world in this time of crisis and panic until we end that double standard.

The serious gap between what American democracy preaches and what it practices in the field of civil rights has provided and daily continues to provide the communists with one of their most effective weapons in winning ground among the Asiatic and other peoples.

The daily propaganda broadcast beamed out of Moscow and released in other centers, of Communist propaganda and agitation, exploits to the fullest the ugly facts of racial discrimination and violation of civil rights practiced in America and tolerated even in the Capital of our nation.

Enactment of the President's civil rights program is more than a matter of justice and decency. In the world struggle for survival it is a MUST on democracy's agenda of unfinished business if we are to provide moral leadership along with material aid and guidance in the building of the peace.

## **The Work To Be Done**

There is no lack of work to be done in the world with the \$13 billion a year which it is proposed that we invest through the United Nations in the co-operative job of building peace for people.

In fact, to attain within the measurable future a standard of living approximating the level now to be found in the more highly developed nations, substantial supplementation of our investment in peace will be required.

### **SOME INDICATIONS OF THE NEED**

The needs are shocking. They explain the hatred of colonialism and its postwar variations. They explain the initial success of communist promises, infiltration and aggression. Hundreds of millions of human beings have literally nothing to lose but hunger, disease and the prospect of early death. Even the threat of forced labor and rule by terror will not always outweigh communist promises of food, shelter and clothing.

For example, of the one and a quarter billion population of Asia, 875 million, or 70 percent, depend for their livelihood upon agriculture.

**For every member of its population living on the land, Asia produces little more than one twelfth as much as North and Central America.**

As against our infant mortality rate of 31 per thousand live births, Ceylon has 101, Korea has 116, Formosa has 125, India has 151, Burma has 204.

As against our life expectancy of 65 years for white men, life expectancy for Chinese men is 41; for Siamese, 37; for the men of India, 27.

As against our illiteracy rate of 2.7 percent, Ceylon has 42 percent; Korea, 69 percent; Turkey, 79 percent; India, 91 percent.



## **MODERNIZED AGRICULTURE IN ASIA CAN RELEASE MILLIONS OF WORKERS**

The living standards of the Asiatic peoples can be materially raised by producing more food per man, thus freeing tens of millions to work in industries. But bellies must be filled first, and, where men on the land can grow barely enough to feed themselves and their families, workers cannot be spared from the land to produce necessities and comforts beyond the primary necessity of food to keep body and soul together.

Even when billions are actually invested in Asia for river development, for fertilizers, for agricultural machinery and implements and insecticides, the job will be only begun. If we help Asia, with technical advice and equipment, to restore its eroded land and to use dams and related projects to prevent floods, to irrigate arid land, to produce fertilizers and to generate power for its farms, transportation facilities and industries, the major job will still remain. Only the first stage of the greatest pioneering job of the Twentieth Century will have been completed.

Of the 700 million persons who would be displaced from the land in such a change over a period of years, possibly 150-200 million would be workers, after allowance is made for women needed in the home, for children and for other non-working dependents. Here is a labor force as large as the total population of the United States. Its energies could be employed in the filling of human needs and wants beyond the basic need for food.

If we assume, as does the Food and Agricultural Organization of the United Nations, that it requires \$1,000 investment per worker to provide capital facilities (a place to work and tools to work with) for each worker added to the industrial labor force in underdeveloped countries, there is an investment need for industrial purposes in Asia alone of \$150-200 billion, on top of other billions to improve agricultural efficiency and increase food production.

### **PEOPLES MUST BE HELPED TO DO VAST JOB THEMSELVES**

If it were intended to do a job of this magnitude on a world-wide scale with nothing more than \$13 billion a year, generations would elapse before all peoples would be brought to a parity with our own standards which would continue to rise in the meantime.

**It is not proposed that we underwrite the entire job ourselves. This is not a proposal for an unending international relief program but a program to help other peoples help themselves.**

Our job is to provide the hope and the material impetus. Men who live by plowing exhausted land with sticks to make it yield a few grains of rice are too occupied with the business of keeping alive from day to day—and too poor—to hope, plan and invest for a better tomorrow.

We have the opportunity and the resources to provide the hope and the seed capital for investment and the know-how for production. As the first investments, provided by us through the United Nations, begin to bear fruit, hope will come to life. Out of the proceeds of the first investment, it will be possible both to increase living standards immediately and to conserve part for further investment for still higher living standards tomorrow. Each new investment from savings at home and from the United Nations fund financed by the people of the United States and perhaps other nations will yield a larger surplus above bare necessities out of which savings can be made for still further investment in expanded production facilities.

## **Can We Afford the Cost of This Investment in Peace?**

The United States can afford the cost of peace. We must stand up and demonstrate that we have the courage to remove the price tag from our efforts to lead the world to honorable and lasting peace. Whatever such a peace may cost it is infinitely less than the cost of war.

We can afford the cost of the total peace offensive outlined herein, including adequate armed defense, short of total war, \$13 billion annually in foreign aid, and social progress at home. If worst come to worst and circumstances compel us to fight total war, the American people will be willing to make whatever sacrifices will be needed to put our total resources and maximum effort into winning that war. However, by waging an all-out peace offensive we shall have the best prospect of avoiding the infinitely greater costs and sacrifices of total war.

World War II lasted 44 months and according to ECA Administrator Paul Hoffman its total final cost to the American people will be 1 trillion, 300 billion dollars (\$1,300,000,000,000).

**It cost 29½ billion dollars per month.**

**It cost 985 million dollars per day.**

**It cost 41 million dollars per hour.**

The above figures make no allowance for the incalculably greater cost of war in human lives and human values.

### **HOW BIG IS \$13 BILLION?**

The sum of \$13 billion a year seems big standing by itself. But it is insignificant when measured against our alternatives and our capacities.

**\$13 billion is 1/100th of the cost of World War II.**

**\$13 billion is less than 5 percent of our current yearly output. Within 5 years it will be less than 4 percent.**



\$13 billion is less than the increase that we can normally expect in a two-year period in the total output of the American economy.

### **FULL EMPLOYMENT WILL MEET THE COST OF BUILDING LASTING PEACE**

The last depression cost the American people \$500 billion in lost production. This is nearly double the value of our gross national product in 1948, the highest in history.

At present there are about 3½ million unemployed persons in the United States able to work and actively looking for work. There are an additional 2 million or so working part-time who want and are available for full-time work. The full or partial idleness of these two groups alone represents the equivalent of perhaps 4½ to 5 million full-time workers whose output is being lost. Since our gross national product last year approximated \$4,400 per civilian employee, it would take the equivalent of only 3 million additional full-time jobs to produce the \$13 billion a year required to cover the cost of the program for a total offensive for peace as outlined herein.

When we decide to wage peace with the same vigor and determination with which we wage war we can enlist the labor of millions of people not now in the labor market who would be glad to participate in the creative job of building the peace. **With the increase in production made possible by the full employment of this expanded labor force we can meet the cost of a total peace offensive, build adequate military defenses, short of total war, and provide further social and economic progress for the American people.**

The proof that we can do this job by mobilizing our full productive potential was furnished by the unprecedented production achievements during World War II. Faced with the challenge of war, millions of women left their kitchens and old folks came out of retirement to help produce the needed goods and services to back up our fighting men.

If we achieve comparable mobilization of our 1950 manpower potential in the same ratio as we achieved in 1944, we can increase our working force to 71 million with which to meet civilian and military manpower requirements. This will permit doubling our present number of men under arms and still make available approximately 8 million additional workers for civilian employment.

### **"WHERE'S THE MONEY COMING FROM?" — NEW TAX SOURCES**

The \$13 billion annual investment in peace which is here proposed represents an increase of only about \$9 billion over the foreign economic aid we have been providing.

Part of the additional funds could be obtained by restoring wartime tax rates on corporations and upper-income taxpayers. Corporations paid taxes of approximately 57 percent on their profits during the war.

At present profit levels, a 60 percent average rate of tax on corporate profits would provide \$7 billion of increased taxes. If, in addition, taxes on individuals with gross incomes of \$15,000 or more were restored to wartime rates, a substantial part of the additional \$9 billion in tax revenue would be obtained.

But large increases in revenues would flow from the proposal without raising tax rates. By putting enough people to work to produce \$13 billion in additional wealth the entire tax base is broadened. At least \$2 billion in additional government revenue would be provided at present tax rates from the increase in personal incomes. Corporation tax payments would increase by perhaps another \$2 billion due to the increased profits resulting from increased production.

This total peace offensive is proposed in the belief that in the cause of total peace as in total war we must step up production to the limits of our resources. Therefore, with the wartime rate of taxation restored on corporation profits and on incomes of the well-to-do, it would be possible to increase government revenue toward meeting the increased cost of foreign aid and stepped-up military expenditures.

### **THIS IS NO TIME FOR MEN OF LITTLE FAITH**

With our human and material resources fully mobilized for peace, we can do the job before us. Our ability to do so will be challenged by the men of little vision and no faith who have dedicated their lives to a perpetual losing struggle against every next step in mankind's progress.

These same little men were without courage or vision when we faced the challenge of Hitlerism and Nazi aggression. Until June 22, 1941, they joined Communists, Nazis, and Fascists in announcing that "the Yanks aren't coming." They dragged their feet and clung to the policy of too little and too late both before and after Pearl Harbor. They challenged President Roosevelt and said that the production goals he set for the United States were fantastic and could not be met. The record of achievement on the production front proved these little men to be wrong and President Roosevelt to be right, for his production goals were met and doubled. By their cries now for sole reliance on military force to save the world from communist aggression they are again demonstrating the same lack of faith in the strength and capacity of America to meet the challenge of peace.

We must free ourselves from the paralyzing effect of the campaign of moral and political intimidation that is being waged among us by these men of little faith who would sell America short and leave the world with no hope for peace.



## **We Must Break Production Bottlenecks**

The steel industry currently operating at full capacity cannot meet our present needs. We must take positive steps to expand our basic steel production capacity to meet both our expanding military and civilian requirements. We are faced now with a situation comparable to that faced in the period immediately before and after Pearl Harbor. The owners of the steel industry, wedded to a program of planned economic scarcity with low volume and high prices, said then as they say now that the steel industry's capacity is adequate. They failed then as they fail now to take steps to expand capacity. It was not until the then Senator Harry S. Truman, Chairman of the Senate War Investigating Committee, exposed their willful negligence that the government took steps to assure the expansion of steel production facilities necessary to win the war.

### **STEEL PRODUCTION MUST BE EXPANDED**

At the end of the war the monopoly interest in the steel industry rushed back to normalcy and again re-instituted the policy of planned scarcity with low production and high prices. Three years ago when this matter was raised before the Senate Committee on Small Business, conclusive evidence was developed clearly indicating the need for further expansion of steel production facilities to meet America's growing needs. Again the forces of monopoly and scarcity who control the steel industry, represented by the American Iron and Steel Institute, denied the need for further expansion, claiming that America's needs were temporary and that excess steel capacity would soon develop.

Their stubborn refusal to recognize requirements and to expand capacity to meet our needs jeopardized our national security in the period before and after Pearl Harbor and now again jeopardizes our future. Failure of the steel industry to take immediate practical steps to expand steel production capacity will compel the government again to take action to break this production bottleneck now as it was compelled to do in the war.

### **IDLE WAR PLANTS MUST BE PUT TO WORK**

Production bottlenecks in other basic industries must be dealt with in a like manner where the owners and managers of such industries continue in their refusal to expand production capacity to meet our military and civilian needs. Until these bottlenecks are broken, basic materials in short supply must be allocated with priority given to essential military and civilian requirements.

Idle government-built war plants of all types, which stand

today as monuments to our failure to plan for the future, must be immediately and fully mobilized as functioning production units. Fully manned with a highly trained working force these plants could be producing both military and civilian goods and would be capable of quick shift to all-out war production when needed.

## **Youth Has A Stake In This Proposal**

Each year our high schools, colleges and universities add approximately one million new workers to our potential wealth producers. These youth look to us to provide the opportunity for use of their training and talents. This peace proposal will provide opportunities for them to help in the creative and positive job of building the peace. It suggests an all out effort to avoid the necessity of giving these young Americans the job of fighting an all out war.

This proposal offers our sons and daughters an opportunity to participate directly in the constructive work that must be done at home and in the world. It opens up new frontiers in the valleys of the Yellow, the Yangtze, the Ganges, the Jordan and other great rivers where young American engineers, agricultural specialists, doctors, nurses and teachers can use their energies, training, and creative ingenuity to assist and train the people of under-developed countries to restore and increase the productivity of their land and to improve their health and living standards.

Our young doctors, engineers and teachers of the years to come can be offered opportunities to travel voluntarily to the ends of the earth with medicines, slide rules and books in their hands or they can be drafted for shipment to the same areas with rifles slung to their backs.

From their earliest years of consciousness, our young people have found inspiration in the adventurous years at the beginning of our history when pioneers year after year moved forward the advance posts of civilization. This proposal for peace offers opportunity for adventure and pioneering on new social and economic frontiers.

This is pioneering for peace and freedom which can be made secure in the world only if they rest upon a broad foundation of social and economic justice. We in America must dedicate ourselves and give leadership in the building of that foundation for a lasting peace.

Freed from the crushing burdens of armaments and war, equipped with the tools of modern technology and science, all peoples can cooperate in creating a world of abundance in which man can enjoy peace, economic security, the fullest measure of political and spiritual freedom and human dignity.



## The Time for Action Is Now

Prompt and decisive action by President Truman and the United Nations in resisting military attack on South Korea has undoubtedly forced some revision in the communist time-table of aggression. We cannot know whether total war will come or if so, when. We owe it to ourselves and to the people of the world to make an all out effort for peace in the hope of avoiding total war. This proposal is suggested in the sincere belief that our best prospect of avoiding war and winning the peace lies in a plan of action that combines fully adequate military defense with a positive peace offensive.

We are at the place in world history where we must recognize that the best hope of saving freedom and achieving a just and lasting peace is in action—action so challenging, so vast in scope, so practical in design and so sincere in purpose that it will fill the moral vacuum in the world with reborn hope and a renewed spirit of cooperation among the people of all nations.

## A Letter to President Truman

July 15, 1950

The Honorable Harry S. Truman  
The White House  
Washington 25, D. C.

My Dear Mr. President:

Your prompt and decisive action to stop communist aggression in Korea has given renewed hope and strengthened determination to the people of the world.

As you indicated in your historic statement before the American Newspaper Guild convention on June 28th, we must defeat the communist combination of force, propaganda promises and systematic confusion by democratic performance. This is democracy's propaganda of the deed against which all the weapons in the Politburo's arsenal are futile. We know this to be a fact because it has worked in our Union. We beat the communists, not with propaganda but by performance, by hard work and progress toward the objectives for which our Union was formed. Other Unions have done and are doing the same job.

We support your determination and your plan of action because, instead of mere defensive, negative anti-communism, you have defined the necessity for a positive three-way hitch of military defense, economic co-operation and political co-operation.

Addressing the Guild Convention in your first statement after setting in motion the free world's answer to communist aggression in Korea, you said:

***"We must not be misled into thinking that our only task is to create defenses against aggression. Our whole purpose in creating a strong defense is to permit us to carry on the great constructive tasks of peace. Behind the shield of a strong defense we must continue to work to bring about better living conditions in the free nations.***

***"PARTICULARLY IN THE UNDERDEVELOPED AREAS OF THE WORLD WE MUST WORK CO-OPERATIVELY WITH LOCAL GOVERNMENTS WHICH ARE SEEKING TO IMPROVE THE WELFARE OF THEIR PEOPLE. WE MUST HELP THEM TO HELP THEMSELVES. We must aid them to make progress in agriculture, in industry, in health and in the education of their children. Such progress will increase their strength and their independence.***

***"The growing strength of these countries is important to the defense of all free nations against communist aggression. It is important to the economic progress of the free world. AND THESE THINGS ARE GOOD FOR US AS WELL AS GOOD FOR THEM."***



I share your conviction.

Later in the same statement, you said:

***"If we fail to carry out a vigorous Point Four program we run the risk of losing to communism, by default, hundreds of millions of people who now look to us for help in their struggle against hunger and disease."***

Your view of the future as we can make it, lighted as it is by a steady optimism based on courage and clear thinking, should give confidence and inspiration to every American and to other peoples. I refer particularly to these words in your Guild statement:

***"Point Four is a successor to the old colonialism idea, the exploiting idea of the middle seventeenth, eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. We want to have a prosperous world that will be interested in buying the immense amount of surplus things that we are going to have to sell. And now to do that they have got to have something to give back to us in order that they can buy our goods. I want to keep this factory organization of ours going at full tilt. In order to do that we must help these people help themselves."***

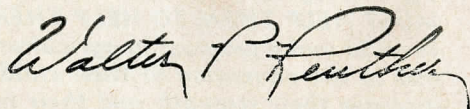
***"Point Four is an investment in a peaceful and prosperous world. It is a program which will bring increasing results over the years. It will bring about a chain reaction in economic development. It will serve to create economic health where poverty existed, and to equip the people of underdeveloped areas to carry forward their economic gains and preserve their independence."***

With this, Mr. President, I most wholeheartedly agree.

In full support of your policy and as a contribution to its earliest possible application, I have attempted to draft a proposal equal in scope and force to the communist challenge that must be dealt with everywhere in the world.

I present it herewith in the hope it will receive your consideration.

Sincerely yours,



President, UAW-CIO

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