

Address delivered by Congressman John E. Fogarty, Second Congressional District, Rhode Island, over Radio Station WEEA, Providence, Rhode Island, Thursday October 28, 1948 at 8:PM.

As Americans, we have committed ourselves to a very definite program of helping to restore security and stability in a world left battered and bleeding after the most terrible war in the history of the human race.

That, in brief, is my conception of what is sometimes mysteriously referred to as our foreign policy.

This country embarked upon a campaign to put down ruthless aggression many years ago when the United States entered the 1st World War. After that war had come to a conclusion, a small group of wilful politicians destroyed a great man's efforts to establish an international society which offered great hope for the preservation of peace. There were a great many American citizens who were opposed to our joining the League of Nations. They believed it represented a departure from traditional and sensible American policy.

When the horrors of the second World War became evident to every thinking person in the land - there was a general determination among businessmen and professional people, laborers and housewives - journalists and scholars - among the people in every walk of American life - that, so help their God, this terrible holocaust must never again be visited upon suffering mankind - if there was anything the average citizen could do to prevent it.

That determination resulted in charting the course for the Dumbarton Conference - and the organization, in California, of the United Nations. It was then that we committed our people, our resources - spiritual and material - to a definite policy of preserving the dignity and freedom of man - wherever he may struggle to raise his eyes to the sun.

That is my conception of American foreign policy - and I grow somewhat irritated at the politicians and journalists who couch it in such language that many get the impression it is beyond the understanding of the average man.



The foreign policy of the United States is not the property of the Democratic Party - although common sense and ordinary honesty compel the admission that two democratic administrations were responsible for its inception.

Neither is it the property of the Republican Administration - although some Republicans rose above party programs and became statesmen to make the policy effective.

Neither is it the property of both parties - in the sense that it is referred to as a bi-partisan foreign policy.

It is the policy of the American people. It is you who must pay the bills for its operation. It is you who must make all the sacrifices - whatever they may be - if that policy is to be supported and made more effective.

The fact of the matter is most Americans have come to realize that we can no longer exist in a vacuum. What happens in the most remote corner of the most desolate area of the earth - may have its affect on every one of us in down-town Providence - and every other American - wherever he may be.

It took the outpouring of the greatest industrial operations ever known; it took the lives of the cream of our youth; the tears of their loved ones; the millions of dollars in destroyed homes and depopulated cities - to bring us to that realization.

But having learned that costly lesson, I insist that we must exhaust every possible effort to guarantee the success of the United Nations - for there lies what may be modern man's last opportunity to preserve his society.

All the pious expressions of unity that might be uttered by every political campaigner in every hamlet in America won't assure the success of the program. It takes positive and constructive unity to do the job.

That type of unity is not the kind we see on the public platform today - the type of unity which justifies attacks on every democrat who dares to speak about foreign policy - but praise for every Republican who dares not mention it - or confuses it when he does.



Unity doesn't consist of talking bi-partisan language whenever a pleasant feature is under discussion - then crying loud denunciations of the present administration whenever it suits a campaigner's purpose.

The present situation is much like the comic-strip daddy who claims every good point of the new-born son - but blames the mother's family for all his short-comings.

In this talk of bi-partisan foreign policy - it might be well to have the great champion of unity - devote a little of his violent language to the members of his own party in the last Congress who very nearly wiped that foreign policy out of existence.

It is one thing to make grand speeches about generalities; it is another to enact legislation which will provide for specific details. It is still another to provide the money without which those specific details will never again be heard of.

That is just where the GOP Old Guard in the Congress constantly falls short.

Those who conscientiously support America's present foreign policy - those who are genuinely interested in its success - and are worried sick over the possibility of its failure - those people know full and well that they spent many sleepless nights during the days of the 80th Congress - while Taber and Allen and Halleck and Knutson and Short hacked away - behind closed doors - at the funds to make our policy effective.

I know that it is not the easiest thing in the world to remember details of Congressional action. This is particularly true when large sums of money are involved. But, I am confident it won't take much effort on your part to recall the wails which came up from the GOP side of the House of Representatives when president Truman first mentioned the possibility of aid to Greece and Turkey.

Remember the loud cries from the GOP Old Guard when the plan of Secretary of State Marshall was first made public?



I know some progressive Republican statesmen came forward and supported both propositions. It would have been much more difficult to make the plans succeed without the help of these forward-looking statesmen.

However, if you just scratch the surface of your memories a little bit - you will remember reading in your daily papers - the loud and oft-repeated predictions of the Old Guard in the House - promising the programs would be emasculated when the appropriations committee got in its licks.

sad to say - the Appropriations Committee in the House did get in its licks and the GOP majority in the House supported Congressman Taber in his efforts to condemn the Greek-Turkey and the European aid programs to death before any attempt was made to put them to the test of operation.

Those provisions are mighty important facets of our Foreign policy.

There was another very important item - the so-called Voice of America. Just delve into your memory a little further and you will recall the effort of the 80th Congress to make the operators of this program look silly, wasteful, un-American and even worse.

I remember reading a book published just after the end of the war. It was titled "The First Freedom". I am sure you recall the Four Freedoms enunciated by President Roosevelt. The first was "freedom of speech and expression - everywhere in the world."

The author dedicated his book To the Members of Congress - and the GOP Old Guard in the 80th Congress did its level best to scuttle that great program which had been established to promote the free interchange of ideas among all the peoples of the world.

Of course there were some legitimate criticisms of individual programs broadcast over the Voice of America. But there are many legitimate criticisms of our domestic radio broadcasts - but we certainly don't propose the destruction of all broadcasts.



The Voice of America was, and is, a powerful weapon in support of our foreign policy. But it got scant approval from the GOP Old Guard which dominated the House of Representatives - and which will continue to dominate that vital branch of government if the Republicans score a victory in the coming election.

The Reciprocal Trade program is another facet of our foreign policy. It contemplates a constant flow of goods between all countries. We are advancing billions of dollars in goods and services. Countries abroad cannot hope to pay for those goods and services; they can't hope to establish a sound basis for their domestic economy - if we shut their products out of our market places.

Yet, in the Old Guard of the GOP - now dominating the Congress, there are still men who dream of the days of the Fordney-McComber - and Smoot-Hawley tariffs. The Congressional Record contains many a speech which clearly points to a desire for a return of those cut-throat days when big business was in the saddle securely and dictated domestic as well as foreign policy.

The American people - not the politicians or industrialists - will do the sacrificing and the suffering if those days are permitted to return.

I don't like to sound like a viewer-with-alarm. I have faith enough in the future of my country to know that it will survive and prosper no matter who may be temporarily at the helm.

But, I shudder to think how close our present foreign policy has come to liquidation on several occasions because the dominant figures in the House refused to cooperate.

You will recall the sincere offers from all over the country of suitable sites for the headquarters of the United Nations. The apparent understanding among all peoples that the Headquarters would be set up in the United States was the best possible evidence to all the world that we were in this thing to stay. We believed in it. We would work to make it succeed.

Yet while the General Assembly of the United Nations was actually in



session in New York - the GOP adjourned the regular session of the 80th Congress without appropriating money for the loan to enable United Nations to build those headquarters. Then, even though the GOP convention was getting under way in Philadelphia - with the eyes of all the nation turned on the delegates to that convention and the candidates for its nomination for President - it was only after frantic appeals and last minute deals that the money was forthcoming - begrudgingly.

I submit to you - no matter what high sounding phrases are used during this period of political campaigning, the Old Guard of the GOP in the House of Representatives - the Allen-Halleck and Taber crew - represent a very definite threat to your foreign policy. It is important to you - as an average citizen - that you send to Washington a Representative who will vigorously oppose their plans.

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