

No Objection To Declassification in Full
2013/03/25 : HIA-R MURPHY ROBERT
D-5B-21-245-4 **IELOR** *file*

June 14, 1957

Mr. Finn -

Returned with thanks.

Stew.

J. Stewart Cottman

DOS REVIEWED 18 MAR 2013

DECLASSIFIED FOR RELEASE IN FULL

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TALK BY
DEPUTY UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE ROBERT MURPHY
ARMY WAR COLLEGE, CARLISLE BARRACKS,
JUNE 6, 1956, 11:00 A.M.

GENERAL JOHNSON, DISTINGUISHED GUESTS, AND OFFICERS OF THE ARMY WAR COLLEGE: WHEN SECRETARY BRUCKER ORIGINALLY INVITED ME TO COME UP HERE TODAY, HE FAILED TO SAY ANYTHING ABOUT MY ASSIGNMENT, WHICH I LATER FOUND WAS SLIGHTLY ON THE MONUMENTAL SIDE -- TO GIVE A "SUMMARIZING PROJECTION OF THE OPTIMUM NATIONAL POLITICAL STRATEGY AND ITS IMPLEMENTATION OVER THE NEXT TEN TO FIFTEEN YEARS". DOWN IN WASHINGTON WE LIKE TO THINK OUR POLICIES WILL REMAIN WORKABLE FOR A YEAR OR SO, BUT WE DON'T HAVE MUCH CONFIDENCE

~~SECRET~~

BEYOND

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BEYOND THAT PERIOD. EVEN OUR INTREPID COLLEAGUES IN THE FIELD OF JOURNALISM ARE CAREFUL TO LIMIT THEIR PREDUCTIONS OF THINGS TO COME TO ABOUT SIX MONTHS.

I DECIDED THAT I SHOULD LISTEN VERY CAREFULLY TO MR. ALLEN DULLES, THINKING THAT IF HE COULD ESTIMATE THE WORLD SITUATION OVER THE NEXT TEN TO FIFTEEN YEARS, I MIGHT BE ABLE TO MAKE A STAB AT THE KIND OF POLICIES WE SHOULD SERIOUSLY CONSIDER. I KNOW YOU WILL AGREE WITH ME THAT MR. DULLES GAVE AN EXCELLENT, THOUGHT-PROVOKING REVIEW OF THE PROBLEMS WE ARE LIKELY TO FACE. I WISH IT WERE POSSIBLE TO BE AS THOROUGH IN OUTLINING THE KIND OF POLICIES WE SHOULD FOLLOW OVER THE NEXT DECADE, BUT DIFFICULT AS IT IS TO SAY WHAT IS GOING TO HAPPEN OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS, IT SEEMS EVEN MORE DIFFICULT

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DIFFICULT TO FORETELL WHAT WILL BE DONE ABOUT IT.

I AM REMINDED OF A CELEBRATED PASSAGE IN HAROLD NICOLSON'S BOOK ON THE CONGRESS OF VIENNA, WHERE HE SAYS: "NOBODY WHO HAS NOT WATCHED 'POLICY' EXPRESSING ITSELF IN DAY TO DAY ACTION CAN REALIZE HOW SELDOM IS THE COURSE OF EVENTS DETERMINED BY DELIBERATELY PLANNED PURPOSE OR HOW OFTEN WHAT IN RETROSPECT APPEARS TO HAVE BEEN A FULLY CONSCIOUS INTENTION WAS AT THE TIME GOVERNED AND DIRECTED BY THAT MOST POTENT OF ALL FACTORS — THE CHAIN OF CIRCUMSTANCES. FEW INDEED ARE THE OCCASIONS ON WHICH ANY STATESMAN SEES HIS OBJECTIVE CLEARLY BEFORE HIM AND MARCHES TOWARD IT WITH UNDEVIATING STRIDE: NUMEROUS INDEED ARE THE OCCASIONS WHEN A DECISION OR AN EVENT, WHICH AT THE TIME SEEMED WHOLLY UNIMPORTANT, LEADS ALMOST FORTUITOUSLY TO ANOTHER

DECISION

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DECISION WHICH IS NO LESS INCIDENTAL, UNTIL, LINK BY LINK, THE CHAIN OF CIRCUMSTANCE IS FORGED".

THE SCIENCE OF POLICY-MAKING HAS ADVANCED A GOOD BIT SINCE NICOLSON WROTE THIS. WE HAVE COMPLEX AND EFFICIENT MACHINERY IN OUR GOVERNMENT FOR WORKING OUT NATIONAL ESTIMATES ON PRACTICALLY EVERY COUNTRY IN THE WORLD AND ON A HOST OF MAJOR ISSUES FACING OUR COUNTRY. MR. DULLES' CENTRAL INTELLIGENCE AGENCY HAS A LEADING ROLE AMONG THE DEPARTMENTS INVOLVED IN ARRIVING AT THESE ESTIMATES. ON THE BASIS OF THESE ESTIMATES WE CONTRIVE NATIONAL POLICIES, WHICH ARE APPROVED BY THE PRESIDENT SITTING WITH THE NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL. MANY OF YOU HAVE DOUBTLESS PARTICIPATED IN THIS

PROCESS

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PROCESS AND KNOW WHAT A GRUELLING AND HARD-FOUGHT OPERATION IT IS TO REACH AN AGREED POLICY ON ANY OF THE MANY SUBJECTS THE NSC DEALS WITH. TO OVERSEE THE IMPLEMENTATION OF OUR NSC PAPERS WE HAVE THE OPERATIONS COORDINATING BOARD, WITH BROADER REPRESENTATION THAN THE NSC.

THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS THE PRESIDENT'S PRINCIPAL ADVISER ON FOREIGN POLICY, AND THE NSC HAS NOT ALTERED THIS HISTORIC RELATION. WITHIN THE DEPARTMENT THE SECRETARY HAS THE POLICY PLANNING STAFF TO ASSIST HIM. OUR PLANNING STAFF WAS SET UP BY GENERAL MARSHALL IN 1947 WHEN HE WAS SECRETARY OF STATE, AND IT HAS PROVED TO BE AN IMPORTANT INSTRUMENT IN CARRYING OUT THE DEPARTMENT'S ROLE ^{IN} FORMULATING POLICY. WE OWE GREAT

THANKS

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THANKS TO THE ARMY FOR THIS SOUND ORGANIZATIONAL IDEA. AND WE THANK YOU
FOR THE CHANCE TO EXCHANGE IDEAS TODAY. THESE ANNUAL SEMINARS AT CARLISLE
ARE A VERY USEFUL INSTITUTION.

BEFORE WE TAKE ANOTHER LOOK AT THE FUTURE, WE MIGHT PAUSE FOR A
MOMENT TO LOOK BACK. WHEN THE HISTORIANS SURVEY THE FEW YEARS WE HAVE
JUST GONE THROUGH, THEY MAY WELL CONCLUDE THAT THE FREE NATIONS AT THAT
TIME REACHED AND PASSED A GREAT WATERSHED IN POST-WORLD WAR II HISTORY.
THEY WILL LOOK BACK ACROSS THE DIVIDE TO THE LATE-STALIN ERA, WITH ITS
PEAKS OF EAST-WEST CONFLICT - THE CRISIS IN GREECE AND TURKEY, THE MARSHALL
PLAN, THE BERLIN BLOCKADE, THE REVOLUTION IN CHINA, THE STRUGGLE IN KOREA,
AND HALF

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AND HALF A DOZEN OTHER FATEFUL DEVELOPMENTS. THEY WILL SAY THAT THESE EVENTS TESTED THE STRENGTH AND RESOLUTION OF THE UNITED STATES AND THE ALLIES. THE STALINIST CHALLENGE WAS MET; THE THREAT WAS COUNTERED; THE SYSTEM OF FREE NATIONS WAS CREATED AND INVIGORATED. FOR THE FREE NATIONS THE PERIOD FROM 1945 TO 1956 WAS A TIME OF HARD EXPERIENCE AND HEROIC ENDEAVOR, BUT THEY DID NOT EMERGE FROM IT BADLY, ESPECIALLY WHEN WE REMEMBER CONDITIONS AS THEY WERE IN 1945.

THE SCENE TODAY IS DIFFERENT - NOT LESS MENACING TO THE UNITED STATES AND THE FREE PEOPLES, BUT DIFFERENT IN QUALITY AND IN ITS DEMANDS ON US ALL. IN YOUR DISCUSSIONS HERE YOU HAVE, I AM SURE, DEVOTED MUCH ATTENTION TO THE CHANGES IN SOVIET TACTICS WHICH WERE SO DRAMATICALLY DISPLAYED AT THE

TWENTIETH

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TWENTIETH COMMUNIST PARTY CONGRESS LAST FEBRUARY. MR. DULLES JUST GAVE US A VERY HELPFUL ANALYSIS OF THIS FASCINATING AND IMPORTANT SUBJECT, AND I THINK YOU WILL ALL AGREE THAT WHATEVER THE CAUSES FOR THE SOVIET SHIFT IN POLICY, WE FACE A FAR MORE SUPPLE AND RESOURCEFUL OPPONENT TODAY THAN WE DID THREE YEARS AGO WHEN STALIN DIED. THE SOVIETS HAVE INCREASED THEIR STRENGTH BUT HAVE VEILED ITS HARD CORE IN TRAPPINGS OF OSTENSIBLE FRIENDLINESS AND AFFABILITY, PROTESTATIONS OF PEACE, APPARENTLY OPEN-HANDED OFFERS OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT WITHOUT ONEROUS CONDITIONS, A HIGHLY ADVERTISED BUT CLOSELY CONTROLLED PERFORATION OF THE IRON CURTAIN, AND A GENERAL POSTURE OF LIVE-AND-LET-LIVE AMIABILITY. THERE IS VISIBLY IN PROGRESS A NEW TYPE OF OFFENSIVE IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELDS.

WHAT DOES

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WHAT DOES ALL THIS MEAN IN TERMS OF OUR FUTURE FOREIGN POLICY? IT MEANS THAT WE CAN LOOK FOR NO RESPIRE FROM THE EFFORT AND SACRIFICE THAT ARE NEEDED TO CARRY ON THE POWER STRUGGLE, SINCE TO LOSE OUR POSITION OF MILITARY SUPREMACY WOULD BE FATAL TO EVERYTHING ELSE WE ARE TRYING TO ACHIEVE. THIS IS SOMETIMES REFERRED TO AS KEEPING OUR GUARD UP IN THE FACE OF THE SOVIET POLICY OF SMILES. PERSONALLY I DON'T CARE MUCH FOR THIS FIGURE OF SPEECH. IT IS TOO DEFENSIVE AND TOO LIMITED. IT IMPLIES THAT WE CAN'T STRIKE BLOWS OF OUR OWN AND STRIKE THEM FIRST, AND IT IGNORES THE PLAIN FACT THAT SOME OF THE IMPORTANT BLOWS ARE NOT PHYSICAL OR MILITARY AT ALL. OF COURSE WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR STRENGTH AND SECURITY AT HOME AND OUR FORWARD STRATEGY ABROAD. BUT WE MUST GO FURTHER THAN THIS, IF WE ARE

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TO HOLD OUR OWN. WE MUST INFUSE NEW ELEMENTS OF IMAGINATION AND VIGOR INTO OUR FOREIGN POLICY, ESPECIALLY IN ITS NON-MILITARY ASPECTS, TO MATCH THE NEW TACTICS WITH WHICH WE ARE CONFRONTED.

THE SOVIET NEW LOOK ALSO MEANS THAT WE MUST CONTINUE TO STRENGTHEN OUR ALLIANCES AND BUILD UP BONDS OF FRIENDSHIP WITH NON-COMMUNIST PEOPLES EVERYWHERE. IT WAS NOT SO DIFFICULT TO RETAIN ALLIES WHEN MANY OF THEM FELT THEY HAD NOWHERE ELSE TO GO, WHEN THE ALTERNATIVE TO AN ALLIANCE WAS A RIGID, IMPLACABLE SUBJUGATION BY AN IRON-HANDED DICTATORSHIP. IT IS MORE DIFFICULT NOW, WHEN THE COMMUNISTS ARE APPEALING TO FREE MEN OF GOOD WILL ON TERMS OF RELATIVE OR AT LEAST SURFACE DECENCY AND RESPECT. THE DEVICES

THE COMMUNISTS

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THE COMMUNISTS ARE USING MAY SEEM TRANSPARENT TO US, BUT THEY ARE NOT SO TRANSPARENT TO THOSE WHO ARE PRESSED BY ECONOMIC WANT AND PRIVATION, OR WHO HAVE SHORTER EXPERIENCE OF THE HARD REALITIES OF INDEPENDENCE IN THE MODERN WORLD, AND FREQUENTLY NO DIRECT EXPERIENCE IN DEALING WITH SKILLFUL SOVIET NEGOTIATORS.

IN MY OPINION WE NEED TO SHIFT GEARS TO KEEP PACE WITH THE NEW TREND. THIS DOES NOT MEAN SHARP CHANGES IN THE DIRECTION OR THE CONTENT OF OUR POLICIES. BASICALLY THEY ARE SOUND. IT DOES MEAN MORE EFFECTIVE IMPLEMENTATION AND GREATER FLEXIBILITY. IT MEANS GREATER REGARD FOR THE SENSIBILITIES AND DESIRES OF THE PEOPLE AT WHOM WE AIM OUR ACTIONS.

I SHOULD

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I SHOULD LIKE, WITHIN THE PRIVILEGED SANCTUARY OF THIS HALL, TO REVIEW A FEW OF THE MAJOR ELEMENTS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICIES TO SUGGEST TO YOU SOME OF THE AREAS WHERE MODIFICATION AND GREATER FLEXIBILITY SEEM DESIRABLE.

LET ME SAY FIRST OF ALL - AND THIS IS BASIC - THAT WE MUST NOT BE PRESSURED OR CAJOLED BY THE COMMUNISTS OR THE NEUTRALISTS INTO ABANDONING UNILATERALLY THE ARMED STRENGTH WE HAVE BUILT UP. THAT STRENGTH IS WHAT THE SCULPTOR WOULD CALL THE ARMATURE - THE FRAME - ON WHICH THE WHOLE CLAY OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY IS MOLDED. IT GIVES US THE ABILITY TO STAND FIRM FIRM AGAINST ATTACK; IT LENDS STRENGTH TO US IN NEGOTIATION. IT IS THE

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/DETERRENT TO MILITARY AGGRESSION TODAY. IF IT WERE REMOVED, THE FREE WORLD
COULD BE BLUDGEONED OR NIBBLED TO DEATH, AND THERE WOULD BE LITTLE WE OR
ANYONE ELSE COULD DO ABOUT IT. COST WHAT IT MAY, THEN, WE MUST MAINTAIN OUR
MILITARY POSITION VIS-A-VIS ^{THE} COMMUNIST BLOC.

WE MAY WELL WISH, HOWEVER, TO MODIFY OUR MILITARY POSTURE VERY
MARKEDLY. WE MUST REMAIN STRONG BUT WE MUST AT THE SAME TIME BE REASONABLE
AND CONCILIATORY. WE OFTEN TALK ABOUT THEODORE ROOSEVELT'S MAXIM OF SOFT
SPEECH AND THE BIG STICK, BUT THERE ARE TIMES WHEN WE DO NOT DO ENOUGH ABOUT
IT. THIS IS A PERIOD WHEN WE MAY SPEAK SOFTLY. PUBLIC DEBATE IS INHERENT
IN OUR SYSTEM. JUST RECENTLY DOWN IN WASHINGTON WE HAVE BEEN HAVING

DISCUSSIONS

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DISCUSS ^{D-5B-21-245-4} ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ ARY APPROPRIATIONS AND MILITARY POLICY. THIS IS NECESSARY AND PROBABLY FOR THE MOST PART USEFUL, BUT IT WOULD BE BETTER TO DE-EMPHASIZE PUBLIC DEBATE ON OUR ARMS POLICIES, WITHOUT OF COURSE RELAXING OUR EFFORTS IN THE SLIGHTEST.

ONE AREA WHERE WE MUST DEVISE MORE SPECIFIC POLICIES RELATES TO VULNERABLE LOCAL SITUATIONS. THE CLEAREST CASE TODAY IS THE MIDDLE EAST, AND WE ARE HARD AT WORK DEVISING SPECIFIC ACTIONS WHICH WOULD IMPLEMENT THE PRESIDENT'S DECLARATION OF APRIL 9 THAT THE UNITED STATES WOULD COME TO THE SUPPORT OF ANY VICTIM OF AGGRESSION WITHIN CONSTITUTIONAL MEANS. THERE ARE OTHER VULNERABLE LOCAL SITUATIONS - KOREA, TAIWAN, INDOCHINA, SINGAPORE, AND IRAN.

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AND IR D-5B-21-245-4 JAPANESE AND THE CHINESE COMMUNISTS AT PRESENT SEEM UNLIKELY TO RESORT TO THE BRAZEN AGGRESSION OF THE KOREA PATTERN UNLESS THEY SEE PROSPECTS OF QUICK AND EASY GAINS, BUT THEIR PRESSURE WILL CONTINUE. WE MUST IMPROVE OUR PLANS AND OUR ABILITY TO APPLY FORCE, FLEXIBLY AND SELECTIVELY, TO DETER OR DEFEAT COMMUNIST MOVES IN THESE SITUATIONS. AS THE KOREA EXAMPLE SHOWS, LIMITED WAR RAISES VERY SERIOUS MILITARY AND POLITICAL PROBLEMS. IT WILL BE REMARKABLE IF WE CAN GET THROUGH THE NEXT FIFTEEN YEARS WITHOUT MILITARY FLARE-UPS, AND WE MUST HAVE PLANS - MILITARY AND DIPLOMATIC - READY FOR A WIDE VARIETY OF POSSIBILITIES.

OUR PRIMARY ARM IN CARRYING OUT NATIONAL POLICY, BOTH FOR THE SHORT
PERIOD

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PERIOD AND OVER THE LONG HAUL, IS OUR MILITARY POWER, AND WE MUST BE PREPARED TO USE THIS POWER TO THE DEGREE REQUIRED BY THE CIRCUMSTANCES. OUR SECOND MAJOR ARM OF POLICY IS THE PRESERVATION OF THE COLLECTIVE SECURITY PRINCIPLE: WE MUST ENHANCE THE SCOPE, VITALITY AND RESOURCES OF THE FREE ALLIANCE SYSTEM AS INDISPENSABLE MEANS TO DEFEND THE FREE WORLD AND THE CONTINENTAL UNITED STATES AND TO PRODUCE THE MAXIMUM PROTECTION FOR ALL ITS PARTICIPANTS AT THE MINIMUM COST. HERE AGAIN A SHIFT IN EMPHASIS WILL PROBABLY BE NECESSARY. THESE COLLECTIVE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS ENTAIL BURDENS IN THE FORM OF GREATER MILITARY EFFORT THAN THE PARTICIPANTS WOULD OTHERWISE UNDERTAKE AND IN THE FORM OF RESTRICTIONS ON THEIR FREEDOM OF ACTION

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OF ACT D-5B-21-245-4

LOADS ARE BORNE FAIRLY CHEERFULLY IN PERIODS OF STRESS
BUT THEY CHAFE WHEN TENSIONS ARE RELAXED. HISTORY IS LITTERED WITH THE
CORPSES OF COALITIONS THAT EXPIRED WHEN OUTSIDE PRESSURES WERE REMOVED.

ONE WAY TO TIGHTEN THE TIES THAT BIND US TO OUR ALLIES IS TO SPREAD
THE OPERATIONS OF THE DEFENSE ARRANGEMENTS OVER WIDER AREAS OF ACTIVITY.
THAT IS WHY WE ARE SEARCHING FOR METHODS TO BROADEN THE BASE OF THE NORTH
ATLANTIC TREATY. IT EXPLAINS THE ECONOMIC AND ANTI-SUBVERSIVE ACTIVITIES
WE HAVE PROMOTED IN THE ORGANIZATION OF THE AMERICAN STATES AND IN SEATO,
AS WELL AS THE BAGHDAD PACT, IN WHICH WE ARE NOT A FULL MEMBER BUT IN WHOSE
SUCCESS WE HAVE GREAT INTEREST. BROADENING THE SCOPE OF DEFENSE

ORGANIZATIONS

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ORGANIZ D-5B-21-245-4 LUDE NON-DEFENSE FUNCTIONS ENTAILS REAL DIFFICULTIES.
FREQUENTLY IT LEADS TO DUPLICATION OF JOBS BEING DONE BY OTHER BODIES,
PARTICULARLY IN THE ECONOMIC FIELD. IT HIGHLIGHTS SUBJECTS OF CONTROVERSY
AMONG ALLIES HAVING DIFFERENT NATIONAL BACKGROUNDS AND INSTITUTIONS. BUT
IT IS A TREND WHICH SHOULD AND WILL CONTINUE, AS QUICKLY AS THE PARTICIPATING
STATES, INCLUDING OURSELVES, ARE PREPARED FOR IT. IT WILL MODIFY THE
IMBALANCE WHICH HAS EXISTED BECAUSE SO MUCH STRESS HAS HITHERTO BEEN LAID -
NECESSARILY - ON MILITARY STRENGTH AS COMPARED WITH OTHER TYPES OF COLLECTIVE
ACTION, FOR THE COMMON BENEFIT. THE MORE WE CAN CULTIVATE THE HABIT OF
JOINT ACTION AND JOINT CONSULTATION AMONG OUR FRIENDS AND ALLIES, THE

STRONGER.

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STRONG D-5B-21-245-4; FORCES THAT HOLD THEM TOGETHER.

THE MOST POWERFUL OF OUR ALLIANCES, OF COURSE, IS THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION. THERE ARE AT LEAST THREE FUNDAMENTAL LONG-TERM PROBLEMS CONFRONTING US AND OUR NATO ALLIES. WE MUST MAINTAIN AND CONSTANTLY MODERNIZE NATO'S MILITARY FORCES AND FACILITIES. WE MUST SUSTAIN THE ECONOMIC STABILITY AND VITALITY WHICH SERVES AS THE INDISPENSABLE FOUNDATION FOR ANY DEFENSE SYSTEM. FINALLY, WE MUST MAINTAIN AND TIGHTEN OUR POLITICAL UNITY. THIS LAST REQUIREMENT HAS ASSUMED INCREASING IMPORTANCE IN THE FACE OF THE NEW SOVIET TACTICS. IT SEEMS EVIDENT THAT THE SOVIET RULERS HOPE, BY REDUCING OVERT MILITARY PRESSURES, TO INDUCE A LET-DOWN IN NATO EFFORT AND A DISSIPATION OF NATO UNITY. THEY HOPE THAT LONG-STANDING CONFLICTS AND RIVALRIES,

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• No Objection To Declassification in Full 2013/03/25 : HIA-R MURPHY ROBERT
AND RID-5B-21-245-4 FAR SUBMERGED BY THE COMMON INTEREST IN SURVIVAL, WILL
NOW RISE TO THE SURFACE AND BREAK NATO APART.

SO FAR, THESE NEW TACTICS HAVE NOT BEEN VERY SUCCESSFUL. HOWEVER,
WE CANNOT IGNORE THE FACT THAT CENTRIPETAL FORCES ARE AT WORK. THE CYPRUS
DISPUTE, FRENCH PREOCCUPATION IN NORTH AFRICA, FRENCH-GERMAN RIVALRIES
OVER THE SAAR, THE UNCERTAINTY OF THE SITUATION IN ICELAND -- ALL THESE
DANGER SIGNS DESERVE CAREFUL ATTENTION. IT IS IMPERATIVE THAT THE DIVISIVE
TENDENCIES WITHIN NATO BE COUNTERACTED BY THE ADDITION OF NEW CEMENT -- BY
POLICIES AND ACTIONS DESIGNED TO TIGHTEN THE BONDS OF UNITY. THIS IS A
MAJOR CONSIDERATION BEHIND SECRETARY DULLES' RECENT PROPOSALS FOR EXPLORING
THE POSSIBILITIES OF A FURTHER DEVELOPMENT OF THE ATLANTIC COMMUNITY. IF

THE 15 MEMBER

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THE 15 MEMBER COUNTRIES ARE TO STAY TOGETHER THROUGH THICK AND THIN AND TO COOPERATE EFFECTIVELY IN MEETING NEW COMMUNIST CHALLENGES, THEY MUST CONSOLIDATE THEIR POLITICAL RELATIONS AND PERHAPS EXTEND THE SCOPE OF THEIR COMMON INTERESTS AND COLLECTIVE ACTIVITIES.

A CENTURY AGO WESTERN EUROPE WAS A HOTBED OF NATIONALISM. TODAY THERE ARE ENCOURAGING SIGNS THAT THE FORCES OF UNITY AND COOPERATION ARE GAINING THE UPPER HAND. A SERIES OF ACTIONS - IN THE POLITICAL, ECONOMIC AND ATOMIC FIELDS AS WELL AS THE MILITARY - HAVE ACCENTUATED THE ADVANTAGES OF COOPERATION AND REDUCED THE FACTORS OF DIVISION AND RIVALRY. SOLUTION OF THE GERMAN PROBLEM WILL IN MANY WAYS BE THE KEY TO EUROPEAN UNITY. HOW GERMANY WILL ACHIEVE UNITY IN FACE OF SOVIET OBSTRUCTION, WE CANNOT NOW

FORESEE

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FORESET D-5B-21-245-4 ITED STATES WILL CONTINUE TO EXPLORE EVERY AVENUE WHICH
GIVES PROMISE OF LEADING TOWARD GERMAN REUNIFICATION ON A REASONABLE BASIS.

HERE IN OUR OWN HEMISPHERE IT IS ESSENTIAL THAT WE KEEP THE OAS
HEALTHY AND EFFECTIVE. PRESIDENT EISENHOWER MET LAST SPRING WITH THE
PRESIDENT OF MEXICO AND THE PRIME MINISTER OF CANADA AND TOWARD THE END OF
THIS MONTH WILL MEET WITH THE HEADS OF STATE OF VIRTUALLY ALL OUR LATIN
AMERICAN ALLIES. OUR INTEREST IN THE WELL-BEING OF OUR HEMISPHERE IS
HISTORIC AND MUST BE MAINTAINED.

OUR LAST MAJOR ALLIANCE IS THE SOUTHEAST ASIA TREATY ORGANIZATION,
WHICH IS RELATIVELY NEW BUT IS MAKING PROGRESS. MR. ALLEN DULLES HAS
DESCRIBED THE FLUID AND DISTURBED SITUATION IN ASIA. WE BELIEVE THAT SEATO
GIVES US

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GIVES D-5B-21-245-4ON ON WHICH WE CAN BUILD GREATER MILITARY STRENGTH AND
POLITICAL STABILITY. OF MORE IMMEDIATE CONCERN ARE THE TENSE SITUATION OF
TAIWAN, KOREA AND INDOCHINA. WE HOPE BY A COMBINATION OF MILITARY AND
POLITICAL MEANS TO INDUCE THE COMMUNISTS TO ABANDON FORCE AND TO AGREE TO
EQUITABLE SOLUTIONS.

I HAVE DWELT AT SOME LENGTH ON OUR SYSTEM OF ALLIANCES, WHICH WE ALL
AGREE MUST COME RIGHT AFTER OUR OWN NATIONAL POWER IN IMPORTANCE AND IN THE
NEED FOR CONSTANT EVALUATION.

A THIRD AREA OF FOREIGN POLICY WHICH WILL UNDOUBTEDLY BE SUBJECT TO
CONTINUING REVIEW OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS IS THE FIELD OF FOREIGN AID,

ESPECIALLY

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ESPECIALLY IN ITS ECONOMIC ASPECTS. WHAT WE HAVE DONE TO DATE HAS BEEN OF CRUCIAL IMPORTANCE IN MAINTAINING THE ECONOMIC HEALTH AND STABILITY OF THE FREE WORLD, AND HAS CONTRIBUTED IMMEASURABLY TO ITS MILITARY STRENGTH. TO ABANDON OUR PRESENT PROGRAMS WOULD BE TO PLUNGE OURSELVES AND THE GRAND COALITION WE HAVE CONSTRUCTED INTO THE GRAVEST PERIL. BUT NEW CIRCUMSTANCES, SPECIFICALLY THE ENTRY OF THE COMMUNITIES INTO THE FOREIGN AID ARENA, REQUIRE ABOUT A NEW LOOK ON OUR PART. I AM SURE THAT MR. DODGE WILL WANT TO SAY MORE/THIS SUBJECT TOMORROW.

THE ALLOCATION BETWEEN FOREIGN MILITARY AND ECONOMIC AID OF OUR EXPENDITURES FOR SECURITY, BEYOND SPENDING FOR OUR OWN DEFENSE NEEDS, WILL BE CRITICALLY IMPORTANT OVER THE NEXT YEARS. FOREIGN ECONOMIC AND TECHNICAL

AID

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• No Objection To Declassification in Full 2013/03/25 : HIA-R MURPHY ROBERT
AID REQ D-5B-21-245-4, CERTAIN TO INCREASE AS THE DEVELOPMENTAL PROCESS WITHIN
FREE ASIA AND AFRICA ~~PROCEEDS~~ OUT OF THE PLANNING STAGE, AS SOVIET COMMUNIST
CAMPAIGNS INTENSIFY IN THE LESS DEVELOPED AREAS, AND AS THE NUMBER OF COUNTRY
PROGRAMS EXPANDS. IN PARTICULAR THE EMERGENCE OF A NUMBER OF NEW STATES
IN THE MIDDLE EAST AND AFRICA AND REQUESTS FOR ASSISTANCE ON THE PART OF
CERTAIN FRIENDLY NON-COMMUNIST COUNTRIES OF SOUTH AND SOUTHEAST ASIA WILL
PRESENT NEW REQUIREMENTS FOR FOREIGN ASSISTANCE AT POTENTIALLY DECISIVE
POINTS IN THEIR NATIONAL DEVELOPMENTS. IT WILL BE OF MATERIAL SIGNIFICANCE
TO UNITED STATES SECURITY TO ASSIST THESE NEEDS.

TWO POINTS AT LEAST ARE VITAL. NO AMOUNT OF NATIONAL MILITARY BUILD-UP
IN THE UNITED STATES OR OF MILITARY AID TO OUR ALLIES WILL PREVENT POLITICAL
AND ECONOMIC

SECRET

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AND ECO D-5B-21-245-4ration, OR THE SPREAD OF COMMUNIST INFLUENCE IN THESE AREAS,
IF EXTERNAL RESOURCES ARE NOT MADE AVAILABLE TO THEM. FURTHERMORE, UNLESS
THERE IS PROGRESS IN STRENGTHENING THE ECONOMIC FOUNDATIONS OF THESE STATES,
THERE CAN BE NO REAL PROSPECT FOR IMPROVEMENT IN THEIR POLITICAL STABILITY AND
FOR AN EVENTUAL ASSUMPTION BY THEM OF A GREATER SHARE OF THE SUPPORT COSTS
OF THEIR NATIONAL MILITARY ESTABLISHMENTS.

I WOULD LIKE TO SAY A WORD ABOUT THE UNCOMMITTED STATES, WHICH WILL
IN THE NEXT TEN TO FIFTEEN YEARS BE OF VERY GREAT IMPORTANCE. EIGHTEEN NEW
NATIONS WITH POPULATIONS OF OVER SIX HUNDRED AND FIFTY MILLION PEOPLE HAVE
BEEN FORMED SINCE THE END OF WORLD WAR II. THE NEXT FIFTEEN YEARS WILL SEE
A NUMBER MORE FORMED, MOSTLY IN AFRICA. THE TIDE OF NEUTRALISM, COMPOUNDED

OF

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OF ECO[D-5B-21-245-4] AND FEAR OF COLONIALISM, RUNS STRONG IN THESE NEW
STATES. THEIR NEED FOR ECONOMIC HELP IS PERHAPS OUR MOST EFFECTIVE MEANS OF
DEALING WITH THEM. OUR CAUSE WILL BE BETTER SERVED IF THEY CONCENTRATE ON
ECONOMIC BUILD-UP RATHER THAN ON FRENZIED POLITICAL ACTIVITY. AND IN THIS
CAMPAIGN WE HAVE MORE EFFICIENT ECONOMIC TOOLS THAN THE COMMUNISTS.

TO SOME THIS ECONOMIC TUG OF WAR SEEMS LIKE BLACKMAIL. THEY FEEL
THESE NEW NATIONS WILL SIDE WITH THE HIGHEST BIDDER. WE CAN NOT DENY THAT
THERE IS A LARGE ELEMENT OF OPPORTUNISM IN WHAT THEY DO, BUT WE FEEL THAT
THEIR DESIRE TO AVOID ALIGNMENT IS A NATURAL STATE OF MIND FOR NEW AND
STRUGGLING PEOPLE. IN OUR EARLY DAYS WE AVOIDED FOREIGN ENTANGLEMENTS. WE
CONCENTRATED ON OUR OWN BUILD-UP. FOREIGN INVOLVEMENT CAME LATER AS WE

GREW IN

SECRET

No Objection To Declassification in Full 2013/03/25 : HIA-R MURPHY ROBERT
GREW ID-5B-21-245-4D IMPORTANCE.

HANDLING THESE NEUTRAL STATES IS A TICKLISH BUSINESS. IT WILL TAKE A LOT OF PATIENCE AND EXPERT TREATMENT. THERE IS FEELING IN MANY QUARTERS THAT WE SHOULD FORGET ABOUT AID TO INDIA, FOR EXAMPLE, THAT WE SHOULD STOP TAKING THE SNIDE REMARKS OF NEHRU AND KRISHNA MENON, AND THAT WE SHOULD LET INDIA SHIFT FOR ITSELF. I ADMIT THAT THE TEMPTATION TO FOLLOW THIS COURSE IS OFTEN STRONG. BUT I THINK IT WOULD BE THE WRONG COURSE. DESPITE ITS CAPRICIOUS FOREIGN POLICY, INDIA IS CLOSELY TIED THROUGH TRADITION, POLITICAL RELATIONS, AND ECONOMIC BONDS WITH IMPORTANT FREE NATIONS, ESPECIALLY THE UNITED KINGDOM. DEMOCRATIC INSTITUTIONS AND THINKING ARE

WELL

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• WILL E D-5B-21-245-4 INDIA.

AN AREA WHERE WE ARE JUST BEGINNING TO WORK OUT POLICIES WILL GROW VASTLY IN IMPORTANCE IN THE NEXT FEW YEARS. THIS IS THE FIELD OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY, WHERE WE MUST POINT THE WAY TOWARD CONTROL AND BENEFICIAL USE. WE HAVE PLAYED THE MAJOR ROLE IN MAKING AVAILABLE TO MANKIND BOTH THE DESTRUCTIVE POWER OF THE ATOM AND THE PROMISE OF ATOMIC POWER FOR PEACE. IT IS A PART OF OUR RESPONSIBILITY TO AVOID THE DEVASTATION MADE POSSIBLE BY THE FORMER, AND TO SPREAD AS QUICKLY AS FEASIBLE THE BENEFITS RESULTING FROM THE LATTER.

IN THE FIRST INSTANCE THIS ENTAILS CONTINUED EFFORTS, DESPITE ALL DISCOURAGEMENT, TO WORK OUT PLANS FOR THE LIMITATION OF ARMAMENTS, UNDER EFFECTIVE

SECRET

EFFECT D-5B-21-245-4 WE HAVE ALREADY APPROACHED THIS PROBLEM IN A NEW SPIRIT, LAYING ASIDE THE ELABORATE, THOROUGH-GOING PLANS WE HAD WORKED OUT IN THE PAST, IN FAVOR OF A NEW, STEP-BY-STEP PROGRESSION FEATURING AT AN EARLY STAGE THE PRESIDENT'S "OPEN SKIES" PROPOSAL. WE PLAN TO PERSEVERE IN ATTEMPTS TO REACH EVEN A PRELIMINARY AGREEMENT. THE WORLD MUST HAVE NO DOUBT WHO IT IS THAT IS SEEKING SERIOUS AND SAFE DISARMAMENT, AND WHO IT IS THAT PROPOSES PAPER PROHIBITIONS AND PROPAGANDA SLOGANS.

AT THE SAME TIME

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AT THE SAME TIME WE MUST CARRY FORWARD WITH INCREASED DRIVE OUR PLANS FOR ENDOWING ALL PEOPLES WITH FACILITIES FOR THE PEACEFUL UTILIZATION OF NUCLEAR ENERGY. OUR RECORD IN THIS FIELD IS EXCELLENT, COMPRISING AS IT DOES SOME THIRTY BILATERAL AGREEMENTS FOR THE SUPPLY OF NUCLEAR MATERIALS, OUR SPONSORSHIP OF THE PROJECTED ASIAN REGIONAL RESEARCH CENTER IN THE PHILIPPINES, OUR INTEREST IN EUROPEAN ATOMIC COOPERATION AND OUR PERSISTENT SUPPORT FOR THE NEW INTERNATIONAL ATOMIC ENERGY AGENCY, NOW ABOUT TO BE BROUGHT INTO BEING. AS TECHNOLOGICAL ADVANCES PERMIT IN THE YEARS AHEAD, WE MUST WITH EQUAL ENERGY AID UNDERDEVELOPED AND FUEL-SHORT COUNTRIES TO MAKE USE OF NUCLEAR POWER.

A WORD

SECRET

A WORD ABOUT THE UNITED NATIONS. THE UN NOW HAS 76 MEMBERS, AND IT WILL BE GETTING MORE. IT HAS BECOME TO NO SMALL DEGREE AN ARENA IN WHICH SOME OF THE STRONGEST COMPULSIVE FORCES OF MODERN TIMES CLASH AND INTERWEAVE. THIS IMPOSES NEW TESTS FOR OUR LEADERSHIP - TESTS WHICH IT IS MEETING WITH SUCCESS. WITHOUT CEASING TO USE THE UN WHEREVER POSSIBLE TO EXPOSE AND RESIST COMMUNIST MANEUVERS, WE ARE ALSO MOVING INTO THE POSITION OF A RESPONSIBLE MODERATOR IN DEALING WITH THE NEW NATIONS AND THE NEW FORCES AT WORK THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. OUR PART IN THE UN CONSIDERATION OF NORTH AFRICAN PROBLEMS IS A CASE IN POINT. ANOTHER IS THE MIDDLE MAN ROLE WE HAVE SOUGHT TO PLAY IN

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UN EFFORTS TO PREVENT AN ARAB-ISRAELI CONFLICT. TO BE A MIDDLEMAN IS NOT EASY OR POPULAR. THERE IS ALWAYS A TENDENCY FOR EXTREME PARTISANS, FOR EXAMPLE IN COLONIAL QUESTIONS, TO AIM THEIR FIRE AT HIM FROM OPPOSITE DIRECTIONS. YET THE ROLE OF MIDDLEMAN IS A VITAL ONE THAT MUST BE FILLED IF THE MANY NEW NATIONS NOW AT LAST REPRESENTED IN THE UN ARE TO LEARN TO LIVE TOGETHER, AND WITH OTHERS, IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY.

I HAVE DWELT UPON WHAT ARE PERHAPS THE THREE CARDINAL REQUIREMENTS OF OUR POLICY - TO KEEP OUR OWN COUNTRY STRONG, TO KEEP OUR ALLIANCES VIGOROUS AND EFFECTIVE, AND TO EXERT A MODERATING AND BENEFICIAL INFLUENCE ON THE UNCOMMITTED NATIONS. I HAVE TRIED TO STRESS THE

VALUE

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VALUE OF OUR AID PROGRAMS, OF OUR ENCOURAGEMENT OF DISARMAMENT EFFORTS AND OF THE PEACEFUL USES OF ATOMIC ENERGY, AND OF OUR SUPPORT OF THE UN AS VITAL PARTS OF OUR FOREIGN POLICY. LINKED WITH ALL THE FOREGOING AND OF TREMENDOUS SIGNIFICANCE TO AN EFFECTIVE INTERNATIONAL EFFORT IS ANOTHER AREA IN WHICH OUR POSTURE MUST BE ADAPTED TO CHANGING CONDITIONS - OVERSEAS INFORMATION AND CULTURAL INTERCHANGE. WE HAVE MADE GREAT STRIDES IN THIS FIELD IN RECENT YEARS, BUT WE MUST MOVE STILL FARTHER. IT IS NOT SIMPLY A MATTER OF MEN AND MONEY, OF PAPER AND MINIMOGRAPH MACHINES. WHAT IS NEEDED MORE THAN EVER IS A MORE POSITIVE CAMPAIGN TO PROJECT TO THE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD THE REAL

IMAGE

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IMAGE OF AMERICA AS WELL AS THE HARD, BASIC TRUTHS ABOUT THE COMMUNIST
SYSTEM.

AS A DEMOCRACY IN WHICH CONFLICTING VOICES ARE TOLERATED AND EVEN
ENCOURAGED WE AT TIMES HAVE DIFFICULTY IN PUTTING ACROSS TO OTHERS AS
SHARP AND CLEAR A VIEW OF OUR COUNTRY AS THE COMMUNISTS CAN OF THE
USSR. BUT WE CAN - AND DO - EXPOUND OUR BASIC PHILOSOPHY OF INDIVIDUAL
FREEDOM IN WAYS WHICH WE BELIEVE WILL MAKE A MAXIMUM APPEAL TO OTHERS.

THE PICTURE WE CAN PRESENT OF A FREE AND VIGOROUS AMERICAN SOCIETY
IS ONE OF OUR MOST EFFECTIVE WAYS OF ENLISTING THE SUPPORT OF THE UN-
COMMITTED PEOPLES AND OF GIVING HOPE AND DETERMINATION TO THOSE BEHIND

THE

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THE ~~LAST~~ ~~CONCEPT~~ WHO WANT TO BE FREE OF REGIMENTATION. OUR MILITARY POWER IS A SHIELD, BUT OUR AID PROGRAMS AND OUR INFORMATION PROGRAMS ARE AFFIRMATIVE MEASURES WITH GREAT POTENTIAL FOR STRENGTHENING THE INDEPENDENCE OF THE NEW NATIONS AND CREATING CONFIDENCE IN DEMOCRATIC METHODS. WE MUST CONTINUE TO PUT OUR MESSAGE ACROSS TO THE PEOPLES OF THE SATELLITE NATIONS AND THE SOVIET UNION BY TAKING THE LEAD IN ESTABLISHING FREER COMMUNICATION BETWEEN NATIONS IN IDEAS AND IN TRAVEL, SUBJECT OF COURSE TO PROTECTION AGAINST ESPIONAGE.

I THINK WE HAVE A VERY SPECIAL JOB TO DO IN THE YEARS TO COME TO EXPLAIN TO THE WORLD HOW OUR ECONOMIC SYSTEM OPERATES AND WHY IT IS SO IMMENSELY

SECRET

IMMENSELY BETTER THAN THAT OF THE COMMUNISTS FROM THE STANDPOINT BOTH OF PRODUCTION AND OF INDIVIDUAL OPPORTUNITY. THOUGH THIS SEEMS SELF-EVIDENT TO US, IT IS WIDELY DISPUTED IN OTHER COUNTRIES, AND NOT ONLY IN COMMUNIST COUNTRIES. WE NEED TO DEVELOP NEW TECHNIQUES TO CONVINCE OTHER PEOPLES THAT AMERICAN CAPITALISM IS AS CONCERNED WITH HUMAN WELFARE AS IT IS WITH MATERIAL PROGRESS AND THAT IT ENABLES MAN TO DEVELOP HIS INTELLECTUAL, MORAL AND RELIGIOUS ATTRIBUTES TO THE LIMITS OF HUMAN CAPACITY. WHAT IS MORE, WE MUST MAKE IT CLEAR TO OTHERS THAT WE ARE GLAD TO HELP THEM ACHIEVE SIMILAR CONDITIONS IN THEIR OWN COUNTRIES, NOT BY THE EXPORT OF REVOLUTION IN THE COMMUNIST SENSE BUT

SOLELY

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SOLELY THROUGH EXAMPLE AND ASSISTANCE TO THOSE WHO WISH TO BUILD UP THEIR OWN FREE SOCIETIES. OUR RECORD OF ACHIEVEMENT AT HOME AND OF HELP TO OTHERS IS A GLORIOUS ONE. OUR MESSAGE IS A GOOD ONE.

A SUMMARY PROJECTION OF OUR NATIONAL POLICY OVER THE NEXT FEW YEARS MIGHT GO SOMETHING LIKE THIS. OUR NATIONAL STRATEGY WILL ALMOST CERTAINLY REQUIRE A SELECTIVE COMBINATION OF MILITARY, POLITICAL, ECONOMIC, PSYCHOLOGICAL AND OTHER ACTIONS WHICH WILL PERMIT THE UNITED STATES TO HOLD THE INITIATIVE. OUR ACTIONS MUST BE CLOSELY KNIT AND MUST REINFORCE ONE ANOTHER. THIS STRATEGY OFFERS THE BEST HOPE WE CAN SEE OF MAINTAINING AT LEAST AN ARMED TRUCE AND EVENTUALLY PERHAPS

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BRINGING ABOUT A PEACEFUL RESOLUTION OF THE CONFLICT BETWEEN THE
SOVIET BLOC AND THE FREE WORLD.

OUR GENERAL APPROACH TO WORLD PROBLEMS WILL BE BASED ON THREE
FUNDAMENTAL ELEMENTS - MILITARY, POLITICAL-ECONOMIC, AND OUR OWN
DOMESTIC STRENGTH AND SECURITY AT HOME. ON THE MILITARY SIDE, WE MUST
FOR AN INDEFINITE PERIOD MAINTAIN TOGETHER WITH OUR ALLIES MILITARY
FORCES WITH THE STRENGTH, FLEXIBILITY AND MOBILITY TO OVERCOME COMMUNIST
AGGRESSION IN ANY FORM AND TO DEAL SUCCESSFULLY WITH GENERAL WAR SHOULD
IT DEVELOP. A CENTRAL AIM OF OUR POLICY IS TO DETER THE COMMUNISTS FROM
USE OF THEIR MILITARY POWER, AND DETERRENCE IS MORE LIKELY TO WORK IF

WE

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WE AND OUR ALLIES SHOW WE ARE UNITED IN OUR DETERMINATION TO MEET ANY AGGRESSION WITH FORCE. WE MUST CONVINCE OUR ALLIES, PARTICULARLY OUR NATO ALLIES, THAT OUR STRATEGY AND POLICY SERVE THEIR SECURITY AS WELL AS OUR OWN, AND THAT WE ARE COMMITTED TO THEIR DEFENSE AND POSSESS THE CAPABILITY TO CARRY OUT OUR COMMITMENT.

OUR POLITICAL AND ECONOMIC STRATEGY REQUIRES THAT WE BUILD UP THE STRENGTH AND COHESION OF THE FREE WORLD, THAT WE ASSIST FRIENDLY GOVERNMENTS TO DEVELOP THEIR INTERNAL SECURITY, ^{AND} THAT WE PROMOTE THE ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT OF THE FREE NATIONS, ESPECIALLY BY ENCOURAGING A HIGH LEVEL OF INTERNATIONAL TRADE. WE MUST PAY PARTICULAR ATTENTION TO THE

SECRET

TO THE GROWTH OF LESS DEVELOPED NATIONS, AND WE MUST HELP
THEM ON THE BASIS OF THEIR ABILITY AND DETERMINATION TO STRENGTHEN
THEIR INDEPENDENCE, RECOGNIZING THAT THEIR INDEPENDENCE FROM COMMUNISM
SERVES OUR INTERESTS EVEN WHERE THEY ARE NOT ALLIED WITH THE UNITED
STATES. THE COLONIALISM ISSUE IS A SENSITIVE ONE, BUT WE MUST USE OUR
INFLUENCE FOR AN ORDERLY EVOLUTION OF THE INEVITABLE STEPS TOWARD SELF-
DETERMINATION AND ON BEHALF OF MODERATION ON BOTH SIDES.

WE MUST USE OUR POLITICAL, MILITARY AND ECONOMIC PROGRAMS AND
ACTIONS TO TRY TO AMELIORATE THE CONDUCT OF THE COMMUNIST NATIONS. WE
SHOULD BE WILLING TO NEGOTIATE WITH THEM WHERE OUR INTERESTS WILL BE
SERVED.

SECRET

SERVE.

LAST AND BASIC TO OUR WHOLE POSITION IS A STRONG AND HEALTHY UNITED STATES. THE FREE WORLD DEPENDS TO A GREAT DEGREE ON THE POWER AND LEADERSHIP OF OUR COUNTRY. WE MUST KEEP OUR ECONOMY VIGOROUS AND EXPANDING. WE MUST ENSURE OUR INTERNAL SECURITY. WE MUST EXPAND THE SPIRITUAL AND MATERIAL RESOURCES OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. OUR MOBILIZATION BASE MUST BE SO ORGANIZED AS TO MAINTAIN READINESS FOR ANY KIND OF MILITARY CONTINGENCY.

THE DEGREE OF OUR SUCCESS IN THE YEARS TO COME WILL BE DETERMINED NOT ONLY BY OUR SKILL AND RESOLVE, BUT BY THE SOLIDITY OF THE BASE ON WHICH WE STAND. THE MOST INGENIOUS PLANS IN THE WORLD WILL AVAIL US

NOTHING

SECRET

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NOTHING WITHOUT A STRONG UNITED STATES. I REFER NOW TO PRIMARILY NON-MILITARY STRENGTH - TO AN ATMOSPHERE OF FREEDOM, POLITICAL MODERATION, A HIGH, SUSTAINED AND BALANCED LEVEL OF ECONOMIC ACTIVITY, A CALM AND REASONABLE APPROACH TO THE SETTLEMENT OF DOMESTIC PROBLEMS, AND RISING STANDARDS OF EDUCATION AND SOCIAL WELFARE.

WE MUST FURTHER DEVELOP THE ART OF LEADERSHIP, THE LEADERSHIP OF FREE PEOPLES WHICH IS SO MUCH MORE DIFFICULT THAN THE ORDERED HIERARCHY OF THE ANT-HILL STATE. LEADERSHIP OF THE FREE DEMANDS AN ELEMENT OF INSPIRATION WHICH WE HAVE HAD AND MUST MAINTAIN. IT DEMANDS TOLERANCE. WE NEED TO HELP THOSE WHO FIND THEIR OWN ROADS TO FREEDOM, ~~THOUGH~~ THESE
DIFFER

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SECRET

DIFFER FROM OUR OWN IN MANY RESPECTS.

WE HAVE GOOD POLICIES. WE HAVE EXCELLENT LEADERSHIP, GREAT NATIONAL STRENGTH, AND VALUABLE ALLIES. WE CAN LOOK TO THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE. I MAKE NO PRETENSE OF PREDICTING THE FUTURE AND I PLACE NO TRUST IN SURFACE INDICATIONS THAT THE COMMUNIST REVOLUTION MAY BE MELLOWING. BUT I LIKE TO THINK THERE IS A POSSIBILITY - AND IT IS ONLY A POSSIBILITY - THAT JUST AS OUR MILITARY STRENGTH AND OUR WILLINGNESS TO USE IT IF NECESSARY HAVE PREVENTED OUTRIGHT SOVIET AGGRESSION, SO THE SUCCESS OF SOUNDLY CONCEIVED AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICIES

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POLICIES AND A HEALTHY NATIONAL LIFE HERE AT HOME MAY FORCE THE SOVIETS TO EMBARK ON DOMESTIC AND INTERNATIONAL REFORMS THEY CANNOT EASILY WITHDRAW OR REVERSE. IF SUCH REFORMS SHOULD HELP PREVENT NUCLEAR WAR, IF THEY SHOULD READILY ENABLE THE FREE PEOPLES OF THE WORLD TO BE SAFER FROM OVERT OR COVERT CONQUEST, THEN INDEED OUR EFFORTS WOULD HAVE BEEN WORTH WHILE. IF THE NEW PHASE OF HISTORY WHICH WE SEEM TO BE ENTERING, THAT IS A WORTHY OBJECTIVE.

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