

WORLD  
TRADE?

WHAT  
HAS THAT TO  
DO WITH ME?



Everyone at heart is a Trader.



Everyone at heart is a Consumer.



AND...

As long as Everyone could Trade what they had and didn't want to Consume . . . for things they didn't have and did want to Consume,

*Life was very simple.*



BUT...

Civilization came to the world. Money was invented. People became Businessmen, Workers, Housewives, Archeologists. And they got persnickity. . . . They weren't satisfied with just any old Dinosaur and any old Pterodactyl egg. And so they began to Hem and Haw and Choose between goods.

THUS...

Competition started between Traders. Some sold Foam Rubber Dinosaurs. Some sold Clear Plastic Dinosaurs. Some sold Ground Powdered Pterodactyl eggs. And some sold Frozen-Eyed ones. And Trade got to be a Bigger and Bigger thing until goods were being exchanged all around the world. And pretty soon nations began selling Clear Plastic Dinosaurs to other nations which in exchange sold Frozen-Eyed Pterodactyl eggs.

*That's how terms like exporting and importing came about.*





Now to some nations, like Japan and Holland, trading with other nations (exporting *and* importing) became their most important business.

**BUT...**



**In other words,** what with expanding frontiers, new businesses springing up, and a growing population, the country boomed.

to a nation like America, Trading abroad just wasn't Big Big Business. Things were so good for Trading right in America that there wasn't any need to do a lot of buying and selling outside her shores. There were vast natural resources to develop right within her own boundaries. There was new ground to be broken. And there was immigration that brought in a lot of People who became Consumers.

**HOWEVER...**

in 1929 the Big Boom became the Big Bust. Businesses failed, banks closed, workers lost their jobs. And the Great Depression was on.

In a frantic attempt to stem this tide, up went the tariff walls—the highest in America's history—to cut off competition from goods coming from beyond her shores.

**BUT...**

high tariffs didn't help at all. The Great Depression only became Greater.



**Furthermore...**

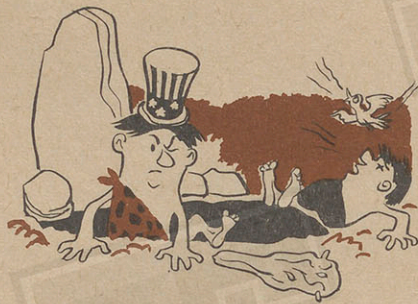
America's Depression had a very Depressing effect on the economies of other nations. Things got worse all over. So America abandoned the course of high tariffs and instead initiated in 1934 a low tariff policy through

#### THE TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT

so that she could sell more goods to other countries. This was a way of fighting the Depression at home and abroad.

Thus, under this Act, America lowered Her tariffs through reciprocal trade agreements with other countries which in turn lowered Their tariffs—all in the interest of bringing about Freer and Brisker and More Competitive trade.





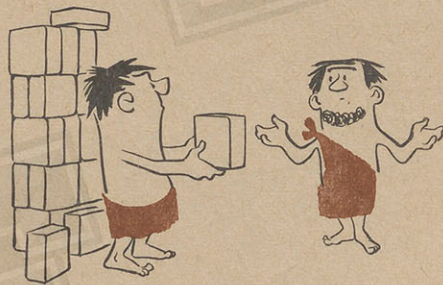
Then, before America really had a chance to catch her breath, there was World War II and, after the war, she suddenly found that she was looked to as the economic center of the world. You see, her huge economy came out of the war in pretty good shape, while Europe and other nations had many of their businesses and factories destroyed.

SO...

America continued to lower her tariffs in order to aid Economic Recovery abroad and also because she knew . . .

IF...

other countries couldn't sell to America, they couldn't buy from her—and America now had more to sell than just her own states could buy so she needed to sell to other countries.



Actually, America didn't have too much trouble selling abroad because these other countries, though they couldn't buy much, were rebuilding and did turn to America for materials. And a lot of people thought things would go on like that forever. You might even say that America got complacent about World Trade.

BUT...

meanwhile a lot was happening elsewhere. Nations were getting back on their feet and they were beginning to trade competitively again. And a lot was happening Politically to make it necessary for nations, especially those less economically developed, to become Strong.



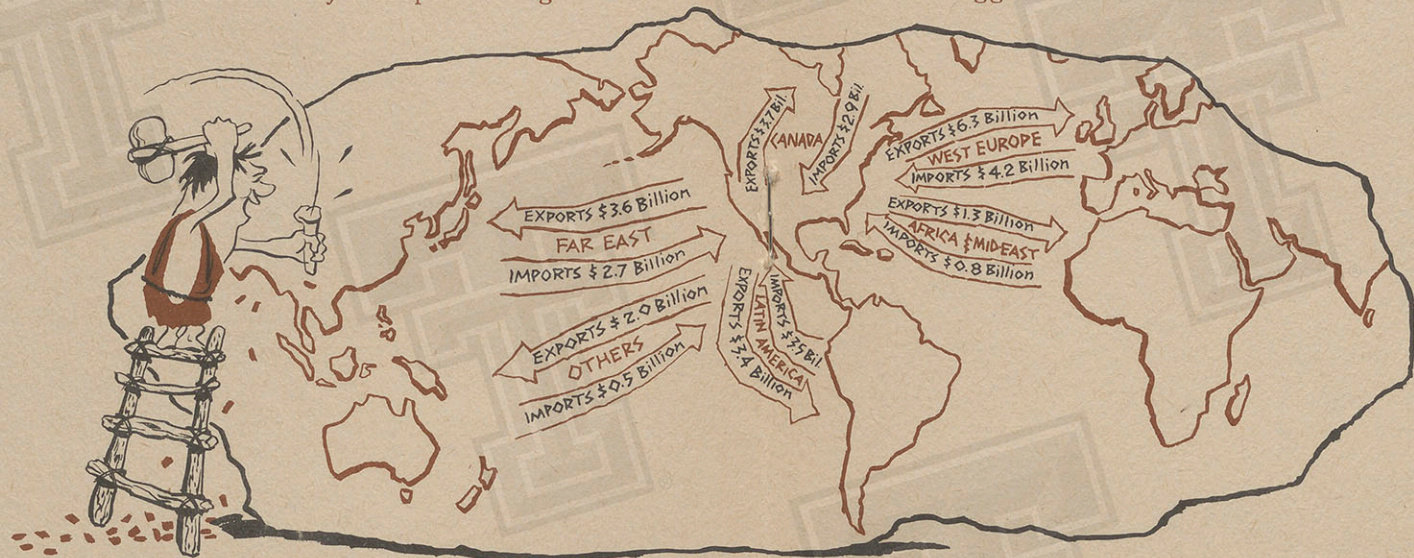
This Map gives you the current Trade picture.

First, you can see that America still has more trade volume abroad than any other country. This means that So Far she has done pretty well in selling her some 20 billion dollars worth of agriculture and manufactured products, and So Far she has been buying scores of strategic raw materials and metals she needs as well as consumer goods she wants.

Next you can see on the map that Europe has gotten to her feet and is doing very well, too. In fact, the map shows that she is America's stiffest *Trade Competitor* as well as being America's very best *Trade Customer*. Now one of the reasons why Europe is doing so well is that

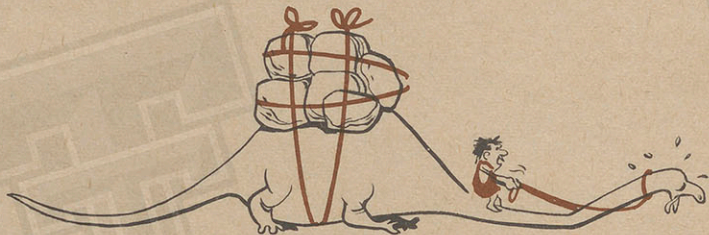
some of her countries have gotten together into a Common Market (as we sort of have between our states) and they are not only trading briskly with each other Inside their Common Market but they are continuing to trade with other countries Outside the Common Market. In other words, Europe is not as dependent on America as she was right after the war.

And the third thing the map shows is that the less economically developed countries Sell Less and Buy Less than the highly developed ones. Yet if they are to become economically developed, they Need to Buy More and Sell More than they do now. And another thing, their poverty and political instability will only increase if they can't get on their feet and become bigger Traders and Consumers.



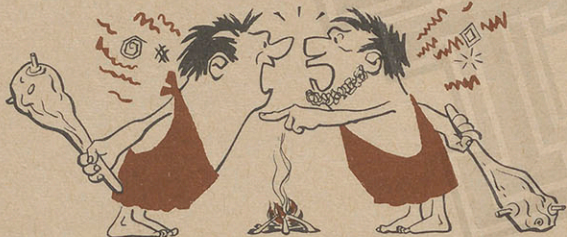


Now the reason why looking at America's trade with other countries is pretty important right now is that the President has asked that the **TRADE AGREEMENTS ACT**, still the basis for America's Trade Policy, be replaced by a "new and bold instrument" when it expires in June 1962.



Though the Act has served America well for nearly 30 years, it has become a sort of tired old dinosaur saddled down with restrictions that aren't much to the point now.

Not everybody agrees, of course, and that is why the argument about America's future in World Trade is so **HEATED**.



For instance, a lot of people are saying,



**"A-HA**

—we helped Europe to Rebuild and Reconstruct and now she's getting so Big she won't need us anymore and, to boot, she'll go steal our markets in other countries. . . ."

And a lot of people are saying,

**"A-HA**

—if we help the less developed countries to get on their feet, they'll just end up competing with us and where will we be? Out in the cold, that's what! How can we propose freer and more competitive trade when already some of our industries are feeling the pinch! If you ask me, it's crazy to take away our protections and let ourselves be swamped with foreign products—and besides, anyone knows they can make things cheaper abroad because their labor is so cheap and besides. . . ."







WELL...

there's no question that a lot of people are worried about these things. But what they really seem to be worried about is whether or not we can compete successfully with other countries.

What they seem to overlook is that all this competition with other countries is not going to come at the expense of America—rather, the size of the Economic Pie increases as World Income increases and everyone, including America, can get more. They don't realize that more (not less) trade among the highly developed and less developed countries is just what we and they NEED if we want the Economic Pie to increase for everyone.

In any case America will be left out in the cold if the President doesn't have adequate power to negotiate with Europe's Common Market. Also, America will be left out in the cold if she doesn't encourage trade with the less developed countries which could be among her best consumers and which also have important undeveloped raw materials that she needs.

And what happens if the less developed countries don't develop? Well, some may become politically exploited, and all sorts of unhappy things happen then.

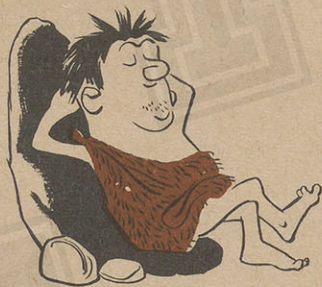
As for the worry that America can't compete with "cheap foreign labor," the thing to remember is that one can't compare her cost of labor with theirs just like that. Wages may be higher here, but workers in many other countries receive "extras" which American workers do not. For instance, some businesses in Japan provide free housing—even lifetime jobs—for their workers.



**BESIDES,** one forgets about high productivity which is what America has in her major industries. When an American worker in an hour turns out two or five or even ten times the number of articles as a worker in some other country turns out in an hour, it means that the cost of the labor that went into making the American article is less, even though the worker himself is paid more by the hour. So, those American industries which have high productivity (usually these are the same industries with a high-wage rate) can compete with low-wage industries abroad.



# AS A MATTER OF FACT



the Real Danger to America's System of Competition, as one economist has pointed out, comes when her businesses sit back and forget to compete. As George Donat, Manager, Overseas Market Research, Parke Davis & Company says, "I have a hunch that our problem is not so much the threat of foreign competition but essentially our resistance to the idea of competition at all."

And as William McChesney Martin, Jr., Chairman, Federal Reserve Board, says, "Our foreign business is the neglected child of American business."

And as Charles Percy, Chairman of the Board, Bell and Howell, says, "I believe—and I believe it with the utmost conviction—that . . . a gradual liberalization of our foreign trade policy will help improve further the efficiency of American industry, will increase our productivity, lower our unit costs of production, increase our standard of living, and inure to the ultimate benefit of the customer. At the same time, it is in the best interest of our nation because it will strengthen our allies, weaken our enemies, and provide a greater measure of security to our country. Against the national interest, what citizen can in good conscience set his special interest?"

## AND SO...

what everything really comes down to is that there is no good reason why America can't Compete Successfully. And getting in and really Trading isn't just for America's own interest but for others, too. Everyone knows there are a lot of Big Issues and Big Problems today that are keeping many people awake at night, and that is why a lot of people feel that we shouldn't dally—that in Trade there is a path we can take that will meet our needs as well as others' needs.

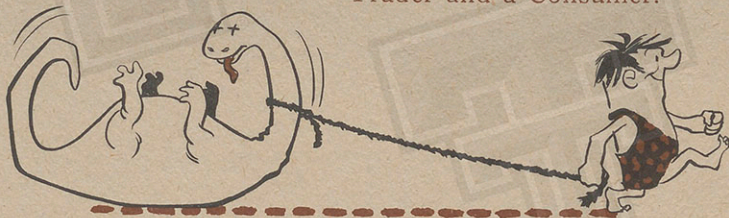
## NOW IT'S YOUR TURN.





**LET YOUR REPRESENTATIVE  
AND SENATORS KNOW** your  
opinion Soon, for they must decide in  
1962 in America's Trade Future and  
how they decide will depend on what  
They think You Think.

**LET THEM KNOW:** should America take timid steps back-  
wards to restricted Trade or should  
she take a Bold Step Forward toward  
freer Trade—toward a world where  
Everyone who wants to be can be a  
Trader and a Consumer.



FEBRUARY 1962 / SINGLE COPY 15¢ / PUB. #274  
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES  
1026 17TH STREET, N.W. / WASHINGTON 6, D.C.



March 14, 1962

TO: Prashner, Mendell, Pettis, Gordon, Brown, Beller  
FROM: Murphree

RE: That man from the State Dept.

O.K. So this man comes to the Gulf Coast. Jo Prashner advises that the CC League cannot use him because of a big meeting on the 11th but that The Friends of the Library 'jumped at the chance' and can have him on either the 10th or 11th, with about 200 people expected.

Now, Betty I am assuming, after Marian's fine memo on details for arrangements, that you will begin the detailed planning for this. There is absolutely NO MORE MONEY IN THE STATE BUDGET for any more long-distance telephone calls, so please do all communicating by U.S. airmail -- and pronto! (Please forgive this old SO typewriter -- it and I are awfully cold today).

1. Send the necessary information to Miriam and Jo as Marian suggested.
2. Decide which day, the 10th or the 11th that he should be in CC, then make the necessary plane reservations and so notify both Jo and Miriam. (A thought -- just include these two people, as I am doing, in on all the onion-skin routine).
3. Notify Mrs. Mayberry by MAIL -- the LWV of Texas doesn't have near as large a budget as the U.S. State Department -- about all these arrangements.
4. Will the Houston and CC Leagues then make his hotel reservations for the appropriate dates -- as soon as we know for sure when he will leave Waco, how long he will stay in Houston, and then arrive in CC., etc.????
5. He should be met and put back on the plane by League people, and no meals alone. If he spends an extra day either in CC or Houston, then some arrangements will be made for other groups of newspaper people to see and talk to him?????
6. Betty, will you also notify the National Office of all these plans?

In summary, it appears then, that we can tentatively say that the fellow (WISH we had his name) will leave Waco on April 8 by plane and arrive in Houston the same day to be met by LL people and put in a hotel. He will speak to the Houston World Affairs Council on Monday, April 9 -- luncheon or dinner, I forgot. But he will receive tender loving care all the day long, right? Then he either stays over in Houston another day or leaves that day for CC. He will probably speak in CC on the 10th and then return to Washington either that day or the 11th. In any event, he will be met in CC by League people and watched over while in that fair city until his departure.

Now, will you three capable people, Betty, Jo, Miriam, who have not a single other thing to do, give this project the full treatment????



Friday AM, March 9, 1962

TO: Prashner, Mendell, Pettis, Gordon, Brown, Beller  
FROM: Murphree

RE: The man from the State Department

Miriam Mendell called me last night to report that the Houston Council on World Affairs will be happy to have the fellow as their guest speaker for their Annual Meeting on Monday, April 9. They will also arrange newspaper and radio-TV coverage.

The Houston LNV was unable to use him because they already had a big Trade meeting set up for the first week in May at the new Houston Trade Center with a speaker from Anderson, Clayton, & Co. But Miriam was kind enough to contact Mrs. Robert Straus, president of the World Affairs Council and make these arrangements.

So, Where is the stuff on this man???? Marian indicated that it was in Waco and was being sent to SO. If it has not been mailed, then will whoever has it, please send direct to Miriam, so that the Houston people can get their publicity going in time to release the material for use in Corpus in case we send the man on down there.

Now, all hands in the SO are working overtime -- including Saturdays beginning tomorrow in order to do everything that has to be done before Convention. There are about 10 things we know have yet to be finished, and then we must allow some leeway for the dozen odd other things that turn up that we hadn't planned on. So there is absolutely no woman-power available here to undertake responsibility for this man's itinerary.

Betty, will you do this? Marian can give you the details of how she handled this for Mr. Wilson. As soon as we hear from Jo Prashner, we will know whether or not he is to go on to Corpus from Houston. I would think that he would need airline reservations with his schedule of arrival and departure sent to Houston and Corpus. ~~xxxx~~ Also we should be responsible for making his hotel reservations and seeing that he is met and otherwise attended to. These expenses are not ours but rather the State Department. But I do think we have responsibility for the arrangements.

I would also suggest that as soon as the fellow arrives on the Baylor campus that we (Betty) should contact him personally and give him the plan. This should all be arranged and set up before Edinburg, but at least we will have an opportunity there to check any last minute details with each other.

Questions????





*cc Gordon*

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
OF THE UNITED STATES

1026 SEVENTEENTH ST., N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C.

Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, President

October 12, 1960

Mrs. George C. Boller, President  
League of Women Voters of Texas  
2114 Sealy Avenue  
Galveston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Boller:

Mrs. Phillips has asked me to thank you for your letter of October 5 concerning a possible tour by Mrs. Blanchard in Texas.

Please rest assured that Mrs. Phillips did not wish you to change your plans in any way. You did such a wonderful job last year on foreign policy we can well understand why you do not wish to sponsor a speaking tour again this year. We do agree with the wisdom of your decision.

Sincerely,

*Dixie Drake*

Dixie Drake  
Executive Secretary

DD/mb



October 5, 1960

Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, President,  
League of Women Voters of U.S.,  
1026 17th St. N.W.,  
Washington, D. C.

Dear Mrs. Phillips:

Replying to your letter of September 26th regarding the lecture tours being sponsored by the Mary Shaw Fund, Inc. of Dayton, Ohio, for Mrs. Blanchard, this whole project has been discussed quite extensively by Mrs. Loren Gordon, our State Chairman of National Program, with members of her committee, and also with Eleanor Richards.

Although we realize full well the value of this project, there are a number of reasons why we feel we cannot undertake state sponsoring of this tour.

One, we have been concerned for some time that many of the Texas Leagues are not as well grounded in National Program as we would like them to be, and since there is always a limited amount of time for each level of Program, we feel that our Leagues must use National Program time for current aspects of the Foreign Policy Item.

Two, the State organization's work sheet is so crowded this year, with, among other things, some very special and much needed efforts on State CR's, that we do not have the time for this project. We did put over a project on FP last year which took both time and money, and we believe we should not attempt another similar project this year.

Having pointed out these factors, I'm sure you will go along with us in the wisdom of our decision.

Sincerely yours,

Mrs. George C. Boller

cc Mrs. Loren Gordon and Mrs. Harold Murphree



September 29, 1960

TO: Mumphree and Gordon - ONLY  
FROM: BOLLER

SHADES OF BLANCHARD! Now I have this letter from Ruth Phillips (cc to both of you) with copy of the letter which went to LL's on July 8th, and the little ~~folder~~ folder.

Which I'll have to answer in the next few days. It looks as if this is really being pushed. And you will note, Marian, that Houston did ask for this.

Marian, since your note to El Richards, which expressed so well your feelings in this matter, didn't go to the National office, I think I might as well draft a letter using the thoughts you expressed - and stressing the fact that since Texas Leagues are not as well grounded in National Program as we would like them to be, and time is of the essence in proper development of the current FP item, the State does not feel that we should push this - or some such. Gwen will be in the SO Monday and perhaps she will help me write this.

Also, I think I could ~~add~~ that the State organization's work sheet is so crowded with so many "firsts" that we will not have the time to organize such a project from the state level - and THIS IS THE ~~XXXXX~~ TRUTH.

Might we add that we put over a state project on FP last year, and that we cannot really afford the expense attached to it - for although presumably this would be paid for mostly by the LL's, there would be Program expense attached to it.

Marian - if you can manage time to dash off your comments, will you please do so, and send Air Mail. Or if you think any and all of the above suggestions are in line, then ~~XXXXXXX~~ Gwen and I will draft a reply to Mrs. Phillips.

THIS IS NOT THE TIME when I would wish to fool with this - we are so busy.

Marian, dear, while I'm writing this, I'm taking it for granted that you will adhere to your original plan of coming to Waco on Monday morning.



route 2  
Plano, Texas  
September 13, 1960

Dear Eleanor,

At long last I'm ready to answer your last letter about Mrs Blanchard.

The Dallas League decided that they would be unable to help sponsor her on a speaking tour. You'll be pleased to know, though, that they are showing her film, "Fighting Man's Ancient Enemies" at the General Membership meeting in September. I should think we should encourage LL use of this film - maybe I should wait until I see it. Anyway, the description leads me to believe that it would be fine to lend to other organizations for their programs.

After consulting with Glen and Gwen about the State Board helping to organize a tour for Mrs Blanchard, we decided against it. The reason being that we feel most Leagues would substitute this for some good hard study on world economic development. That, of course, wouldn't be true of a big League like Houston. Naturally, they're perfectly free to engage her to come to Houston and there should be enough other interested organizations there to make her trip worthwhile. Also, perhaps they could arrange to get her on TV in which case they should notify the other LLs in that viewing area.

I haven't had any correspondence about this with Lois Perryman, but will send her a copy of this letter to you. (We miss you in Dallas, Lois.)

Sincerely,

Mrs Loren D. Gordon

cc: Perryman  
Murphree  
Boller *L*



cc Murphree and Gordon -  
Turner and Abbott



LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
O F T H E U N I T E D S T A T E S

1026 SEVENTEENTH STREET, N.W., WASHINGTON 6, D.C. NA 8-3684

Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, President

September 26, 1960

Mrs. George C. Boller, President  
League of Women Voters of Texas  
2114 Sealy  
Galveston, Texas

Dear Mrs. Boller:

You will remember at the national Convention hearing Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard tell of her experiences in the Far East and seeing the preview of the pictures taken by her for the State Department. The Mary Shaw Fund, Inc., of Dayton, Ohio which was established five years ago in memory of Mary Shaw, a former president of the League of Women Voters of Ohio, is sponsoring lecture tours for Mrs. Blanchard. Attached is an explanation of the tours sent by the Mary Shaw Fund to local League presidents in Ohio which explains the lecture tours in great detail.

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Bladensburg, Md.

Mrs. Blanchard tells us that she has available some time in which she would be glad to visit Texas, Oklahoma, and Kansas. The times it will be possible for her are the last two weeks in January and the last two weeks in February. (Houston has asked for Mrs. Blanchard for April 14, but she tells us she doesn't have much additional time during April). Mrs. Blanchard would also be available the first week of November and the first week of December, although she realizes that this is perhaps too early for any League to be able to arrange for any meetings.

Any group that can afford to take advantage of hearing Mrs. Blanchard would have a most worthwhile experience. If you know of local Leagues in your state that you believe would be interested, I suggest that you ask them to write directly to the Mary Shaw Fund, Inc., 5289 Silbury Lane, Dayton 59, Ohio. The local League or other local group would need to work out directly with Mrs. Blanchard and the Mary Shaw Fund all of the details of scheduling and financing.

It has also occurred to me that any state League which might be planning a meeting in a community where they expect to organize a League could also make use of the kind of presentation that Mrs. Blanchard makes. It would, of course, be necessary to integrate it into the over-all organization plans of the state.

We could not let the opportunity for such an exciting presentation as Mrs. Blanchard can make go by without letting you know about it.

Sincerely,

*Ruth S. Phillips*  
Mrs. Robert J. Phillips  
President



JULIET  
S.  
BLANCHARD

WORLD TRAVELER,  
PHOTOGRAPHER  
AND SPEAKER



*Juliet Blanchard*



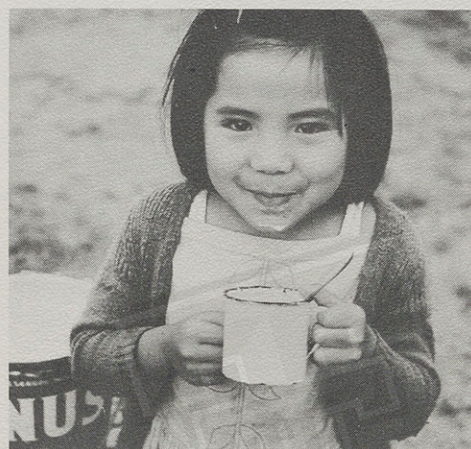
*"...to walk with Kings, nor lose the common touch."*

Off the beaten path, in both directions, goes Juliet Blanchard. Up the royal red carpet to top government officials overseas as a representative of our State Department; down the dusty country paths to the kitchens of women who've never seen the next village.

Always, her pointed questions, her intense interest, her helpful spirit... and her probing camera are with her. Unearthing new facts, gaining a human, person-to-person perspective, always ready to see, and note, the little aside that brings a smile.

These experiences, she reports to you. Straightforward, letting the chips fall, but with the imagination and tolerance that accepts and understands another's point of view... and with such clarity, force and vividness that you feel you've made the trip yourself.

A lively, humorous and dynamic speaker, Juliet Blanchard has received top ratings from men's service clubs, women's organizations, churches, colleges and conventions all over the country. She has served as officer and member in a startling array of clubs and civic organizations including the League of Women Voters, Councils on World Affairs, the YWCA, church, college, the U.S. National Commission for UNESCO, and as a non-governmental observer at the United Nations.



Her ability to humanize great international problems has taken her to many areas of the world... recently through ten countries of East Asia, where she was assigned to make a filmstrip for the U.S. Department of State covering our efforts to help other countries fight poverty, ignorance and disease, and to take pictures for schools and churches. She also served the American Leaders and Specialist Exchange Program, visited over 130 projects, interviewed more than 250 people, and took more than 3000 colored slides.

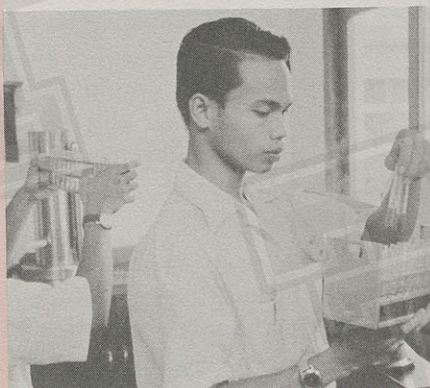
Other trips have taken Mrs. Blanchard to the Federal Republic of Germany, studying women in public affairs; to Mexico and the Indian villages in Patzquaro, site of the Fundamental Education Center for Latin America; and to the Arab states and Israel in the Middle East, observing economic and cultural development.

Juliet Blanchard labels herself as a "full-time volunteer" in community service and national organizations. Her deep insight and interest in how the people of other countries live, her personal contact with the leaders and people of every nation she visits, and her broad and unusual experience, enable Mrs. Blanchard to do an objective job of reporting their problems and progress. She makes no superficial generalizations. She speaks with the authority, enthusiasm, and firsthand knowledge of a person who has been there and shared the experiences she talks about.

You'll cheer Juliet Blanchard.



FOUR  
EXCITING  
LECTURES



FIVE YARDS OF CLOTH IN  
ANY LANGUAGE

With a rapid on-stage change of costume, Mrs. Blanchard portrays the life of typical women in eight countries, including Mexico, Iran, Vietnam, Burma, and the Philippines, and tells of the parts these women play in the home, community, office and government.

THE NEW WAR ON OLD ENEMIES

*with or without slides*

In a firsthand report, Mrs. Blanchard describes the war now being fought against poverty, disease and ignorance in the under-developed countries of East Asia, and how America and other nations of the world are working together to make this battle possible.

AT THE MOUTH OF THE DRAGON

*with or without slides*

Mrs. Blanchard gives a close-up picture of the countries along the Eastern rim of Red China, "within sight of the Dragon's teeth." She describes her own and the residents' reactions to the day and night shelling of Quemoy, the firing of propaganda shells, and the shelters being built with U. S. Aid.

FROM G-STRING TO SUITCOAT

*with or without slides*

In an accurate, enthusiastic talk, Mrs. Blanchard describes the relentless changes now taking place in the countries of Asia, where the people's aim is to make their way from their thatched huts and rice economy to a modern industrial state. She tells of the progress they've made, the help they need, and of the help they're getting.

Arrangements for lectures or  
use of filmstrips, write or call:

MARY SHAW FUND  
5289 Silbury Lane  
Dayton 59, Ohio



## Mary Shaw Fund, Inc.

140 East Dixon Avenue  
Dayton 19, Ohio  
July 8, 1960

Dear League President:

At the State and National Conventions many of you heard Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard tell of her experiences in the Far East and saw a preview of the pictures taken by her for the State Department. You also heard of a plan to be sponsored by the Mary Shaw Fund of organizing a statewide service to communities in Ohio in a concentrated effort to counteract the general apathy to the World Economic Development Program.

To accomplish our goal of reaching as many different groups as possible, including the unusual group, it will be necessary to enter communities where there are no Leagues. We believe we can do this through the efforts of local Leagues who are willing to plan a one, two, or three day program in their areas. This is not only a program for League members who know the answers, but an opportunity for Leagues to do a community service.

We know that many community groups are not only able but willing to pay for programs of this calibre. For this reason and also to enable us to reimburse the Mary Shaw Fund, we are asking that you attempt to meet the following schedule of dates.

- A - Mrs. Blanchard's "glamour" speech in a series of costumes. . . . \$100.00  
The cost of this speech might be shared by more than one organization. With this we offer three additional talks or discussions FREE to League, school, or church groups over a one and one-half to two day period.
- B - A two day program of two or three different speeches (not to include the above), totaling. . . . \$50.00 - \$100.00  
depending on number and time.  
With this an extra day to train speakers in the use of films can be arranged.
- C - An extended period of work in a given area in speaker training, stressing a variety of film usage, cost to be worked out with the sponsoring League.

With any of the above, Mrs. Blanchard is willing to meet any radio or TV appearances, as well as press conferences.

It should be understood that Mrs. Blanchard's services are being donated to the League and that all income over and above actual expenses goes to the Mary Shaw Fund of the League of Women Voters of Ohio.

Most of you are familiar with Mrs. Blanchard's long experience in this field and her ability as a speaker, but the enclosed brochure has been prepared for your use in approaching community groups, service clubs, etc. Additional copies are available.



If you are interested, please write to the address above. Full information as to type of program desired, extent of area to be covered, and a first and second choice of dates will help us greatly in meeting your requirements.

Very truly yours,

Mary Shaw Fund, Inc.  
Mrs. Charles Bang, President

ENCL.

FILM STRIPS AVAILABLE

Fighting Man's Ancient Enemies. Progress report of War on Poverty, Disease, Ignorance, and War in the Far East. Presented by Department of State. Price \$5.00

\*UN Way to Freedom, published by National Council of Churches. \$7.00

Dollars at Work in the Middle East \$5.00

\*The Bridge UNESCO Builds \$4.75  
(With recording extra charge.)

\* See Foreign Policy Roundup, June 1960, page 14.





League of Women Voters of Texas

2114 SEALY AVENUE

GALVESTON, TEXAS

Dallas- August 25, 1960

Dear Marion:

Your letter came yesterday. I talked to Betsy Warren and while she personally likes such programs as Mrs. Blanchard presents she felt- after looking at the Dallas calendar- that the Dallas League couldnt take any responsibility for securing other sponsoring organizations- even other Leagues like Irving or Fort Worth- and by itself could not take it on.

Pearl Wincorn shares your feeling- she would prefer to put such effort into the economic aspect of our National Item- but she, too, feels that if the Dallas League successfully carries out the work schedule as planned, it cannot assume any more work.

I personally agree with you and Betsy and Pearl- and I feel that I can give you a reluctant but firm "No, thank you" for the Dallas League.

Hurriedly- as usual,

*Marion*



# League of Women Voters of Texas

MRS. GEORGE C. BOLLER, President



2114 SEALY AVENUE

rte 2

GALVESTON, TEXAS

Plano, Texas

August 23, 1960

Dear Virginia,

Please look over the enclosed material about the possibility of Mrs Blanchard coming to Texas. You'll see that I wasn't too enthusiastic in my letter to Eleanor. I'd certainly not worry that Houston, Dallas or several other Leagues would substitute Mrs B's talk for coverage of National Program. So, as long as there is this interest in Houston, its fine with me.

Eleanor wonders in her letter if Dallas might be interested. So, I'm bundling up everything on this and sending it to you. My hope is that you will talk it over with Betsey and Pearl and see if there might be some Dallas interest. Then let me know as soon as possible, not a definite commitment (for which you'd need more time), but just a "maybe" or "probably not". Also, please return all of the enclosed material - they're my only copies.

There are so many LLs around Houston, that they should find enough there, perhaps, to warrant having her whether Dallas or any other LL joined the project. So please don't think you'd be depriving another LL of having her, if you say NO. As a Field Service person, what do you think?



August 21, 1960

Dear Marion:

Enclosed is a copy of my letter to Juliet Blanchard.

I would agree with your misgivings about trying to swing it were it not for the conversation I had had with Lois Perryman regarding this very thing. We have been together this summer and apparently Houston is really ready and eager to have Mrs. Blanchard.

I don't think it would have to be a major project. If she saw four or five Leagues it seems to me it would be quite enough. The expense should not be too great, maybe \$100. round trip to the state, and then some volunteer transportation within the state.

I feel quite sure Waco would be willing to take on a program and underwrite some of the expense, too. Do you think Dallas would? It seems to me that if Dallas, Waco, Houston and a couple of other Gulf Coast Leagues were interested (maybe Fort Worth, too, or instead of Dallas, or maybe Irving, with Dallas and Fort Worth invited) we could make up a kitty between us that would not be burdensome to anyone.

I've sent the material they sent me on to Lois and maybe she will contribute some good ideas. I should certainly hate to say a flat no, wouldn't you?

I am so grieved that the state Board picked the only week that I cannot be in Waco for their

meeting here. That is the week of the Grinnell Trustees meeting and I always make a major effort to attend the fall meeting because I am often prevented by the weather from making the January meeting.

So we will have to get together some other way. I really plan to make more jaunts to Dallas in the future and not be entirely the sappy grandmother when I do get to that city of many other interesting facets.

Let me know what you think and whether it seems to you that I'm too bullish on this project.

Love,



August 21, 1960

Mrs. J. Werner Blanchard  
Lakewood, Wisconsin

Dear Juliet:

I received the letter from Mrs. Spurlino this week in regard to the possibility of Texas taking on a tour of the League's leading lady.

You well know that I'm not going to give you a "quick no". I would be drummed out of the Texas League if I did.

I have also had a letter from Marion Gordon, state Foreign Policy chairman, in regard to Mrs. Spurlino's letter. M.G. is dubious about our being able to set this up because some of the League programs are already filled and she sees difficulties in their being able to do an adequate job in sponsoring your trip.

But I think I have some information that she has not had yet because Lois Perryman has talked to me about the possibility of getting you here since Houston is very much interested. Houston wants to know costs, time available, possible cooperation with other Leagues et cetera.

I think at this point we should get some of these facts together and get in touch with some of the Gulf Coast Leagues and see what can be done. I don't need to tell you how much I feel the League members would like a visit from you.

I am sending Mrs. Spurlino's letter on to Lois and I will keep in touch with Marion Gordon. We are in no position to ask you to hold any dates for us but we

can certainly let the Leagues know what they might avail themselves of and ask them to consider their plans.

Lois and I had wondered if there were other sponsoring groups in the state, such as the Presbyterians, who might want to share costs with us. Do you have any ideas on this.

I hope you are having a good fun summer. I went out "restful" in my wish for your summer, because I don't think you want to vegetate anywhere.

Affectionately,

I think it is a good idea to have you here. I have had yet because Lois Perryman has talked to me about the possibility of getting you here since Houston is very much interested. Houston wants to know costs, time available, possible cooperation with other Leagues et cetera.

I think at this point we should get some of these facts together and get in touch with some of the Gulf Coast Leagues and see what can be done. I don't need to tell you how much I feel the League members would like a visit from you.

I am sending Mrs. Spurlino's letter on to Lois and I will keep in touch with Marion Gordon. We are in no position to ask you to hold any dates for us but we



route 2  
Plano, Texas  
August 17, 1960

Dear Eleanor,

We're so glad that you agreed to be on the State FP Committee. I know that I shall lean heavily on your advice.

Luckily the envelope hadn't been sealed on the enclosed Memo because the material came today from the Mary Shaw Fund of the Ohio LWV about Mrs Blanchard's availability as a speaker. Her colored picture shown at Nat'l Convention were very interesting.

Since you were asked to let her know fairly soon whether or not the Leagues in Texas might want her for January or February, you probably are wondering what I think about it. My first reaction is that is the time when the Local Leagues should be studying "balance of payments", private foreign investment", "regional economic blocs", etc. If any of them had Mrs Blanchard, they might never get around to the new aspects of the Nat'l Item. Also, it would take MONEY - Ohio is far away. Personally, I'd rather have outside speakers who spoke on foreign-domestic economics.

You'll notice that my Memo refers briefly to using film strips on TV, but this is something we probably could work out here if we find enough interest.

Please don't hesitate to say so if you disagree with me. Of course, if you think it would be a good idea, we could circulate this information, by mail, to the Local Leagues to let them decide.

Hope we'll find time for a chat when the State Board meets in Waco in October.

Sincerely,

Mrs Loren D. Gordon,  
State Foreign Policy com.



# Mary Shaw Fund. Inc.

August 12, 1960

Mrs. Loren D. Gorden  
R2, Plano, Texas

Dear Mrs. Gorden:

Mrs. Blanchard has asked me to send you the enclosed letters and brochure. I am sorry for the delay. She expected them to reach you early in July. I hope they are self-explanatory.

Very truly yours

Mrs. Pascal Spurlino  
140 East Dixon Avenue  
Dayton 19, Ohio

August 12, 1960

Mrs. Leon K. Richards  
7301 Westover Road  
Waco, Texas

Dear Mrs. Richards:

Mrs. Blanchard has asked me to send you a copy of our letter to local Leagues in Ohio and her brochure with the following personal message from her:

"This is the kind of project we talked about at Convention. I would love to try it out in Texas if anyone is interested. Could be the last two weeks in January or the last two weeks in February. Betty Corber was so pleased with the idea, she suggested I send copies of all this to Mrs. Leon Gorden. Let me know your frank reaction. If it's a quick 'No', I 'll not hold the dates open."

I hope the above explains itself.

Very truly yours

Mrs. Pascal Spurlino  
140 East Dixon Avenue  
Dayton 19, Ohio

Mrs. Blanchard can be reached Lakewood, Wisconsin until September 1.



## Mary Shaw Fund, Inc.

140 East Dixon Avenue  
Dayton 19, Ohio  
July 8, 1960

Dear League President:

At the State and National Conventions many of you heard Mrs. Werner J. Blanchard tell of her experiences in the Far East and saw a preview of the pictures taken by her for the State Department. You also heard of a plan to be sponsored by the Mary Shaw Fund of organizing a statewide service to communities in Ohio in a concentrated effort to counteract the general apathy to the World Economic Development Program.

To accomplish our goal of reaching as many different groups as possible, including the unusual group, it will be necessary to enter communities where there are no Leagues. We believe we can do this through the efforts of local Leagues who are willing to plan a one, two, or three day program in their areas. This is not only a program for League members who know the answers, but an opportunity for Leagues to do a community service.

We know that many community groups are not only able but willing to pay for programs of this calibre. For this reason and also to enable us to reimburse the Mary Shaw Fund, we are asking that you attempt to meet the following schedule of dates.

- A - Mrs. Blanchard's "glamour" speech in a series of costumes. . . . \$100.00  
The cost of this speech might be shared by more than one organization. With this we offer three additional talks or discussions FREE to League, school, or church groups over a one and one-half to two day period.
- B - A two day program of two or three different speeches (not to include the above), totaling. . . . \$50.00 - \$100.00  
depending on number and time.  
With this an extra day to train speakers in the use of films can be arranged.
- C - An extended period of work in a given area in speaker training, stressing a variety of film usage, cost to be worked out with the sponsoring League.

With any of the above, Mrs. Blanchard is willing to meet any radio or TV appearances, as well as press conferences.

It should be understood that Mrs. Blanchard's services are being donated to the League and that all income over and above actual expenses goes to the Mary Shaw Fund of the League of Women Voters of Ohio.

Most of you are familiar with Mrs. Blanchard's long experience in this field and her ability as a speaker, but the enclosed brochure has been prepared for your use in approaching community groups, service clubs, etc. Additional copies are available.



If you are interested, please write to the address above. Full information as to type of program desired, extent of area to be covered, and a first and second choice of dates will help us greatly in meeting your requirements.

Very truly yours,

Mary Shaw Fund, Inc.  
Mrs. Charles Bang, President

ENCL.

FILM STRIPS AVAILABLE

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Dollars at Work in the Middle East \$5.00

\*The Bridge UNESCO Builds \$4.75  
(With recording extra charge.)

\* See Foreign Policy Roundup, June 1960, page 14.



September 19, 1960

TO: Gordon and Beller  
FROM: Murphree  
RE: Blanchard thing

This seems to have taken a great deal more time and thought than it should have. I think that Marian very effectively handled this with Eleanor.

But the Houston thing is another matter — I don't see how we can do ~~anything~~ anything at all if Houston wishes to go ahead with this; however, I do think that we could write Muriel to the effect that while we think this is OK for Houston, we SERIOUSLY doubt that any other Gulf Coast League — or any other LL in Texas for that matter — will or should have the time for this project. I am trying to do a run-down of all Program coverage by LLs this year on each item (I know that the Item chairmen do this, but I need the complete picture), and at the moment I can't see any time for this by any LL. Each League will be *busy* good just to cover the present aspects of this item — and I would hope that we can continue to encourage our LLs to do a thoro STUDY job on NP. This they can't do if they have these kind of projects, because nearly every one of them would substitute it for real study.

But there is still another side of this thing, a PR side: it seems that this is a project of an educational fund of the Ohio State League. I do think that we ought to give thought to its uses for some future date, for who knows when the LNW of Texas might have an educational fund that sponsors something like this? (Or is that prospect so far away that we needn't be concerned in this GENERATION — not administration — ???). And then we might want other State Leagues to use our stuff... oh well, that IS in the future.

Back to the above, we might say to Muriel that we have been trying especially hard in the past two years to get LLs to study and not substitute glamour for hard work...I think that Muriel will understand our problem and be sympathetic.  
love,



JUL 19 REC'D

CCs: Turner, MacLaren, Abbotte Brown, Macdonald, SO & Murphree. Only made 8 copies - wish it could have been 11. So, Dorothy please tell Betty and Eleanor about this. Glen or Gwen, please the same for Pat. Mrs Mayberry is the one I worked with, via telephone and mail, on James Wilson's League tour.

My husband has kindly consented to have ccs. of her letter made for all of you. The letter going to Mrs M. looks neater and was finished, but I couldn't slip all these carbons back in the typewriter.

route 2  
Plano, Texas  
July 17, 1961

Mrs Katherine H. Mayberry  
Officer in charge, Speaking Arrangements  
Office of Public Services  
Department of State

Dear Mrs Mayberry:

How nice that you are coming to Dallas and that we will have an opportunity to discuss matters of mutual interest. Your letter didn't arrive in time for me to reach you at your office number and I wasn't able talk to you about your plans for your stay in Dallas. So, I hope this letter will catch up with you on the West Coast.

I wanted to ask you if you had any definite appointments or meetings with people in Dallas. If not I would be happy to make up a list of the proper people for you to contact in organizations, universities, and public media. August is a hot month in Dallas and some of these persons may be away. I would consider it a privilege to meet you at the airport and take you to your hotel. You will arrive August 8, 8:30 A.M., Braniff Flt. 2? How will I recognize you?

We were gone all day yesterday and your letter was here when we reached home. Consequently, I've not had time to do more than think about your visit - with pleasure, I might add. My husband has promised to get a list of the program chairmen of the big luncheon clubs which have weekly luncheon meetings with speakers. You probably will wish to talk to the Dallas Council on World Affairs. The Department of State has plucked away their executive director, Paul Goren, and I'm not sure whether or not he has been replaced, but will find out. They, of course, know of the services you have available, but they would be a good source of information about what groups in Dallas are interested in speakers on foreign relations. You'll probably want to see someone at Southern Methodist University, and at the two newspapers. Please let me know if you'd like to have me make some of these key appointments for you.

Your letter came at a propitious time for the League. At the moment, we are searching for a good speaker on foreign policy for our State Convention which will be held next March. Our Convention chairman, Mrs E. Jack Turner, lives in Lake Jackson which is about 80 miles from Houston. If its convenient for her to come up to Houston on August 7th, would you have time to see her? If so, we'll need the name of your hotel there and she could leave a message for you.

If you wish to telephone me, call Wiman 5-4215, Plano, Texas. I will be looking forward to hearing from you at your v



JUL 19 REC'D



DEPARTMENT OF STATE

WASHINGTON

July 13, 1961

Dear Mrs. Gordon:

Later this month I will be in the West for the Regional Conferences the Department of State is holding in San Francisco and Denver on July 20 and 21. I hope to make use of this trip to visit people who play important roles in public opinion leadership in their areas. Many of them will attend the Conferences, of course, but I am anxious to pay special visits to those, such as yourself, who hold key positions in non-governmental organizations, universities, and public media.

I would like to discuss with you your plans for next year and offer our cooperation and assistance. We are prepared to furnish officers as speakers and participants in your programs, subject to our own operating limitations, and I hope that you will be able to set aside some time so that we might meet and discuss these matters. Perhaps you will also mention my proposed visit to other community leaders who might have an interest in our public speaking program. I would be happy to meet them during my visit to your city.

I will be staying at the White Plaza Hotel in Dallas and will be pleased to discuss the possibility of sending speakers to you on the Mutual Security Program for a tour such as the one you worked out for Jim Wilson a year or so ago.

Please do not hesitate to call me collect (DUDley 3-5657) if you have any questions or suggestions. If I do not hear from you in the meantime, I will telephone you when I arrive in Dallas.

Sincerely yours,

*Katherine H. Mayberry*  
Katherine H. Mayberry

Officer in Charge, Speaking Arrangements  
Office of Public Services

Enclosure:

Itinerary.

Mrs. Loren D. Gordon,  
Route 2,  
Plano, Texas.



Windy Hill Farm

ROUTE 2

PLANO, TEXAS

March 1960  
Speaking Tour  
Monday State Dept  
Mr. Wilson

Dear Glen,

This may not catch you before you leave, but if it does, have a wonderful time in the Bahamas. Hope you can leave all of your serious thoughts behind and come home rested and relaxed.

I don't have time, at the moment to do a memo - thus the letter on personal stationery. Thank you so much for your thoughtful comments about Mr Wilson's visit. Everyone seems to be so busy with other urgent Board business that I've had to make most of these decisions alone. Its too bad not to have more ideas from others, because this has turned out to be a big project for the League.

Actually about all the State Board can do now is to hope and pray that the LLs handle this wisely. I certainly agree with you that the PR chairman in each LL should know exactly what the League's positions are on Foreign Policy. Maybe they already do! Anyway, it shouldn't be hard for them to find out in an hour or two. This is one place where the shortage of time makes it difficult not to "spoon feed". However, since each of these LLs has a FP chairman (with the possible exception of Midland), I believe we should take Chris's advice to have confidence in the intelligence of the LL member. One learns better what she looks up for herself. In this case, the LLs have exactly the same material that I have.

Since Public Relations are so important to some of these LLs where there is strong community antagonism toward anything international, perhaps they need an additional reminder that the PR chm. brush up on the LLs' positions. Also, the Foreign Policy chm. might accompany the PR chm. to the newspaper.

said

Marian Jones, president of the Odessa League, that while feeling out others in Odessa about having Mr Wilson come there, someone told her John Ben Sheperd's opinion. This was that all Dep't of State speakers he had ever heard always read their speeches and are very vague about answering questions! Odessa has a very isolationist newspaper, which reflects the feelings of the community. Marian said that the feeling is even worse in Midland. Mib LaTourette is concerned about Tyler, too. However, they got out a crowd of 1000 for a U.N. Day celebration so it can't be too bad. The LLs need moral support in this instance. I hope that all of them heard what Pres. Eisenhower had to say recently. He stated that anyone who believed that foreign aid is a "giveaway" is guilty of "abysmal ignorance" or that they were under the influence



of demagogues. I agree with him a 100%.

Lack of confidence in Dep't of State people is probably a hangover from the days of McCarthyism, which had a stronger foothold in Texas than in most other states.

-----

Mailman just arrived

A letter from Frances Harris was in the mail. You may have talked to her and learned that they have decided that the time is too short to plan a meeting in Galveston. I'm so sorry because I believe they really would have enjoyed this kind of meeting. However, I certainly understand their concern about planes arriving on time and the possibility of bad weather. Even without any such difficulties, there wouldn't have been a spare minute.

So, I'm going to send a letter to the Houston League to see if they would like to do something with Mr. Wilson between planes there. If they should want to plan a luncheon, perhaps some people from Galveston and neighboring LLs might like to go up there to hear him.

Galveston was the one point I was most worried about on the schedule. It would be nice to have a private plane to fly him around so that he could arrive at our convenience and not that of the airlines! Must rush a letter to Mrs. Joor.

Love,

*M. Joor*

P.S. This is a dis-jointed letter.

I liked all of your other suggestions and will pass them on to <sup>the</sup> appropriate people.

The mailman also brought Waco's well-laid plans for their meeting and a letter from Halcyon saying how excited the Lubbock League is and that they are planning a luncheon at their Country Club, with the AAUW as co-sponsor, etc.!!!



Boller

LWV of Texas  
March 27, 1960

YOUR LWV, TOO, CAN PRESENT A DEPARTMENT OF STATE SPEAKER TO YOUR CITY!

No meeting to arrange; no leaving home on a stormy night; and no expenses to deplete your budget! All you need to do is to persuade your local TV station to show an excellent  $\frac{1}{2}$  hour video tape.

Mr. James M. Wilson, Jr., Assistant Coordinator for Mutual Security, spent several days, <sup>in Texas</sup> early in March, at the invitation of the League of Women Voters. When he visited Houston, KUHT-TV (educational station at the University of Houston) taped an interview with him for later showing. KUHT-TV has offered to lend this tape to any commercial TV station that requests it. There will be no charge.

Subject of tape: The Mutual Security Program

Time: 30 minutes

Participants: Mr James Wilson, Jr., Assistant Coordinator for MSP

Moderator - Dr James Jensen, Department of Political Science, Univ. of Houston

Interviewers - Mr Nathan Brock, columnist and foreign news analyst of the Houston Post.

Mr Tom Mulvaney - editorial writer and reporter for the Houston Chronicle.

The program consists of questions and answers about the Mutual Security Program. According to Mrs Allegret, of foreign policy chm. of the Houston LWV, "The Houston Chronicle is editorially against foreign aid, and Mr Mulvaney asked some rather acid questions. Mr Wilson, however, knows his subject so well that he was able to answer everything very satisfactorily. In fact, it added a great deal to the interest of the program to have these "anti" questions discussed. Mr Wilson's diction is extremely good and his explanations very clear. While program was aimed at the general public, it was also not too elementary to be interesting to Leaguers!"

Biographic information about Mr James M. Wilson, Jr.: Born in China, 1918 of American parents. Swarthmore College, B.A. Geneva School of International studies, certificate. Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, M.A. Harvard University, LLB, 1948. While in U.S. Army (1941-1946) attained rank of Lieutenant Colonel.

Appointed Assistant Coordinator of Mutual Security in 1958. By delegation of Presidential authority the Under Secretary of State acts as coordinator of the Mutual Security Program. He is responsible for the general direction and continuous supervision of programs administered by the International Cooperation Administration, other offices of the Department of State, the Department of Defense, and the Development Loan Fund to assure their effective integration and responsiveness to U.S. Foreign Policy. To assist him in these functions he has a staff attached to his office headed by the Deputy Coordinator and the Assistant Coordinator.

He was a member of the U.S. Delegation to Berlin Conference in 1953, London and Paris Conferences in 1954 and various NATO conferences during 1953 and 1954. He joined Department of Defense in 1948, spent much time in Europe and North Africa negotiating for U.S. bases.



Returned to Washington end of 1954 to head office under Secretary of Defense responsible for worldwide U.S. base interests.

Arrangements for lending tape - KUHT-TV will send the tape directly to a commercial TV station, if that station requests it, from KUHT-TV. This will be on a "first come, first served" basis. KUHT-TV will hold the tape for about 60 days (until about the end of May). Ask your local TV station to write to: KUHT-TV,

University Forum Program,  
University of Houston,  
3801 Cullen Boulevard,  
Houston, Texas

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS IS MENTIONED ON THE PROGRAM

*The Dallas LWV office is making copies of this to be distributed (somehow) to each Lt at Convention.*



*Hope this is all right - they  
thought I should handle this  
promotion. There was only time  
for me to make this phone alone.*

route 2  
Plane, Texas  
March 18, 1960

Dear Mrs Allegret,

Thank you for your nice letter about the TV tape. I'm so glad that the interview went so well and that you were able to arrange the luncheon with the VP of the U. of Houston. Yesterday I had a very cordial letter from Mr Wilson praising the local Leagues for their excellent arrangements. In fact, he felt that the venture was so successful that he is going to suggest that the Dep't of State do more of this sort of thing.

Now that the tape is a fact and that we know that its well worth the effort of promoting its distribution to other stations, I'm making plans to do it at Convention. I've just talked to the president of the Dallas League and they will let me use their facilities in their office to duplicate the information. Then, at Convention, we will see that each local League gets a copy of it. We've been allotted a few minutes to make a report on Mr Wilson's visit and perhaps will have time then to mention the tape.

The best time for the Dallas LNW office to duplicate this sheet is next Wednesday, the 23rd. Would it be at all possible for you to send me some details before then? It may save a day for you to mail it to my husband, Trust Department, First National Bank, Main at Akard, Dallas. I'd like to know specifics - title, names of participants and their press connections, how a station would arrange to get the tape, how long it will be available, will station KUNT do the scheduling?, and most important your opinion of and reasons for thinking its excellent; and what topics it covered; and any other information you think is pertinent. If you can't get this to me by Wednesday, send it as soon as you can, to see you at Convention.



Similar letter to  
Mrs Webb

Boller

route 2  
Plano, Texas  
March 18, 1960

Dear Mib,

Hope you and Tyler enjoyed Mr Wilson as much as the others, who have sent in reports. The weather delayed him in Dallas and he was two hours late reaching Lubbock. As far as I know that was the only delay. I had a nice letter from him yesterday praising all of the LLs. In fact, he thinks the Dep't of State should do more of this sort of thing.

We have felt that the Convention should have a report on his visit and have decided to squeeze it in on the night that Mrs Briscoe will speak. I believe this will be on the night of the 30th, which is a change from the agenda you have. Since there wouldn't be time to have each LL report on his stops, we plan that I will give a very brief introduction, then you will describe the high spots of his first stop in Tyler; and then Mrs Webb will tell of his last stop in Corpus Christi. You have been allowed 3 minutes for your part. Knowing how busy you are, don't bother to let me know unless for some reason you can't do it. You, Mrs Webb and I will try to find a few minutes before the night of the 30th to discuss what we'll say.

There will be a display of the publicity, mostly newspaper, at Convention. So, I'm hoping your FP chairman will send the clippings early next week - hope she'll have 3 sets for me because the State and National Offices should both have a set. Also, I'd like an essay type report of his visit to Tyler. This should include advance arrangements, how they worked out, how many in audience, an evaluation, etc.

I'm certainly looking forward to seeing you in Dallas soon.

Love,

cc - Ashford  
SO



Dear Glen, Hope you saw Mr Wilson on TV. If you have any suggestions about promoting the further use of Boller this tape, please let Mrs Joer know. I hope you understand why I suggested that Houston do this rather than my doing it. Please tell Gwen about this too, since she probably saw the program and also because the business of lending the tape will be going on into the new League year. Did you and Gwen think the program was good enough to warrant lending it to other stations? Please be frank!

route 2  
Plano, Texas  
March 10, 1960

Dear Mrs Joer,

Thank you for your letter of March 3rd about the loan of the audio-video tape of the interview of Mr Wilson. It certainly is generous of KUHT-TV to make this offer to other stations. After considering the necessity of haste in letting the other Leagues know about the tape, it seems to me that the quickest method would be for the Houston League to do it.

This would eliminate the time consumed in messages going back and forth between Houston and me. Also, having no mimeograph facilities at hand and the State Office overloaded with Convention business, I don't see how we could do it before Convention. In normal times, I could send out this notice rather soon, but there won't be time between now and Convention. I'm on both the Convention and Program committees of the State Board. So, I'm hoping that Mrs Allegret and your PR chairman may be able to take over. It's such a marvelous opportunity to broaden the audience in our effort to inform the public about foreign policy that it would be a pity not to take advantage of this offer.

Having seen the interview, you will know better than I how best to promote its use by TV stations in other League communities. Besides a description of the program, the other Leagues will need some biographic information about Mr Wilson - this was sent only to the Leagues who were sponsoring his visits. The mechanics of handling the tape and scheduling its use in other cities will also be easier for you to do because you're within local telephone reach of KUHT-TV.

I'm sending a copy of this letter to the State Bd Field Service people, Betty Pettis, Lois Braunagei and Halcyon Baggett, because it occurred to me that they would be able to tell you whether it would be better to send this to all or to a selected list of Leagues. Since there are Leagues within range of KUHT-TV, perhaps they saw the program and wouldn't need this notice. Some of them may not have local TV stations. You will not want to send it to the communities where he spoke - Tyler, Lubbock, Odessa, Midland, San Angelo, Waco and Corpus Christi. He's to stop a couple of hours in Austin today, but I don't think a TV program has been arranged there - probably just a press interview. I will ask the FS people immediately to let you know if they have suggestions. By the way, Irving doesn't have a TV station. They're within range of Dallas and Fort Worth, which are in range of each other. (this gets complicated!) For various reasons I think you'd have more luck writing to Fort Worth.

Now, let's hope the weather permits him to get to Houston tomorrow. He was held up in Dallas Tuesday, delaying his arrival in Lubbock by 2 hours. I will be most anxious to hear from you about the program.



March 13, 1940

TO Gordon, ex Smith, Ashford, Bridwell, Tallman  
FROM: Bolter

I want to report that I did manage to listen to the taped program on Houston Channel 8, panel with Mr. Wilson, (and they did say that it was sponsored by the League of Women Voters!). I consider it was very well done, and certainly Mr. Wilson was most clear and very thoughtful - quite unhurried in his replies to questions which made it more impressive. I almost missed it! It was the supper hour and when George rolled the TV around so we could see it from the dining room, he pulled a gadget and it went off! But he managed to get it fixed in time.

Emphasis on this another success story at the dinner for Mrs. Brinscoe - fine - and what a wonderful idea to display the clippings, etc. I think this will give a real fine fillip to our evening with our National Board member.

All for now.



March 8, 1960

To: Gordon

Copies: Smith, Tallman, Abbott, Richards, Boller, Bridwell

From: Ashford

Re: Convention Report on Speaking Tour of James M. Wilson, Jr.

Change of Convention Plans. First, in case you haven't heard, our Tuesday evening dinner program (Mrs. Briscoe's speech) has been changed to Wednesday night, and the panel on "The Challenge of Texas Govt." will be on Tuesday night. This has been done because the information we hope to secure from the panel will be so vital to our program discussions on Wednesday.

Aside to Eleanor: Can you be back from the Oklahoma Council to be with us Wednesday night and introduce Martha Briscoe? We would love to have you do this if it is at all possible, and I'm sure you'd like to hear Mrs. Briscoe's speech. Please let me know. This should have been a separate letter but I "kill as many birds with one stone" as I can this close to Convention. Cookie has made hotel reservations for you beginning Tuesday, March 29.

Report on Mr. Wilson: Marion has requested a little Convention time to present some kind of a report on the highly enthusiastic and successful arrangements for the speaking tour of Mr. Wilson of the State Dept. Cookie has suggested that Mib LaTourette from Tyler and Jackie Webb of Corpus Christi be given three minutes each to tell of his arrival and departure from Texas- from the point of view of PR, value to the community and to the League of this project, etc. Marion Gordon would introduce them, taking a minimum of time.

This report would be given at the dinner Wednesday night- possibly as the dessert is being eaten- as a sort of "extra"- not scheduled on the agenda- a surprise.

I feel that this will work out just fine, and I approve of Marion's plan to collect clippings and announcements of the Wilson tour, to mount them on an easel or bulletin board, and display them that night as another "Local League Success Story". She is arranging with Mrs. Jenkins of Dallas for this.

This extra "success story" would seem to be nicely timed- on the same day as "They Said It Couldn't Be Done"..

To Del Tallman: I believe you proposed to announce the winners in the Exhibits contest on the same night as Mrs. Briscoe's speech (the League night). Don't you think Wednesday night would work out OK for your announcement? Do you want it before or after Mrs. Briscoe speaks? We must let Cookie know because this bit of business should appear on the Convention agenda. Will you make the announcement? Does this change of plans affect your choice of judges? I would like to have their names for the agenda, whether or not one of them make the announcement of winners.



March 3, 1960

Dear Marigee ---

Yes, it was good to see you Monday -- you know, you and I have had very little time to get acquainted, and I'm sorry about that. Thanks for sending the clippings --- the wrinkles on my soul caused by newspaper pictures! And the "sinful study" as a lead on Mildred Young's story! Peggy Nolle commented that I sounded like I was quoting a League husband when I said that. Must send a note of thanks to her and to Louise Falls -- I'm assuming that it's "Mrs." Young and "Miss Falls"????

Now down to the business of this letter.....which I've put off as long as possible cause it probably won't bring sunshine into your life. But, after thinking and thinking, I've decided that the 20-minute thing you suggested was all out of key with almost any place we might have squeezed it into Convention. So let me suggest a substitute, which I think will get your point over --- and in a more "listen-able" way, too, I believe.

How about asking Mib from Tyler and Jackie from Corpus to make the little reports -- a fast 3 minutes each -- of Wilson as he came to Texas and Wilson as he left. They're both so capable of doing this extremely well.....cute girls with a happy platform manner. And you might introduce them -- briefly -- and as representatives of (and name the Leagues), because there wasn't time for each to do justice to her story of the effects of taking Program to the community.

Matter of fact, it would be so helpful to so many for years to come if you could compile a one or two-page report on this whole trip.....giving the kind of inside information that so few people seem to be born with.....the how and the who and the results from which. This could be sent to any or all new Board members next year, under the title of HOW TO ETC., ETC.

Now --- if Carol agrees to this 6½-minute insertion at the Briscoe dinner, we'll see if it might not even be done while delegates are eating dessert.....or started as the last of the dessert dishes are being removed. In other words --- we'd try to make this look like a happy extra, in order not to detract from the importance of Martha Briscoe as the speaker-of-the-evening.

WILL YOU AGREE WITH ME, DEAR GIRL?

cc-Ashford, Bridwell, *Boeller*

my love,  
cookie



ADDITIONAL PLANS - *to those dated Feb 26* ~~Feb 26~~

Houston: arr. 11:45 AM, March 11. Mr Wilson will be met at Eastern Airline ticket counter by Mrs Allegret. Goes to U. of Houston for taping interview for KUHT-TV. Two or three reporters from Houston papers will interview him. Mrs Joseph Mares will preside. Mrs. Allegret will see that he is taken to lunch. Mrs Mares is making all arrangements for TV program. Mrs Allegret will take him back to airport.

Dallas: Arr: 11:50, March 1. Met by Pres. & For. Pol Chm of Dallas League (MacD. & Hannah) and St. WP chm. (Gordon). Taken downtown for 12:30 luncheon with editorial page editors and reporters of Dallas News and Times Herald. Lv. Love Field at 2:40 P.M. enroute to Tyler. March 1

Houston (additional): Mr Wilson will be interviewed by Mulvaney of Chronicle and Brock of the Post. Moderated by Mr Ray Yelkin. Half hour interview will appear that night (March 11) at 7 P.M. Tape will be available, free of charge, to any commercial TV station! Mrs Joer suggests "Perhaps towns which will not have a personal visit from Mr Wilson would be interested in the tape." Arrangements should be made with KUHT-TV.



*Smith*

MR JAMES M. WILSON, JR.'S SPEAKING TOUR OF TEXAS, MARCH 7 - 11.

SPONSORED BY

THE LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS

Subject of speeches: ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE AND THE MUTUAL SECURITY PROGRAM

He will make speeches at public meetings in: Tyler, Lubbock, Odessa, Midland, San Angelo, Waco and Corpus Christi.

He will be met in Austin by Mrs Horton Wayne Smith, President of the League of Women Voters of Texas, and members of the press, for a brief interview between planes.

An interview by members of the Houston press will be taped for later viewing on KUHT - TV, Houston.

The League of Women Voters has invited Mr Wilson to Texas as part of their effort to help build an informed public opinion about U.S. foreign policy. Currently, the members of the League are studying and evaluating the economic and technical assistance programs of the U.S., while continuing to support the United Nations system, world trade and economic development, and collective security.

Coordinating arrangements for Mr Wilson's tour: Mrs Loren D. Gordon  
route 2  
Plano, Texas  
WY5-4215



BIOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

JAMES M. WILSON, JR., DEPARTMENT OF STATE

Appointed Assistant Coordinator for Mutual Security in March 1958.

By delegation of Presidential authority the Under Secretary of State acts as coordinator of the Mutual Security Program. He is responsible for the general direction and continuous supervision of programs administered by the International Cooperation Administration, other offices of the Department of State, the Department of Defense and the Development Loan Fund to assure their effective integration and responsiveness to U.S. foreign policy. To assist him in these functions he has a staff attached to his office headed by the Deputy Coordinator and the Assistant Coordinator.

Member of U.S. Delegation to Berlin Conference in 1953, London and Paris Conferences in 1954 and various NATO conferences during 1953-4/

U.S. Army from 1941 to 1946 with service in Pacific, North Africa, Europe and Far East. Returned to complete Law work. Joined Department of Defense in 1948, serving first in Department of Air Force, later in Office of Secretary of Defense in the field of negotiating arrangements with foreign governments for the stationing of U.S. troops overseas. Participated in the first negotiations for Moroccan bases (1950) and U.S. bases and installations in NATO countries (1951-1952). During 1953 and 1954 headed group of U.S. base negotiations operating out of Paris with U.S. Embassies throughout Europe and North Africa under the U.S. Special Representative in Europe (later designated as the U.S. Mission to NATO). Principal Defense negotiator during the Four Power discussions leading to the return of German sovereignty in the fall of 1954. Returned to Washington end of 1954 to head office under Secretary of Defense responsible for worldwide U.S. base interests. Assisted Special Presidential representative in preparation of comprehensive report reviewing overseas bases immediately prior to current assignment.



JAMES M. WILSON, JR.

ADDITIONAL BIOGRAPHIC DATA

BORN:

China, July 8, 1918, of American parents.

EDUCATION:

Swarthmore College, A.B., 1939

Geneva School of International Studies,  
certificate 1939

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, M.A., 1940

Harvard University, LLB, 1948

OTHER:

Member of District of Columbia Bar

While in U.S. Army (1941-46) attained rank of  
Lieutenant Colonel



March 2, 1960  
route 2  
Plano, Texas

Dear Cookie,

It was such fun to see you Monday. I'm sure you gave the Irving League a good shot in the arm and you'll see from these clippings that your visit created some good publicity for the League!

You mentioned that you had misplaced your copy of the News Release on Mr Wilson's visit to Texas. So, I'm enclosing mine. The only changes I have noted are: his job title and the subject of his speech (his suggestion) - Economic Assistance and the Mutual Security Program.

You will see by the enclosed ccs of correspondence that we have gone full circle on Dallas. We're back to the point where we were originally - enough time for lunch here. It was too late to plan anything big and besides there isn't much time. Just a minute ago Hannah called and said that Virginia MacDonald's aunt died and she will be in Minneapolis for several more days - probably even be gone for the Annual meeting on the 9th. So, just Hannah and I will take Mr Wilson to lunch, plus Will Ruggles and a reporter from the Morning News and we hope a similar representation from the Times Herald - won't know about this until Friday. It should be very interesting to Mr Wilson to have an opportunity to exchange views with the editorial page editors of two of our largest Texas papers. The three short sheets are copies of the information I sent to both of these editors.

Since talking to you, I've had comments from Anno and Carol on a report of this tour at Convention. Perhaps Anno misunderstood the type of report, when she suggested this wasn't a place to bring up National Program. My idea wasn't to make any report on subject matter, but let each League spend a couple of minutes telling about their PR, arrangements for meetings, audience attendance and participation and an evaluation of the value to the community and to the League of the meeting. So many have found wonderful cooperation from their mayors, other organizations (the C of C, Lions, AAUW, etc), and are making the fullest use of press, radio and TV facilities. This is a marvelous experience for them in "taking League Program to the community". What they learned on this may be very helpful in the future, on TCR for instance. It should have far more value to them than just enlightening members and the public about foreign policy. Since you, Cookie, and Carol both suggested the possibility of making these reports at the dinner for Mrs Briscoe, I'd be very well satisfied with that. I should know fairly soon so I can let the LLe know, because the more time they spend on organizing their thought the better they'll be able to do it within two minutes. It will mean 20 minutes altogether.

Del Tallman told me Monday that she spoke to Mrs Jenkins, of Dallas, ~~xxxx~~ about space for the clippings of publicity. Mrs J. will have a bulletin board ready. I'll assume the responsibility for getting the clippings there. It suits me fine to use Carol's



suggestion of displaying the clippings outside the door of the room where Mrs Briscoe will speak. I've already asked the LLs for the clippings, but please let me know whether or not to advise them that they will each be expected to make a report.

By the way, Cookie, I heard from Miss Ward in San Angelo and she said that Mr Wilson will have lunch there before he boards the plane for Austin. There probably isn't time to hear from you before I see Mr W. So, I'll just tell him that you and probably someone from the press will meet him in Austin. I'm sure that he'd enjoy seeing something of Austin, if there's time. Coming in from West Texas, the sight of the hills and trees of Austin would be a pleasant sight (I love West Texas, too!). Then, of course, the Capitol would impress him - and the University. You know, he's going to have a wonderful opportunity to see Texas in such a short time.

Hope you have a successful trip to Snyder getting them back on their feet. It would be so nice if you could spare the time to be in Lubbock on the 8th.

ccs: Ashford  
Boller  
Briawell

Love,



# League of Women Voters of Texas

1007 WEST 24TH STREET

AUSTIN 5, TEXAS

route 2  
Plano, Texas  
Feb 23, 1960

Dear Glen,

Hope you had a wonderful vacation - saw an advertisement in the current New Yorker for the Jack Tar in the Bahamas - it looks beautiful there.

. Thought you'd be glad to see how much space the Dallas News devoted to Brief Case. Hope some day we can get TCR out of the Woman's Section and into the news section.

Enclosed are the almost final plans for Mr Wilson's visit to Texas. I'm just so proud of all of these LLs for coming up with such excellent plans.

Next Monday, Cookie will be up this way for a visit to the Irving League. Since I'll be driving her back and forth to the airport, we'll have time to discuss the statewide news release on Mr Wilson's visit.

Just today Mrs Mayberry of the Dep't of State, called to say that it was all right for the Mayor of Tyler to pick up Mr Wilson in a private plane in Dallas. If this offer from the Mayor works out, he will fly him over oil and rose fields on their way back. A real Texas welcome!

I sent a copy of this memo to Carol to see if she thought a report of this trip could be made at Convention. See 2nd page. Don't you think it could be worked in? I asked Carol for a definite suggestion. By the way, I asked the LLs for 3 sets of clippings, per your suggestion.



In looking over the questions in League material on foreign policy, most all are so broad that I decided it would be better not to list them for the LLs. Many of them will be answered probably in the body of his speech. These will all be public meetings and if a stupid question is asked we'll hope no one knows whether or not it's from a League member.

I did suggest that if the PR chm weren't very familiar with the League FP positions that she take along the FP chm, if she makes any calls on editors, etc.

It looks as if they're all doing a bang up job on publicity with the press at every meeting, interviews they've arranged, etc. So, I shouldn't think that you'd need to bother sending help to them.

Mrs Mayberry re-iterated today that Mr Wilson is very bright, ad-libs well, is charming and handsome! Wouldn't it have been awful if they had sent us <sup>an</sup> scholarly, but dull, individual? The only hitch I can see at the moment is bad weather.

Mrs M. also told me the speech title - "Economic Assistance and the Mutual Security Program". She's sending a large world map to be displayed at each place and some pamphlets to be given away. These as a result of my request. Gosh, I'd love to peak in at each of these meetings!

Love,

*M. Aron*



*Boller*

~~SUMMARY OF MR JAMES M WILSON JR TRIP TO TEXAS - SPONSORED BY LWV~~

~~March 7 - Tyler - meeting at Robert E Lee HS Auditorium (helds 300).  
Press will be present. Speech and questions.~~

SUMMARY OF ARRANGEMENTS FOR SPEAKING TOUR OF MR JAMES M WILSON JR

(some plans are not complete)

arr. 2:58 P.M. (may come by private plane with mayor)  
March 7 - Tyler - LWV, AAUW & C of C sponsoring meeting at Robert E Lee HS auditorium. Speech and questions with moderator. Auditorium holds 300. Press to be present. Plan live TV interview earlier. Overnight at Blackstone Hotel.  
Mrs H.B. LaTourette, 1015 Beechwood Dr. LY4-4718.  
Lv 7:46 A.M. March 8. (planning small dinner)

arr 11:10 A.M.  
March 8 - Lubbock - LWV (members of AAUW, WSCS, AAUW & Foreign Relations club will attend). Luncheon at Country Club. Plan to have on hand League foreign policy publications to sell and giveaway. Tour of city after lunch. (Speech & questions)  
Mrs G.B. Wimberly, 3102 26th SH7-1567 (press present)  
lv. 6:23 P.M.

arr 7:15  
Odessa - LWV meeting at Athletic Club. <sup>7:30 (dinner?)</sup> Guess audience at 100  
Speech 15 min., panel questions 30 min., questions from floor 15 min. Press present. Overnight at Lincoln Hotel.  
Mrs C.E. Jones, JR, 2810 North Century Emerson 6-3874  
Lv by car from Midland A.M. of March 9.

arr mid-morn by car  
March 9 - Midland - LWV & Downtown Lions Club sponsoring luncheon at Scharbauer hotel. 12 - 2. 25 min. speech, 45 min questions. Press will be present. Expect 200 at lunch.  
Mrs C.M. Linehan, 1208 Harvard Drive MU2-0976  
Lv. 3:50 P.M.

arr 4:38 San Angelo - LWV meeting <sup>dinner</sup> 7:30 P.M. at Town and Country Club. Speech 1 hr, questions 30 min. Hope press will be there. Overnight at Town House Hotel. Mr Wilson  
March 10- will talk to San Angelo College, March 10, 10 AM -10:30.  
Lv 12:30 P.M.

arr ~~XXXXXX~~ 1:20 P.M.  
Austin - Mrs Horton Smith and Austin LWV will do something with Mr Wilson to make his 2 hours there interesting.  
Lv 3:34 P.M.

arr. 4:11 P.M.  
Waco - LWV meeting, ballroom Raleigh hotel. <sup>40</sup> Speech 20 min, questions by panel of 4 men, 20 min. Expect 75. International club members invited to be guests. Small dinner preceeding meeting. Overnight Raleigh Hotel.  
Mrs Phillip Tocker, 3335 Herring Ave. Plaza 3-7658  
Lv. 9:31 AM, March 11

*Press present - televised in part*



March 11 -

arr. 11:15 A.M.

Houston - will go to U. of Houston for a taped TV interview, which will appear that night on Delia Mare's weekly program. Houston LWV will arrange small luncheon.

Mrs William E. Joor, 1306 Ben Hur Drive  
Lv. 4:00 P.M.

arr. 6:10 P.M.

Corpus Christi - LWV meeting at 7:30 P.M. <sup>at</sup> The Back Door. Speech 45 min., questions 30 min. Expect 100 to attend. Press will be present. Overnight at the Mayflower Motor Hotel.  
Mrs Austin C. Webb, 526 Peerman Place - UL 3-2967.

Mr Wilson, not too exhausted, I hope - will leave next morning, March 12, for a weekend in Kentucky.

Please excuse not-so-neat ccs. Before sending in the Dep't of State Arrangement Sheets, I wanted notes on details of each stop for my own information. Then decided some of the rest of you would be interested in knowing about them. This has been a marvelous experience for me - the enthusiastic response of the LLs has been tremendous - not one turned down the opportunity, except Galveston and not because of lack of interest. They felt, and I agree, there wouldn't have been enough time for them to risk planning a big luncheon. Houston rushed to the rescue with Delia's help. Now, if the weather will only stay calmed down the 2nd week of March!

I plan immediately to send a summary of Mr W's trip to all of the LLs who are hosting him. In addition will ask each to let me know if he'll be met at the airport. Will ask each to send a copy of their publicity to me and a report of his visit to each LL. Will tell them that I've asked Mr W. if he wants to submit a title of a speech to be used in each place.

If this is the success we think it will be, we should make some sort of report on it at Convention. Please be thinking about this. Surely, we could find a place to display the publicity.

Time has been allotted at Convention for LLs success stories. This we hope will be a success story demonstrating the cooperation between the LLs and the State Board. It should be exciting and interesting enough to work in a report on the Convention floor. It may be too late to get it in on the printed Agenda, but there surely will be a place where it could be worked in. If any of you have a suggestion, please let me know soon. Then, I'll work out a recommendation. Some of you may be tearing your hair at the thought of this addition to the Agenda, but please remember, only recently has this project developed into something BIG.

Since I've told you what will be in my next general communication with these LLs and my typewriter will only make 10 copies (using onion skin as the original), I won't send one to each of you. In the interest of saving time, I have written a few letters concerning minor details and haven't made cds.



C O P Y

Page 2 - Copy of letter from Mrs. Gordon of Lake Jackson, LWV  
dated August 21, 1960

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
OF  
LAKE JACKSON, TEXAS

122 Carnation St.

August 21, 1960

Dear Mrs. Gordon,

The Lake Jackson League's National Item Resource Committee has been thinking, along with the Freeport LWV, of a prominent speaker for our program on economic diplomacy and development scheduled for December. The two Leagues in this area need an exciting, news-making event in the national agenda field for two reasons: first, because this section of the Gulf Coast needs education in the fields of foreign aid, mutual security and world economic development (our Congressman has written us that this district does not support the Mutual Security appropriations now and that a job from the "grass roots" up is needed) and second, because these Leagues have started membership drives this summer and could use an event that would be informative and prestige building in the community.

We noted the success of Mr. Wilson's speeches in West Texas and are hoping that he or some other State Department official is available for another tour in Texas. I know this would require considerable planning among Leagues, but I had in mind a tour of the LaMarque, Dickinson, Texas City and Baytown LWV, and Galveston and Houston if they are interested, since we are all within 60-70 miles of each other. The six small leagues will, of course, be here on September 13th for our Area Conference.

Would you please let me know if such a tour is feasible with the State Department and with State Board and the financial responsibility of each LWV involved; also if you will contact leagues that might be interested and if any plans for this could or should be brought up at the Area Conference.

If such a tour is not possible in the next six months, we are also looking into the possibilities of a speech on world economic development, trade, foreign aid, etc. by a prominent local personality, Houstonian, Professor Higgins, etc.



Page 2--Copy of letter from Mrs. Gordon of Lake Jackson, LWV  
dated August 21, 1960

I am sure you will also be interested to know that our county and local libraries are giving us excellent cooperation. I sent them a list of books, compiled from lists sent from national in the last two years, purely in the hope of finding what was available in Brazoria County for background reading for my committee and any other interested Leaguers. The county librarian complimented us, saying she had been looking for such a list and found this one suitable for her purposes. It seems other groups have been making inquiries on the books available on foreign policy, undeveloped nation, etc. Consequently, she is ordering the entire list that is in print today and this collection will be on display at the Brazoria County Fair, October 4-10. After that the library will take them around the area and display and talk on them to any organization requesting this service for one of their meetings.

Thank you very much for your help and any suggestions you have for us.

Sincerely

Mary Brock, National Item  
Chairman  
(Mrs. Howard M.)



MAR 19 REC'D

To: Prasher, Wendell, Gordon, Murphree, Collier, Brown, Urban  
From: Pettis  
Re: State Department Speaker Joseph D. Coppock

The web has certainly woven around me. Dorothy and I agreed after her conversation with you last Sunday, Marian, that it was too late and I was too involved, as was she, to promote this tour. In about the next mail, Owen's letter (indicating that someone had asked Houston and Corpus about scheduling a meeting with Mr. Coppock) arrived. I conferred with Dorothy again and it was agreed that we had better find out from Miss Mayberry of the State Department whether his time had already been filled through their efforts. I phoned Wednesday and was unable to reach her before leaving town for a funeral. I reached her yesterday after some delay and found that the date of Monday April 9th had been promised to San Antonio for the Annual Meeting of the Investment Bankers Inc. However, he was free all day Tuesday and Wednesday and Thursday until his dinner appointment in Omaha, Nebraska. Miss Mayberry was eager for him to have ~~the maximum~~ of his time used to the maximum. She inquired about Kelly Turner who had made inquiries (excuse repetition) about a speaker for the Convention. I agreed to let her know whether Houston could use Mr. C-- on Tuesday or Wednesday, as she felt Houston to be an area they would like to reach. She wondered, if the Council couldn't change their date, whether the Trade Association might not be interested in scheduling an event with attendant PR? I had tried to reach you by phone to-day, Miriam, but after receiving Owen's letter, resorted to the MAIL. Could you let me hear right away about Houston so I can let Jo Prasher know which day he can be scheduled in Corpus. Miss Mayberry was enthusiastic about his going to Corpus. If Houston can't use him ~~Monday~~ perhaps the San Antonio League could find uses for him before or after his engagement with the Investment Bankers. I'll send my copy of this memo to Lila Cockrell with additional background information.

Since I only have three sets of arrangement sheets and glossy prints of Mr. C, I will mail immediately one set to you Jo, and hold the other two until I hear from you, Miriam. Following Marian Gordon's suggestions, I will set out the ground rules for each organization to follow and will count on the League President in each city to see that they are carried out.

- I.--Each sponsoring organization will fill out the Arrangement SHEETS (intricate) and send them back to me, immediately. I will forward them to Miss Mayberry of the State Department, along with the plane schedule. The plane schedule will be sent to each of you as soon as the arrangements for the trip are complete.
- II. Each League President will see that the sponsoring group or members of the League met Mr. C's plane and put him back on a plane when he leaves. The hotel confirmed reservation will of course be made as per the Arrangements sheet indicates.
- III. Meals, with the exception of breakfast, will be arranged throughout his visit. These could include small groups of newspaper and/or representatives of business and civic organizations, if it isn't a luncheon or dinner meeting.
- IV. PR--Arrangements for him to be interviewed by the press, TV and radio are to be made each time. Mayors, the press etc. often accompany the League or organization representatives who meet him at the plane. Quote from Gordon, "All this publicity, which is considered a must by the State Dep't. greatly increases the audience."



APR 28 1962

# Time For

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
OF THE UNITED STATES  
1026 17TH STREET N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

# ACTION

April 17, 1962

TO: Local and State League Presidents  
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips  
RE: Authorization for Foreign Economic Aid Programs

THIS TIME FOR ACTION  
WILL GO ON SPECIAL  
SUBSCRIPTION SERVICE

For six years now the League has considered and studied U. S. foreign policy in relation to economic development aid to the developing countries. As the question of authorizing the continuance of United States programs in this field comes before Congress it is time for the League, certainly no "Johnny-come-lately" in its firm support for long-term development assistance, to express its convictions to Congress and urge other supporters to speak up, too. The "constituency" for foreign aid is still small and sometimes seems to speak with a halting voice. Let's see if we can encourage a loud shout this year that will be heard not only in the legislative Committees considering the authorization, but that will reach the ears of the Appropriations Committees, where the heart of the opposition lies.

## THE LEGISLATIVE SITUATION

There is no firm timetable on congressional action on aid yet. The House Foreign Affairs Committee which began hearings in March, will probably report a bill sometime in May and House floor action is expected in late May or early June. The House Committee is working from the draft bill submitted by the Administration, which has not been introduced as a House bill and so has no number.

In the Senate, Senator Fulbright, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has introduced this draft bill and it is S. 2996. It was referred to his Committee, which has already heard Administration witnesses and will hold public hearings beginning April 18. The League statement will be made by Mrs. Wood that day, a slightly revised version of the one she made to the House Committee. The statement she gave to the House Committee is attached.

An analysis of the requests in the proposed authorizing legislation, is also attached.

## THE LEAGUE ON THE HILL

When Mrs. Wood, the national Secretary of the League Board, had read the League statement to the House Foreign Affairs Committee at the April 11 hearing, the Chairman, Rep. Morgan (D., Pa.) said: "...again your organization comes here with a strong endorsement for the program. ...your testimony last year was very helpful, particularly in jelling some members of the Committee, helping them to make up their minds. ...Your testimony last year was I think given by somebody from Minnesota?"

Mrs. Wood: "It was given by Barbara Stuhler."

Mr. Morgan: "Who was a constituent of Dr. Judd, and her testimony was very good. ... I want to say today your testimony is a strong endorsement. We on



the Committee who support the program always like to have witnesses like you appear, because I think you give it strength." Other Committee members who commented favorably on the League and its work were Mrs. Bolton (R., Ohio), who identified herself as a League member and said she was glad to hear that these men "don't underestimate the power of a woman." Other members present who thanked Mrs. Wood for the statement and commented favorably about the League, particularly the Leagues in their own Districts, were: Mr. Seely-Brown (R., Conn), Mr. Zablocki (D., Wis.), Mr. Farbstien (D., N.Y.), and Mr. Barry (R., N.Y.) .... Mr. Barry in fact gave us quite a testimonial. He said: "The League of Women Voters has certainly been one of the organizations which has done the advance thinking for the nation .. you have been way out in front on this program for many years, and deserve a great deal of credit. ..."

#### WHAT THE LEAGUE CAN DO

Now is the time for those Leagues with representatives on the House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations Committees to write their congressmen; to urge League members as individuals to write; to suggest to others in the community (organizations, business men, people active in political parties, community leaders) that letters to these men are timely and needed. House Foreign Affairs and Senate Foreign Relations lists attached. During May all Leagues should write to both their own representatives in the House and their own Senators and get others as listed above to do so, too.

Please watch the newspapers for news of the progress of the foreign aid authorizing legislation through the legislative process. We will try to alert you to any emergencies that arise, but it is not always possible to do this.

Remember that the appropriation for foreign aid, which will follow passage of the authorizing act, will probably meet more opposition than will the authorizing bill. So, in your letters on the authorization, you might build towards an understanding of why the funds requested are needed. Perhaps your later letters can be in the form of reminders.

Be sure to know what your congressman has said, how he has voted on aid in other years, and what he is saying now. League interview reports are good sources, and so are congressional news letters and stories in local papers.

A thank you note is always appreciated on the Hill, so if your congressman deserves thanks, let him know you appreciate what he has done.



Senate Foreign Relations Committee

Democrats

J.W. Fulbright (Ark.), Chairman  
John J. Sparkman (Ala.)  
Hubert H. Humphrey (Minn.)  
Mike Mansfield (Mont.)  
Wayne Morse (Ore.)  
Russell B. Long (La.)  
Albert Gore (Tenn.)  
Frank J. Lausche (Ohio)  
Frank Church (Idaho)  
Stuart Symington (Mo.)  
Thomas J. Dodd (Conn.)

Republicans

Alexander Wiley (Wis.)  
Bourke B. Hickenlooper (Iowa)  
George D. Aiken (Vt.)  
Homer E. Capehart (Ind.)  
Frank Carlson (Kans.)  
John J. Williams (Del.)

House Foreign Affairs Committee

Democrats

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Clement J. Zablocki (Wis.)  
Omar Burleson (Texas)  
Edna F. Kelly (N.Y.)  
Wayne L. Hays (Ohio)  
Armistead I. Selden, Jr. (Ala.)  
John L. Pilcher (Ga.)  
Barratt O'Hara (Ill.)  
L.H. Fountain (N.C.)  
Dante B. Fascell (Fla.)  
Leonard Farbstein (N.Y.)  
D. S. Saund (Calif.)  
Charles C. Diggs, Jr. (Mich.)  
Lindley Beckworth (Texas)  
Harris B. McDowell, Jr. (Del.)  
William T. Murphy (Ill.)  
Cornelius E. Gallagher (N.J.)  
Robert N.C. Nix (Pa.)  
Thomas F. Johnson (Md.)  
John S. Monagan (Conn.)

Republicans

Robert B. Chipperfield (Ill.)  
Frances P. Bolton (Ohio)  
Chester E. Merrow (N.H.)  
Walter H. Judd (Minn.)  
Marguerite Stitt Church (Ill.)  
E. Ross Adair (Ind.)  
Laurence Curtis (Mass.)  
William S. Mailliard (Calif.)  
Peter Frelinghuysen, Jr. (N.J.)  
William S. Broomfield (Mich.)  
Robert R. Barry (N.Y.)  
J. Irving Whalley (Pa.)  
Horace Seely-Brown, Jr. (Conn.)



League of Women Voters of the United States  
1026 - 17th Street, N. W.  
Washington 6, D. C.

April 17, 1962

WHAT'S IN THE FISCAL 1963 FOREIGN AID AUTHORIZATION

Foreign Aid Requests for Fiscal Year 1963  
(July 1, 1962 - June 30, 1963)

<u>PROGRAM</u>	<u>AUTHORIZATION AND APPROPRIATION</u> (unless otherwise noted)
Development Loans <sup>1</sup>	\$ 1,250,000,000
Alliance for Progress <sup>2</sup>	600,000,000
Supporting Assistance	481,500,000
Contingency Fund	400,000,000
Development Grants and Technical Cooperation	335,000,000
Contribution to Inter- national Organizations	148,900,000
Investment Guaranties	100,000,000
Administration ((\$55 million for AID; \$3.1 million for State)	58,100,000
Private Investment Surveys	5,000,000
Subtotal	\$ 3,378,500,000
Military Assistance <sup>3</sup>	1,500,000,000
GRAND TOTAL	\$ 4,878,500,000

<sup>1</sup> Appropriation request only. Although last year's Act granted a 4-year authorization of over \$6 billion, Congress retained the annual appropriation requirement for development loans.

<sup>2</sup> The total 4-year authorization requested for the Alliance for Progress is \$3 billion.

<sup>3</sup> Appropriation request only. Authorization previously enacted.



Each of the Administration's foreign aid requests tells a story in itself about the "new directions" of foreign economic aid in action.

#### Development Loans

The trend away from grants to long-term development loans, repayable in dollars, is clearly reflected in the current AID requests. The loan requests for fiscal 1963 represent over 50 per cent of the total economic assistance requests in contrast to the previous peak in loan activities of no more than 25 per cent of the total economic aid program. Furthermore, the new emphasis on long-term development programs has, according to the Administration, had "important effects on the manner in which development loan funds are now being administered." Governments are being discouraged from bringing proposals directly to Washington; instead, they are being asked to initiate action in their own country at the local U. S. AID mission, which now has responsibility for screening loan proposals in terms of the overall priority goals and targets for AID assistance there. Development loans recommended by an AID mission are assessed, in turn, by the appropriate geographic bureau in Washington. Loans recommended by the geographic bureau are then submitted for overall review to the new Office of Development Financing, set up within the AID agency.

#### Development Grants

Development grants, which represent less than 10 per cent of the total requests, are also undergoing many changes. According to Fowler Hamilton's testimony before the House Foreign Affairs Committee (Mr. Hamilton is Director of the Agency for International Development) an intensive review of development grant programs has been made during the past year, with each U. S. AID mission abroad having been asked to evaluate each project "in terms of its priority in the country's development plan or program, the degree to which it accelerates the development process of the country as a whole, and its effect on encouragement of self-help."

The result, according to the AID chief, is that the proposed grant program is being concentrated in those technical assistance areas which are likely to have the greatest long-term impact on social and economic development--education and training, public administration, and agriculture.

The development grant request also includes \$20 million for a research program which was authorized for the first time in the 1961 Act. One of its main functions, according to Administration spokesmen, is to help establish development priorities by reviewing among other things the findings of on-the-spot experts and cross-checking these recommendations against others from various parts of the world.

#### Supporting Assistance

Supporting Assistance is the current terminology for aid to countries important to us strategically "to support large defense forces, restore war damage or prevent economic collapse." Although justified for reasons other than economic development, such assistance will be given "in a form which will further economic development," such as capital equipment and raw material products.

However, AID officials are terminating such assistance where feasible or converting it into long-term development loans. Pakistan is offered as a case in point. Instead of continuing to supply that country with Supporting Assistance, the United States has made a long-range development commitment on the basis of Pakistan's broad development plan.



### Supporting Assistance (Cont'd.)

Also, as a result of concerted efforts to replace Supporting Assistance with development loans, 18 other countries which previously received Supporting Assistance in fiscal 1962 are not included in the fiscal 1963 requests. Of the 15 remaining countries, three are in the Far East on the periphery of the Sino-Soviet border.

### Contingency Fund

As in past years, the President is again requesting a Contingency Fund "to meet undefined and unpredictable situations which may arise upon the world scene." Latin America was the major recipient of such funds last year, although funds also went to meet special situations in Vietnam and Laos, and for Cuban and other refugee programs.

The Administration readily admits that the most likely candidates for aid from the contingency funds are those countries receiving supporting assistance. This is so, AID materials indicate, because of current efforts to hold Supporting Assistance down to a minimum, combined with the precarious economies of many of these countries which means that any calamity (whether a crop failure or a political coup) could mean near-economic collapse.

### Investment Guaranties and Surveys

Two parts of the AID program are specifically designed to encourage private investment in the development countries: the Investment Guaranty Program and the Investment Surveys.

Investment guaranties have been available to private investors since 1948 to insure them against losses incurred through expropriation, war, or revolution, but the scope of these guaranties was expanded and clarified under the 1961 Act. Investment guaranties are now available in 54 less-developed countries plus some overseas territories and negotiations are under way to add a number of the newly independent African countries. Guaranties granted under the 1961 expanded program have been made in such projects as a fertilizer manufacturing facility in Taiwan, the petrol-chemical industry in Argentina, the manufacture of refrigeration equipment in India and Malaya, and an investment in a private development plant in Morocco.

The large increase in the number of guarantee applications since the 1961 Act has resulted in a backlog of applications, and so the Administration is seeking an increase of \$100 million in the reserves of the program. The Administration is also seeking authority to increase the ceilings on the amounts of guaranty coverage outstanding at any one time including the ceiling on the special all-risk coverage for U. S. investors for investment in Latin America in pilot or demonstration housing projects.

As for investment surveys, the Administration is requesting an additional \$5 million (\$1.5 million was appropriated for fiscal 1962) to encourage surveys by private enterprises of investment opportunities in the less-developed countries. On completion of a survey, AID will reimburse up to 50 per cent of survey costs if the enterprise decides not to invest but in such instances, the business is required to turn over the survey to AID.



## Contributions to International Organizations

The proposed contributions to international organizations are designed, according to the Administration, to strengthen such U. N. programs as the Special Fund, the Expanded Technical Assistance Program, UNICEF, WHO, U. N. Congo Economic Program, and U. N. Relief and Works Administration, as well as other regional activities, such as the Indus Water Fund in India and Pakistan administered by the World Bank, the Commission for Technical Cooperation in Africa, the Asian Productivity Organization, and the NATO Science Program.

AID has recently organized a new International Development Organization staff to provide a focus within the Agency on the aid efforts of other governments and multilateral organizations and on the need to coordinate these efforts with our own. The staff, for example, will backstop U. S. participation in the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD).

The Administration points out that not only is the total flow of assistance from all sources increasing, but that each dollar of assistance is now making a greater contribution to economic development. This is because terms of assistance have been significantly liberalized by many donors and are better adapted to different situations in recipient countries. In addition, there is less duplication and more cooperation due to increasing consultation through such groups as the Development Assistance Committee (DAC).

## Alliance for Progress

"To give this program the special recognition and additional resources which it requires," the President proposed 'an authorization of \$3 billion for the Alliance for Progress for the next four years. Of the \$3 billion, an authorization and appropriation of \$600 million is being requested for fiscal 1963, with up to \$100 million to be used for grants and the balance of \$500 million or more for development loans. This authorization will be separate from and supplementary to the \$6 billion already authorized for loans for development for 1963 through 1966, which will remain available for use throughout the world."

It was only a little over a year ago that President Kennedy called upon Latin America to join the U. S. in an 'Alliance for Progress for a peaceful revolution on a hemispheric scale.' (Prior to that, the concepts had been enunciated and \$500 million committed in 1960 under the Eisenhower Administration.) And it has been considerably less than a year since the appropriation for the Inter-American Fund for Social Development was approved and the basic Alliance charter signed by 19 countries meeting at Punta del Este last August 17.

The first year's progress report on the Alliance shows a commitment of U. S. aid totalling over \$1 billion (only a small part of which has actually been obligated).



As for reforms in the Latin American countries, AID Administrator Hamilton assured Congress that "a number of Latin American nations have moved ahead on tax reform, land reform, labor legislation, economic stabilization, and national planning."

Following is a summary of reforms made in national development plans, land and tax reform:

National Development Plans. Three countries -- Bolivia, Chile and Colombia -- have already submitted their overall development plans to the newly established Panel of Experts (composed of 7 Latin Americans, 1 British and 1 American). The panel is attached to the Pan American Union for the purpose of reviewing development plans and offering to "appropriate financial resources," such as the World Bank and the Inter-American Development Bank, which in turn can make coordinated arrangements for financing the external resources needed to implement the plan.

Panama and Venezuela are expected to submit plans to the regional panel soon.

The Brazilian government has completed a comprehensive five-year development plan for its depressed Northeast region and has appropriated the equivalent of \$100 million for the first year.

Other Latin American countries are in the process of developing long-term plans or organizing machinery for doing so.

Land Reform. Recent steps toward land reform include:

- . Colombia's new agrarian reform law, enacted in November 1960, providing for the redistribution of inadequately used land.
- . Venezuela's new land reform program adopted in 1960, under which 40,000 families have already been resettled on 3 million acres of land.
- . Bolivia's step-up agrarian reform, with 71,000 land titles granted to small-scale farmers since August 1960. Bolivia has had a land reform law since 1953.
- . Guatemala also has had a land reform law since 1953 as has Mexico since 1917.

Land reform laws are under consideration in Ecuador, Peru, and Brazil (the state of Sao Paulo, Brazil already has its own land reform law in operation).

Tax Reform. New tax laws have been passed in Bolivia, Colombia, El Salvador, Ecuador, and Peru in the last year. These nations have laws in preparation: Brazil (before Congress), Chile (being drafted), Costa Rica, Dominican Republic (studied), Mexico and Venezuela.

Furthermore, Bolivia has improved its revenue collection and administration, resulting in an increase of 30 per cent in customs collections and 10 per cent in other taxes.



Material on Foreign Economic Aid

THE NATIONAL VOTER, April, 1962

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS, ITS PROGRAMS AND GOALS, a speech by Teodora Moscoso, United States Coordinator, Alliance, available from the Agency for International Development, Department of State Washington 25, D. C.

THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS...One year later: Reprint of a New York TIMES article. March 11, 1962: available from AID (see above)

TRAINING FOR DEVELOPMENT (AID Participant Training for Social and Economic Development) Available from AID

REPORT OF WORKSHOP (held in December, 1961) ON NEW PURPOSES AND METHODS IN FOREIGN ASSISTANCE: National Conference on International Economic and Social Development, 1720 Rhode Island Avenue Washington 6, D. C.



*File  
Natl Prog*

April 25, 1962

TO: Joor, Brown, Nolle  
FROM: Murphree  
RE: National Times for Action

Dorothy's suggestion is the one we followed the last two years. Where there was time, the letter to Senators and on occasion, very rare, to Representatives is drafted by the NP chairman and forwarded to SO for the President to sign.

There were times though when the timing did not permit this, and in such instances either Glen or I would compose the letter on the spot. Telegrams of course were always handled by the President.

In this instance, this letter on ~~the~~ Foreign Aid is not supposed to go until sometime in May anyway, so this will give Ruth plenty of time to draft a suitable, and of course more knowledgeable, letter for Dorothy. That last sounds as if I don't think Dorothy is knowledgeable, but you all know what I mean — the Chairman is always better at these things usually than the President for she ~~is~~ just does not have time to be an expert on everything.

Now about LL responses. Yes, Bursleson is Abilene's and I do not think we need to worry about their (Anno) doing the job well and effectively. Beckworth belongs to our East Texas group — Henderson, Tyler, and Longview. I would <sup>and a natl</sup> suggest that Ruth might begin the habit of dropping the NP (with carbons to the LLP and the Leg. Ch. and PVP of each League) suggesting that they send copies of their letters to her along with a copy of any reply they receive. On second thought it might be better for them to send these to the SO, for then they can be thermofaxed for each of us and the originals stay in the SO files. We need to begin encouraging this kind of communication, so that we will have a better idea of how Texas Congressmen feel on these things, and where and how to concentrate our efforts, along with helping the LLs involved meet the situation.

Where we have a State Board member living in a Congressman's district, I should think a letter should go from her too, as just did (Hannah and me) on the Trade bill.



# DEPARTMENT OF STATE

APRIL 30, 1962

FOR THE PRESS

NO. 278

## CAUTION - FUTURE RELEASE

FOR RELEASE AT 12:00 NOON, E.D.T., MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1962. NOT TO BE  
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ADDRESS BY  
THE HONORABLE GEORGE W. BALL,  
UNDER SECRETARY OF STATE,  
BEFORE THE ECONOMIC CLUB OF DETROIT,  
VETERANS MEMORIAL BUILDING,  
CIVIC CENTER, DETROIT, MICHIGAN,  
MONDAY, APRIL 30, 1962  
12:00 NOON, E.D.T.

### Viet-Nam--Free World Challenge in Southeast Asia

I have been tempted to talk with you today about successes and achievements in international affairs. I could do so -- persuasively, I hope -- for the United States has made considerable progress in the past few months in adapting its policies to the requirements of an age of change and turbulence. At the same time, by effective diplomacy, we have advanced our national strength and improved the chances for peace.

But in a period of strain and tension such as this we cannot afford the luxury of self-congratulation. Nor can we afford complacency. And so today I have chosen to talk about war rather than peace; about difficult problems, not easy solutions. I shall talk with you about one of those danger spots around the world where the critical issues are being joined and where the United States itself is likely to be involved for a long time to come. I shall talk about Viet-Nam.

#### I

What is Viet-Nam? It is a narrow strip of high hills, swamps, and riceland that runs along the South China Sea. You know its history. Together with Cambodia and Laos, it formed the colony of Indochina in the French Empire.

During the Second World War the Japanese took over its administration from the Vichy Government. Then in 1946 -- at a time when peace was settling over most of the world -- war began in earnest in Viet-Nam, when France attempted to reestablish its authority. This quickly turned into a struggle between France and nationalist elements that looked to France for eventual independence on one side and a Vietnamese Communist regime on the other -- a mean, jungle conflict known in Paris as "the dirty war".

Moreover, it seemed to have no ending. With material assistance from the United States and with massive French military support, the struggle went on for eight long and tragic years. Over this period, France granted increasing autonomy to the non-Communist Vietnamese. Finally, in the middle of 1954, after the fall of the jungle fortress of Dien Bien Phu, agreements were signed at Geneva that ended hostilities and effectively partitioned Viet-Nam at the Seventeenth Parallel.

Under these agreements France accorded complete independence to Viet-Nam and subsequently withdrew its forces. The agreements created an  
International



International Control Commission to supervise the carrying out of their provisions. Neither South Viet-Nam nor the United States were signatories, but, after the agreements were concluded, the United States Government under President Eisenhower made clear by unilateral declaration that while it would refrain from using force to disturb the agreements, it would view any renewal of the aggression in violation of the agreements as a serious threat to international peace and security, and would continue to seek to achieve the unity of the country through free elections. The Geneva agreements effectively made Viet-Nam a divided land -- like Korea and Germany.

The free Vietnamese found a determined and resourceful leader who is today the President of the Republic of Viet-Nam -- Ngo Dinh Diem.

It was apparent from the first that President Diem would have a hard struggle to maintain the security of the new nation against the relentless ambition of Ho Chi Minh, the leader of the North Vietnamese (called the Viet Minh), to extend Communist domination. The free Vietnamese needed help and we provided it. The United States undertook to assist in training Diem's army. Through the SEATO Treaty, which came into force early in 1955, the United States joined with others in throwing a protective arm around the embattled new nation.

The problems that free Viet-Nam faced were of monumental dimensions. When it achieved independence its economy was a shambles. Years of occupation and bitter fighting had left their mark on a troubled land. Canals and irrigation systems were damaged and neglected. Thousands of farmers had killed off their stock and sought refuge in the cities. The transportation system had broken down. And all this was enormously complicated by the departure of the French technicians and specialists who for so long had operated the economy, leaving behind a staggering shortage of managerial and technical skills.

Moreover, by creating a symbol of liberty and independence, the new state compounded its own problems. It became a magnet for those wishing to be free. Almost a million north Vietnamese fled south across the Seventeenth Parallel to escape from a Communist system they found intolerable.

With such staggering problems optimism seemed fool-hardy. Few observers thought the new Republic could survive over the long pull. The estimates of its life expectancy ranged from six months to a year.

But these calculations omitted one enormous concealed resource -- the intelligence, the native skill, and the pride of the Vietnamese.

These qualities alone could not, of course, keep the young republic afloat without some outside help. The United States poured in large amounts of capital and technical assistance. Other nations assisted. Yet all the outside assistance in the world would not have altered the balance without that saving element -- the fierce will of the Vietnamese people to survive in freedom.

## II

Not only did they survive, they built their country under appalling difficulties and they achieved striking social progress. They effectively integrated the vast flood of refugees into their society. Under an

agrarian



agrarian reform plan, 300,000 tenant farmers were offered the chance to buy their own land for a modest price. Thousands of new schools were built. In four years from 1956 to 1960, the elementary school population increased from 400,000 to 1,500,000.

Most significantly, while in the free South the standard of living was moving upward, in the Communist North, it was dismally falling. During those four years per capita food production rose in the South by 20 percent, but fell in the North by 10 percent. Textile output in the South jumped more than 20 percent in 1958 alone. Sugar production during that year more than doubled. And today, although the bulk of the industrial plant is located in North Viet-Nam and the population of the North is 2,000,000 greater than the South, the gross national product of South Viet-Nam is higher than its Communist neighbor.

This would have been impressive progress even for a peaceful land, but South Viet-Nam was not permitted to live in peace. Its progress was too conspicuous -- so conspicuous as to be intolerable to Ho Chi Minh and his Communist henchmen in Hanoi.

Just as the masters of the Kremlin could neither overlook nor forgive the brilliant economic progress of West Berlin, so the Communist leaders in Hanoi could not ignore this vivid demonstration of their own failure in Southeast Asia. In one instance, the Communists built a wall. In the other, they began a steady calculated effort of terror, infiltration, murder and conquest. I shall not attempt here to describe the intricate operations of the Viet Cong Organization which has its headquarters in Hanoi, the capital of North Viet-Nam. There has been much information in the press recently as to the systematic way in which men and materials have been introduced into the South along the sea and the land infiltration routes. This has all been fully documented and fully reported.

### III

Let us at this point dispel a few myths.

The struggle in South Viet-Nam today is not a local civil war. It is a carefully planned and mounted campaign of subversion and insurgency -- equipped and directed from Hanoi.

Consider, for example, what the insurgents have sought to destroy. Their targets are the very symbols of economic progress -- schools, hospitals, first aid stations, malaria eradication teams and the transport system.

Tactics such as these are directed to the ends of a Communist takeover; they do not serve the people.

There is no doubt as to what we are observing in Viet-Nam. It is another attempt by the Communists to extend their control by fomenting disorder and revolt against established governments. We have seen this same pattern before -- in Greece, Malaya and the Philippines. As it was defeated there, so with our support, the Free Vietnamese will defeat it in South Viet-Nam.

However, this is a game the Communists play well. It has the elements they find congenial -- treachery, deceit, surprise, betrayal.

They have



They have fitted their tactics to the conditions of the struggle. Given the present stage of weaponry, and the difficulties of supply through the narrow bottleneck of Hanoi, they have so far avoided the kind of naked aggression that marked the war in Korea. Instead they have employed the tactics of guerrilla warfare, the techniques of terror and propaganda, in an effort to achieve the same end -- the conquest of territory and people.

Since 1958, the Viet Cong terror campaign has increased sharply. Officials have been assassinated; teachers killed in their schoolrooms; anything and anyone that represented stability or order has served as a likely target. The control apparatus in the North has been vastly expanded. Political cadre and military replacements have been sent south in increasing numbers. Infiltration systems -- by sea and by land -- have been expanded. Local recruitment has become a priority assignment for all Communist units. Given the size of the country and the resources available, the Communist effort, directed from Hanoi, to penetrate, subvert and conquer South Viet-Nam is one of the most extensive of its kind in history.

#### IV

But one can say: What does this mean to us? Granted the valiance of the Vietnamese people, the high quality of their fighting spirit, how does a guerrilla war 10,000 miles away in the fetid jungles of Southeast Asia concern America? How is it relevant to the larger interests of our policy? Is it worth the millions of dollars we have poured into Viet-Nam, or the lives of Americans?

The answer to all of those questions, it seems to me, is an emphatic yes. We have consistently given that answer for a number of years.

As you may recall, with the overwhelming approval of the Senate, we and our partners in the Southeast Asia Treaty Organization committed ourselves in 1955 to protect the people of South Viet-Nam.

President Eisenhower defined our obligation well when he stated in a message to the South Viet-Nam Government in 1960: "Although the main responsibility for guarding independence will always, as it has in the past, belong to the Vietnamese people and their Government, I want to assure you that for so long as our strength can be useful, the United States will continue to assist Viet-Nam in the difficult yet hopeful struggle ahead."

Our commitment under the SEATO Treaty is an expression of our vital interests in the preservation of the integrity and independence of Viet-Nam. Those interests derive both from geography and from the very nature of the power struggle now going on in the world between aggressive Communist power and freedom.

One does not have to accept fully the automatic operation of the so-called "domino" theory to recognize the strategic significance of South Viet-Nam. It forms one shore of the South China Sea, which is the gateway to Malaya and Indonesia. It controls the mouth of the Mekong River, which is the coronary artery of Southeast Asia.

If the



If the Vietnamese people were to lose the struggle to maintain a free and independent nation, it would be a loss of tragic significance to the security of Free World interests in the whole of Asia and the South Pacific.

And more than that, if the United States were to neglect its solemn commitments to the Vietnamese people, the consequences would not be limited even to those areas -- they would be world-wide. For the Free World's security cannot be given away piecemeal; it is not divisible. When the going gets rough we cannot observe those commitments that are easy or near at hand and disregard the others.

What we do or fail to do in Viet-Nam will be felt both by our antagonists and our friends. Any United States retreat in one area of struggle inevitably encourages Communist adventures in another. How we act in Viet-Nam will have its impact on Communist actions in Europe, in Africa and in Latin America. Far from easing tensions, our unwillingness to meet our commitments in one tension area will simply encourage the Communists to bestir trouble in another.

Moreover, we cannot continue to lead the Free World unless we enjoy -- and deserve -- the confidence of those who think as we do. At the moment the other nations of the Free World, as well as the Communist powers, are watching our performance in Viet-Nam. The continuance of their faith in our leadership is an asset that we can never afford to lose.

## V

Viet-Nam is a land not easy to defend against the kind of terror and guerrilla tactics that the Communists are employing. It is a land of high mountains, dense jungles and trackless swamp. At the moment, the Viet Minh in the north are systematically infiltrating South Viet-Nam in increasing numbers -- not only across the Seventeenth Parallel, but across the border of Laos. The situation in Laos thus becomes a factor of relevance and importance. It affects the size and effectiveness of the Viet Minh effort.

Unfortunately, in spite of the massive assistance we have devoted to strengthening the forces of the Royal Lao Army, those forces -- faced with organized Viet Minh troops as well as rebellious Lao units -- have been unable to assure peace and stability to that troubled area. We have sought to solve the problem not only by military action but by diplomacy. As the result of long and difficult negotiations at the 14-Nation Conference in Geneva, we reached an agreement that provided for the withdrawal of the Viet Minh forces from Laos. It provided further that the routes of access to South Viet-Nam should be kept under observation by an International Commission, in which the Canadian and Indian members would have much greater freedom of action than has been the case with the Control Commission in South Viet-Nam. In addition, the Soviet Union has undertaken as Co-Chairman to assure the compliance of the Communist parties to the agreement.

This agreement will take effect when the Lao people complete the establishment of a government of national union that will unite the present three warring elements.

## VI The closing



## VI

The closing of the Laos border to infiltration can reduce the build-up of organized subversion and terror in South Viet-Nam. But under the best of circumstances the creation of a secure and independent Vietnamese state will be a long, slow process. It will require not only the building of indigenous political support but the achievement of a rate of economic progress that alone can assure political stability and in turn provide the base on which to build the military strength needed to create the climate of confidence and security in which economic and social progress are possible.

Inevitably the main burden of meeting and beating the Viet Cong threat must fall on the people of South Viet-Nam, on their Government, and on their armed forces. It is their country, their lives, their future, that are most directly in danger.

But we can provide, we are providing, and we must continue to provide the means to help the Vietnamese help themselves. We are increasing our effort in training, in logistics, in the transport of the Viet-Nam forces.

Let me make clear the shape and dimensions of the role we are playing. The United States has no combat units in Viet-Nam. We are not fighting the war, as some reports have suggested. We are not running the war, as the Communists have tried assiduously to argue.

What we are doing is to provide material and training personnel -- all at the request of the Vietnamese Government. We are helping them in their struggle. Even this limited effort cannot be accomplished without some danger. A part of our men are necessarily exposed to combat situations as they work with their Vietnamese comrades. Over the past seven years there have been 19 Americans killed or wounded by the Viet Cong, four of them civilians. At the present rate, the South Vietnamese are suffering that number of casualties every 12 hours.

Much of the ground training is being undertaken by members of the United States Special Forces, who have been trained at Fort Bragg, North Carolina.

Every man in the Special Forces is a double volunteer. First, he volunteered as a paratrooper; only after qualifying as a paratrooper was he permitted to apply for Special Forces training. In the course of his training he learned judo, archery, knife fighting, mountain climbing, skiing and snow-showing, as well as the techniques for survival under jungle conditions. In addition, he may have qualified as an expert in field medicine, demolition, communications, or weaponry. He studied native languages and customs.

The Special Forces graduate is physically tough. But more important than his physical stamina is his leadership ability -- and broadly speaking, his political understanding. For he is first and foremost a teacher, and in a hard school.

## VII



VII

Can the Vietnamese win their battle against the Communists even with our help? Here again, the answer is definitely yes.

Systematic insurgency is not unbeatable if the proper methods are used to beat it. The guerrillas (called the Viet Cong) whom the Vietnamese Army is fighting are under distinct handicaps.

In many cases they are poorly trained, equipped and not motivated by deep conviction. Often they are merely unsophisticated villagers or peasants who have been conscripted by terror or treachery. In such a case they are likely to have had only rudimentary training in weapons handling and tactics. Their equipment may be makeshift, often just what they can capture or fabricate themselves.

Only the leaders and the hard core have a strong ideological commitment. The rank and file are their puppets -- those whom they have bought, coerced or intimidated.

The Viet Cong guerrillas are seeking, by a variety of means, to achieve psychological dominance over the government forces. They are relying heavily on propaganda and psychological warfare techniques. But such techniques are vulnerable; they depend to a large extent on maintaining the mystique of success. They can, therefore, be undercut by a serious defeat or a succession of defeats that will destroy the aura of invincibility on which their effectiveness depends.

To counter the guerrilla attack we must deprive the guerrillas of their source of support -- access to the villages. In Viet-Nam the guerrillas do not have the support of the people. Yet so long as they have access to the people, they can undermine confidence, disrupt local government, and compel submission by terror and threat.

To deny this access, the villages must be provided with security and protection. Strong ties must be developed between local communities and the central government. The village people must be helped to acquire a sense of identity with the national state.

And at the same time the mystique of success must be dispelled. Military units must be trained and deployed to destroy or capture the insurgent forces, and this depends basically on sound, dependable intelligence -- quick knowledge of guerrilla movements and sufficient mobility so that force can be brought to bear rapidly to repel guerrilla attacks.

Within the past few weeks the Vietnamese Government, with our help and advice, has embarked on a course of action patterned in part on the successful British anti-guerrilla campaign in Malaya during the 1950's.

This plan calls for subdividing areas of heavy guerrilla penetration into small districts. Key villages within these districts are then encircled with a protection of barbed wire and watch towers. Entry is carefully scrutinized. Everyone over twelve years of age must have a special pass. Curfews will be ordered by the civil authorities. Controls will be placed on food, clothing and other supplies to make sure that none are diverted to the guerrillas.

To the greatest extent possible the villagers will be armed and trained, and the villages will be provided with radios that will enable them to request aid when an attack occurs.

In the



In the occasional situations -- where necessary, but only where necessary -- scattered villages and areas heavily infested by marauding bands will be abandoned and their occupants moved into central relocation camps that will afford them protection.

As these actions are taken, the guerrillas will find themselves uncomfortably conspicuous. Without identification they will find it difficult to intermingle. After the curfew they will find it difficult to move.

The insulation of the villages will deny the guerrillas their chief sources of food and supply. As their supplies diminish, the guerrillas will be forced to take greater risks, even to attack the fortified villages. And when attacked, the villagers will not only be prepared to defend themselves but will be able, by radio, to call for immediate help. The helicopters we are supplying will make possible an immediate response.

A key element, of course, is the availability of adequate intelligence. Through fear of reprisal, the villagers, in the past, have provided intelligence to the guerrillas but little to government. With the elimination of the fear of reprisal they should serve as equally diligent sources of information on guerrilla movements. Meanwhile, recruitment of new guerrillas within the villages should drop off sharply.

As each area is pacified and brought under effective protection the program will be extended to other areas of heavy infiltration. Finally, the entire nation should be once again under total government control.

#### VIII

Yet all these aspects of a counter-insurgency campaign -- and this is a point I would like to emphasize -- are effective only to create the conditions in which social and economic progress is possible. Without that progress there can be no permanent success, for an unstable society is a fertile soil for insurgency.

The response to the Communist threat in Viet-Nam cannot, therefore, be limited to military measures, no matter how well conceived and conducted. The Government in Saigon is aware that in the long run, victory will be won or lost in the villages and cities and in the minds and hearts of men.

Economic well-being in Viet-Nam -- as elsewhere -- is the key to strengthening the sinews of the nation. While carrying on the struggle against externally supported forces, the Vietnamese authorities are tackling, as rapidly as conditions permit, the tasks all new nations face. With assistance from the United States and other friendly countries they are rebuilding road systems, training teachers and erecting schools.

South Viet-Nam is potentially a rich agricultural area. Before enemy action increased in recent months, rice production had stepped up so that exports were again possible. Research and experimentation in diversification of agriculture has had a high priority. New fiber crops are now grown in the highlands. Rural credit facilities have been established to aid small farmers.

United States



United States loans and Vietnamese Government funds are being used to re-equip the railroads, modernize the Saigon water system, and increase the power resources. French aid is helping to reestablish coal production and build a cement plant. German assistance has developed a technical training school. The Japanese are building a power dam.

Small industries are taking hold. In spite of the insecurity of the area, Vietnamese and foreign investors are beginning to take the first steps toward creating industrial strength. The beginnings are there -- a paper mill, a glass works, pharmaceutical plants, textile mills. American and British oil companies have just signed an agreement to build a refinery. The native ability of this people has been proven. Left in peace their destiny would be assured.

#### IX

The task that we have set for ourselves in Viet-Nam is to help a courageous people maintain and defend their independence in a strategic area where the Free World's interests are deeply committed. This is a task that we must stay with until it is concluded. But we should have no illusions. It will not be concluded quickly. It took eight years in Malaya. But we have learned much.

The kind of war that is being waged in South Viet-Nam is the slow, relentless execution of a tried and proven plan of counter-insurgency. This is not a type of struggle congenial to the American temperament. We prefer dramatic victories, frontal attacks, the organization and mobilization of massive force and its effective employment.

What we can expect in Viet-Nam by contrast is the long, slow arduous execution of a process. Results will not be apparent over night. For the operation is, of necessity, the patient winning back of a land to freedom, village by village.

Yet it is important that we recognize the nature of the conflict under way in that remote corner of the globe -- that we study it and that we comprehend its meaning. For the struggle in Viet-Nam represents a type of threat that we would be well advised not to underestimate.

Insurgency of this sort we have seen before in recent years. We are likely to see it again and again as the Communists seek through the methods of stealth and terror to disrupt the newer nations that are struggling toward the establishment of an independent national life and to frustrate the hopes of their peoples for peace and freedom.

It will take effort to defeat this insurgency in Viet-Nam. Most of all it will take the patient application of effort over a long period of time. But the Vietnamese people are sturdy and resilient and they have the will to win. That they will succeed I have no doubt -- and when they do the world can count one more victory on the side of freedom and justice and a stable peace.

\* \* \*



*League of Women Voters of Texas*

612 NORTH 18TH STREET • WACO, TEXAS

TO: Local League Presidents and Foreign Economic Policy Chairmen  
FROM: Mrs. William E. Joer II, Chairman, National Program

Enclosed is a summary of a speech made by Dr. Norman T. Ness before a Trade Luncheon of the League of Women Voters of Houston. This is such a fine summary of the Common Market that I thought everyone of you would benefit from reading it. I suggest that if, during the next two years, any of your leagues have a speaker on this subject, you send me a copy of the speech, and if it is a good speech, we do the same thing and give the other Texas leagues the benefit of becoming acquainted with the points of view of various speakers throughout the state.

Also I request that you send me copies of replies from your Congressmen concerning Trade matters so that I may compile a report of Congressmen's thinking both for my own files and for the State Office.

Those of you who have not already done so, should put your name on the mailing list of the Committee for a National Trade Policy, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, Washington 6, D. C. Their material is very valuable. Copies of the Herter-Clayton Report of the Common Market may be secured free from this Committee. This Report should be read by every League member.

If you become acquainted with material which you think would be beneficial for other local leagues, please tell me about it. Also if you have any problems, feel free to write me about them.

LWV of Texas  
May, 1962



# League of Women Voters of Texas

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LWV of Texas  
May, 1962



*Natl Prog.*  
MAY 17 1962

HOTEL RESERVATION

NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

July 19-20, 1962

Palmer House

Chicago, Illinois

Hotel reservations may be made by writing directly to the Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois

Rates:	Single Rooms	\$8-\$10, \$11-\$13, \$14-\$17, \$18-\$21
	Double Rooms	\$15.50-\$17.50, \$18.00-\$19.50, \$20.50-\$23.50
	Twin Bedrooms	\$16.50-\$18.50, \$19.00-\$21.00, \$21.50-\$24.50

A room in the rate bracket requested will be confirmed and assigned.  
Reservations will be facilitated if you advise the hotel at once that you are attending the meeting. Please mail this form to the Palmer House, Chicago, Illinois, circling accommodation desired.

NAME \_\_\_\_\_

ADDRESS \_\_\_\_\_

Date and hour of expected arrival \_\_\_\_\_

Date and hour of expected departure \_\_\_\_\_



MAY 11 1962

COORDINATING COUNCIL  
of Organizations on  
International Trade Policy

Conference:

Sheraton Park Hotel  
Washington, D. C.  
May 17, 1962

Business Office:

1025 Connecticut Ave., N. W.  
Washington 6, D. C.  
DI 7-4472

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

Fees for May 17 Conference

_____ Entire Conference	\$20.00
_____ Registration Only	5.00
_____ Registration and Lunch	12.50
_____ Registration and Dinner	17.50

\_\_\_\_\_ Enclosed is my check for \$ \_\_\_\_\_ for the above-checked items.

\_\_\_\_\_ I will pay for the above-checked items at the conference.

Participants are urged to pay the registration and other costs in advance so as to make the registration process as rapid as possible.

Make checks payable to: COORDINATING COUNCIL

Room reservations may be made by writing directly to the Sheraton Park Hotel. Your reservation will be expedited if you will indicate to the hotel that you are attending this conference.



JUL 2 1962

*Natl Prog  
Eco. Policy*

2710 Farmers Branch Lane  
Dallas 34, Texas  
June 29, 1962

Mrs Harold B. Murphree, Jr.  
3415 Yupon Dr.  
Dickinson, Texas

Dear Gwen:

First of all, let me tell you what I remember about the use of the Hoffman film in Dallas last year. After one of our general membership meetings, some of the Dallas board members stayed on to look at the film. The sound track on the machine we had there was faulty, so I do not feel qualified to comment on Mr Hoffman's remarks. But I was not very much impressed with the film itself. Later on, a television station, I cannot remember which one, showed the film, follwed by a discussion period, at which our Dallas president acted as moderator and questions were answered by Gen Bethune of the Dallas Council on World Affairs and By Dr. Richard Johnson of SMU, I think. I did not see this program. My impression is that no one was too happy about it, least of all the participants. They thought they were doing a rehearsal, only to find out when it was all over that they had done the final recording. So I am not too enthusiastic about pushing the use of this film for local Leagues. I bet you there are better ones available.

Now about the Tulsa League request. I have not received a copy of it, so my remarks will probably be of no use. And besides that, I am so ignorant about the whole field of oil import quotas and do not know the connection between them and advalorem or sales taxes, that I feel I have nothing to offer here. I do believe that the national board and staff will include any areas that they feel to be of interest to Leagues throughout the country. If the oil import quota area is one of them, I am sure it will not be neglected.

Love,

Mrs Lewis M. Daniel



League of Women Voters  
of the United States

JUL 11 1962

# Memorandum

1026 17th Street, N. W. - Washington 6, D. C.

TO: Local and State League Presidents  
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips

July 6, 1962

## INTERIM REPORT . . . ACTION ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC AID

The next stage in the passage of the foreign aid authorization bill will take place in the House which is scheduled to begin floor debate on July 9. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs has recommended a cut of \$210 million from Administration requests totalling \$2,125 million. The Senate Committee made similar but of different amounts. (See below) The major suggested reductions are in the amounts requested for the Contingency Fund, Supporting Assistance and Development Grants. The House Committee also placed a ceiling of \$600 million a year on the 4-year authorization for the Alliance for Progress and placed all economic development funds on a loan basis after 1963. (See April 17, 1962, Time for Action - Authorization Foreign Economic Aid Programs.)

The Senate passed the President's foreign aid authorization bill (S. 2996) on June 7th, accepting the recommendations for funds made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The bill now places all funds for the Alliance for Progress on a loan basis. A special provision is included which is intended to protect U.S. property from nationalization, expropriation, discriminatory taxation, and operational conditions not imposed on the recipient country's nationals or other foreign owners. The Senate approved Committee cuts of over \$200 million in the Administration's requests. These included the \$90 million increased aid proposed for India.

Debate on the Senate floor revolved around a move to restrict aid to Communist countries. Despite protests from the Administration, the Senate endorsed an amendment forbidding the President to provide economic or military aid under the Foreign Assistance Act or selling or giving surplus farm commodities under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (P.L. 480) to nations "known to be dominated by Communism or Marxism." The vote was 57 yeas - 24 nays. Acceptance of this amendment followed discussion of a proposal to suspend for one year all military and economic aid to Yugoslavia.

The next day opponents of the amendment joined with Senators from farm states in a bipartisan movement to soften its impact. Analysis of the effect of the amendment showed that it would cut off a large potential market for U.S. agricultural surpluses. So the Senate voted, 56 yeas - 34 nays, to permit the President under certain circumstances to provide P.L. 480 aid to Communist countries. At his press conference on June 7, President Kennedy said that he was pleased that the Senate had rescinded part of the earlier amendment. He commented that he had supported former President Eisenhower's requests for discretionary authority to provide aid to Communist nations, and he felt that the authority was still needed both to hold out to people unwillingly under Communist domination the hope for eventual freedom and to support attempts at partial independence from U.S.S.R. domination.

Congressional action on the foreign aid program will not be over when the authorization bill passes the House, goes to Conference Committee, back to the Senate and House and then to the President for his signature. The program will then face the tortuous appropriation procedure. At that stage, Congress will not only consider the amounts authorized this year, but also Administration proposals for development loans, military assistance, and State Department administrative expenses already authorized for fiscal 1963 in the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act.



JUL 11 1962

League of Women Voters of the U.S.  
1026 17th Street, N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.

July 3, 1962

# HOUSE VOTE ON RECOMMITTAL OF TRADE EXPANSION ACT, H.R. 11970, JUNE 28, 1962

(Reprinted from the Congressional Record, June 28, 1962)

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, I move the previous question on the motion to recommit.

The previous question was ordered.

The SPEAKER. The question is on the motion to recommit.

Mr. MASON. Mr. Speaker, on that I demand the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 171, nays 253, not voting 13, as follows:

## [Roll No. 134] YEAS—171

Abbt  
Abernethy  
Adair  
Alexander  
Alger  
Andersen,  
Minn.  
Anderson, Ill.  
Andrews  
Arends  
Ashbrook  
Auchincloss  
Avery  
Ayres  
Baring  
Battin  
Becker  
Beckworth  
Beermann  
Belcher  
Bennett, Mich.  
Berry  
Betts  
Bolton  
Bow  
Boykin  
Bray  
Bromwell  
Brown  
Broyhill  
Bruce  
Burlison  
Byrnes, Wis.  
Casey  
Cederberg  
Chamberlain  
Chenoweth  
Chiperfield  
Church  
Clancy  
Collier  
Colmer  
Conte  
Cramer  
Cunningham  
Curtin  
Dague  
Davis,  
James C.  
Derounian  
Derwinski  
Devine  
Dole  
Dominick  
Dowdy  
Durno  
Ellsworth  
Fenton  
Findley  
Fisher  
Fogarty  
Ford  
Garland  
Gary  
Gavin  
Glenn  
Gonzalez  
Goodell  
Goodling  
Gross  
Gubser  
Haley  
Halleck  
Harrison, Wyo.  
Harsha  
Harvey, Ind.  
Harvey, Mich.  
Hays  
Hiestand  
Hoeyen  
Hoffman, Ill.  
Ichord, Mo.  
Jarman  
Jensen  
Johansen  
Jonas  
Kearns  
Kilburn  
King, N.Y.  
Kitchen  
Knox  
Kyl  
Laird  
Langen  
Latta  
Lennon  
Lipscomb  
McCulloch  
McDonough  
McIntire  
McMillan  
MacGregor  
Martin, Mass.  
Martin, Nebr.  
Mason  
May  
Meader  
Miller, N.Y.  
Milliken  
Minshall  
Monagan  
Moore  
Moorehead,  
Ohio  
Mosher  
Nelsen  
Nygaard  
O'Konski  
Ostertag  
Passman  
Pelly  
Pillion  
Pirnie  
Poff  
Purcell  
Ray  
Reifel  
Rhodes, Ariz.  
Riehlman  
Riley  
Rivers, S.C.  
Roberts, Tex.  
Rogers, Tex.  
Roudebush  
Rousset  
Rutherford  
St. George  
Saylor  
Schadeberg  
Schenck  
Scherer  
Schneebell  
Schweiker  
Seely-Brown  
Shipley  
Short  
Shriver  
Sikes  
Sler  
Smith, Calif.  
Smith, Va.  
Staggers  
Steed  
Taber  
Taylor  
Teague, Calif.  
Teague, Tex.  
Thomson, Wis.  
Tuck  
Utt  
Van Pelt  
Van Zandt  
Waggonner  
Westland  
Whalley  
Wharton  
Whitener  
Whitten  
Williams  
Wilson, Calif.  
Wilson, Ind.  
Winstead  
Younger

## NAYS—253

Addabbo  
Addonizio  
Albert  
Anfuso  
Ashley  
Ashmore  
Aspinall  
Bailey  
Baker  
Baldwin  
Barrett  
Barry  
Bass, N.H.  
Bass, Tenn.  
Bates  
Bell  
Bennett, Fla.  
Blatnik  
Boggs  
Boland  
Bolling  
Bonner  
Brademas  
Breeding  
Brewster  
Brooks, Tex.  
Broomfield  
Buckley  
Burke, Ky.  
Burke, Mass.  
Byrne, Pa.  
Cahill  
Cannon  
Carey  
Celler  
Chelf  
Clark  
Coad  
Cohelan  
Cook  
Cooley  
Corbett  
Corman  
Curtis, Mo.  
Daddario  
Daniels  
Davis, John W.  
Dawson  
Delaney  
Dent  
Denton  
Diggs  
Dingell  
Donohue  
Dooley  
Dorn  
Downing  
Doyle  
Dulski  
Dwyer  
Edmondson  
Elliott  
Everett  
Evins  
Fallon  
Farbstein  
Fascell  
Feighan  
Finnegan  
Fino  
Flynt  
Forrester  
Fountain  
Frazier  
Frelinghuysen  
Friedel  
Fulton  
Gallagher  
Garmatz  
Gathings  
Giaino  
Gilbert  
Granahan  
Grant  
Gray  
Green, Oreg.  
Green, Pa.  
Griffin  
Griffiths  
Hagan, Ga.  
Hagen, Calif.  
Halpern  
Harrison, Va.  
Healey  
Hebert  
Hechler  
Hemphill  
Henderson  
Herlong  
Hollifield  
Holland  
Hosmer  
Huddleston  
Hull  
Inouye  
Jennings  
Joelson  
Johnson, Calif.  
Johnson, Md.  
Johnson, Wis.  
Jones Ala.  
Jones, Mo.  
Judd  
Karsten  
Karth  
Kastenmeier  
Kee  
Keith  
Kelly  
Keogh  
Kilgore  
King, Calif.  
King, Utah  
Kirwan  
Kluczynski  
Kornegay  
Kowalski  
Kunkel  
Landrum  
Lane  
Lankford  
Lesinski  
Libonati  
Lindsay  
Loser  
McDowell  
McFall  
Macdonald  
Mack  
Madden  
Magnuson  
Mahon  
Mailliard  
Marshall  
Mathias  
Matthews  
Morrow  
Michel  
Miller, Clem  
Mills  
Moeller  
Montoya  
Moorhead, Pa.  
Morgan  
Morris  
Morrison  
Morse  
Moss  
Moulder  
Multer  
Murphy  
Murray  
Natcher  
Nedzi  
Nix  
Norbald  
Norrell  
O'Brien, Ill.  
O'Brien, N.Y.  
O'Hara, Ill.  
O'Hara, Mich.  
Olsen  
O'Neill  
Osmers  
Patman  
Perkins  
Peterson  
Pfoest  
Philbin  
Pike  
Pitcher  
Poage  
Powell  
Price  
Pucinski  
Quile  
Rains  
Randall  
Reece  
Reuss  
Rhodes, Pa.  
Rivers, Alaska  
Roberts, Ala.  
Robison  
Rodino  
Rogers, Colo.  
Rogers, Fla.  
Rooney  
Roosevelt  
Rosenthal  
Rostenkowski  
Roush  
Ryan, Mich.  
Ryan, N.Y.  
St. Germain  
Santangelo  
Schwengel  
Scott  
Scranton  
Selden  
Shelley  
Sheppard  
Sibal  
Sisk  
Slack  
Smith, Iowa  
Smith, Miss.  
Spence  
Springer  
Stafford  
Stephens  
Stratton  
Stubblefield  
Sullivan  
Thomas  
Thompson, N.J.  
Thompson, Tex.  
Thornberry  
Toll  
Tollefson  
Trimble  
Tupper  
Udall, Morris K.  
Ullman  
Vanik  
Vinson  
Wallhauser  
Walter  
Watts  
Weaver  
Wels  
Wickersham  
Widnall  
Willis  
Wright  
Yates  
Young  
Zablocki  
Zelenko

## NOT VOTING—13

Alford  
Blitch  
Curtis, Mass.  
Davis, Tenn.  
Flood  
Hoffman, Mich.  
Horan  
McSweeney  
McVey  
George P.  
Saund  
Thompson, La.

So the motion to recommit was rejected.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. Alford for, with Mr. George P. Miller against.

Mr. McVey for, with Mr. Curtis of Massachusetts against.

Until further notice:

Mr. McSweeney with Mr. Horan.

Mr. Flood with Mr. Hoffman of Michigan.

Mrs. KEE and Mr. SLACK changed their vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. SHIPLEY and Mr. RHODES of Arizona changed their vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.



League of Women Voters of the U.S.  
1026 17th Street, N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.

July 3, 1962

HOUSE VOTE ON PASSAGE OF THE TRADE EXPANSION ACT, H.R. 11970, JUNE 28, 1962

(Reprinted from the Congressional Record, June 28, 1962)

The SPEAKER. The question is on the passage of the bill.

Mr. MILLS. Mr. Speaker, on that I ask for the yeas and nays.

The yeas and nays were ordered.

The question was taken; and there were—yeas 299, nays 125, not voting 13, as follows:

[Roll No. 135]

YEAS—299

Abbutt  
Abernethy  
Addabbo  
Addonizio  
Albert  
Anfuso  
Arends  
Ashley  
Ashmore  
Aspinall  
Auchincloss  
Avery  
Bailey  
Baker  
Baldwin  
Barrett  
Barry  
Bass, N.H.  
Bass, Tenn.  
Bates  
Beckworth  
Bell  
Bennett, Fla.  
Blatnik  
Boggs  
Boland  
Bolling  
Bolton  
Bonner  
Brademas  
Breeding  
Brewster  
Bromwell  
Brooks, Tex.  
Broomfield  
Broyhill  
Buckley  
Burke, Ky.  
Burke, Mass.  
Byrne, Pa.  
Byrnes, Wis.  
Cahill  
Cannon  
Carey  
Celler  
Chamberlain  
Chelf  
Clark  
Coad  
Cohelan  
Conte  
Cook  
Cooley  
Corbett  
Corman  
Curtin  
Curtis, Mo.  
Daddario  
Daniels  
Davis,  
James C.  
Davis, John W.  
Dawson  
Delaney  
Denton  
Derounian  
Derwinski  
Diggs  
Dingell  
Dole  
Donohue  
Dooley  
Dorn  
Downing  
Doyle  
Dulski  
Dwyer  
Edmondson  
Elliott  
Ellsworth  
Everett  
Farbstein  
Fallon  
Fascell  
Feighan  
Findley  
Finnegan  
Fino  
Flynt  
Ford  
Forrester  
Fountain  
Frazier  
Frelinghuysen  
Friedel  
Fulton  
Gallagher  
Garmatz  
Gary  
Gathings  
Gialmo  
Gilbert  
Gonzalez  
Goodell  
Granahan  
Grant  
Gray  
Green, Oreg.  
Green, Pa.  
Griffin  
Griffiths  
Gubser  
Hagen, Calif.  
Hagan, Ga.  
Halleck  
Halpern  
Hansen  
Hardy  
Harris  
Harrison, Va.  
Harvey, Mich.  
Healey  
Hebert  
Hechler  
Hemphill  
Henderson  
Herlong  
Hollifield  
Holland  
Hosmer  
Huddleston  
Hull  
Inouye  
Jennings  
Joelson  
Johnson, Calif.  
Johnson, Md.  
Johnson, Wis.  
Jones Ala.  
Jones, Mo.  
Judd  
Karsten  
Karth  
Kastenmeyer  
Kee  
Keith  
Kelly  
Keogh  
Kilgore  
King, Calif.  
King, Utah  
Kirwan  
Kitchin  
Kluczynski  
Kornegay  
Kowalski  
Kunkel  
Landrum  
Lane  
Langen  
Lankford  
Lennon  
Lesinski  
Libonati  
Lindsay  
Loser  
McDowell  
McFall  
Macdonald  
MacGregor  
Mack  
Madden  
Magnuson  
Mahon  
Mailliard

Marshall  
Mathias  
Matthews  
Meador  
Merrow  
Michel  
Miller, Clem  
Miller, N.Y.  
Milliken  
Mills  
Minshall  
Montoya  
Moorhead, Pa.  
Morris  
Morrison  
Morse  
Mosher  
Moss  
Moulder  
Multer  
Murphy  
Murray  
Natcher  
Nedzi  
Nelsen  
Nix  
Norblad  
Norrell  
Nygaard  
O'Brien, Ill.  
O'Brien, N.Y.  
O'Hara, Ill.  
O'Hara, Mich.  
O'Neill  
Osmers  
Ostertag  
Patman  
Perkins  
Peterson  
Pfost  
Pike  
Poage  
Poff  
Powell  
Price  
Pucinski  
Purcell  
Quile  
Rains  
Randall  
Reece  
Reuss  
Rhodes, Pa.  
Riehlman  
Rivers, Alaska  
Roberts, Ala.  
Roberts, Tex.  
Robison  
Rodino  
Rogers, Colo.  
Rogers, Fla.  
Rogers, Tex.  
Rooney  
Roosevelt  
Rosenthal  
Rostenkowski  
Roush  
Rutherford  
Ryan, Mich.  
Ryan, N.Y.  
Santangelo  
Schenck  
Schneebeli  
Schweiker  
Schwengel  
Scott  
Scranton  
Selden  
Shelley  
Sheppard  
Short

Shriver  
Sibal  
Sisk  
Slack  
Smith, Iowa  
Smith, Miss.  
Smith, Va.  
Spence  
Springer  
Stafford  
Stephens  
Stratton  
Stubblefield  
Sullivan  
Taylor  
Teague, Calif.  
Thomas  
Thompson, N.J.  
Thompson, Tex.  
Thornberry  
Toll  
Trimble  
Tuck  
Tupper  
Udall, Morris K.  
Ullman  
Vanik  
Vinson  
Wallhauser  
Walter  
Watts  
Weaver  
Weis  
Wickersham  
Widnall  
Willis  
Wright  
Yates  
Zablocki  
Zelenko

NAYS—125

Adair  
Alexander  
Alger  
Andersen,  
Minn.  
Anderson, Ill.  
Andrews  
Ashbrook  
Ayres  
Baring  
Battin  
Becker  
Beermann  
Belcher  
Bennett, Mich.  
Berry  
Betts  
Bow  
Boykin  
Bray  
Brown  
Bruce  
Burlison  
Casey  
Cederberg  
Chenoweth  
Chiperfield  
Church  
Clancy  
Collier  
Colmer  
Cramer  
Cunningham  
Dague  
Dent  
Devine  
Dominick  
Dowdy  
Durno  
Fenton  
Fisher  
Fogarty  
Garland  
Gavin  
Glenn  
Goodling  
Gross  
Haley  
Hall  
Harrison, Wyo.  
Harsha  
Harvey, Ind.  
Hays  
Hiestand  
Hoever  
Hoffman, Ill.  
Ichord, Mo.  
Jarman  
Jensen  
Johansen  
Jonas  
Kearns  
Kilburn  
King, N.Y.  
Knox  
Kyl  
Laird  
Latta  
Lipscomb  
McCulloch  
McDonough  
McIntire  
McMillan  
Martin, Mass.  
Martin, Nebr.  
Mason  
May  
Moeller  
Monagan  
Moore  
Moorehead,  
Ohio  
Morgan  
O'Konski  
Olsen  
Passman  
Pelly  
Philbin  
Pillion  
Pirnie  
Ray  
Reifel  
Rhodes, Ariz.  
Riley  
Rivers, S.C.  
Roudebush  
Roussetot  
St. George  
Saylor  
Schadeberg  
Scherer  
Seely-Brown  
Shipley  
Sikes  
Siler  
Smith, Calif.  
Staggers  
Steed  
Taber  
Teague, Tex.  
Thomson, Wis.  
Tollefson  
Utt  
Van Pelt  
Van Zandt  
Waggonner  
Westland  
Whalley  
Wharton  
Whitener  
Whitten  
Williams  
Wilson, Calif.  
Wilson, Ind.  
Winstead  
Young  
Younger

NOT VOTING—13

Alford  
Blitch  
Curtis, Mass.  
Davis, Tenn.  
Flood  
Hoffman, Mich.  
Horan  
McSween  
McVey  
Miller,  
George P.  
Pilcher  
Saund  
Thompson, La.

So the bill was passed.

The Clerk announced the following pairs:

On this vote:

Mr. George P. Miller for, with Mr. Alford against.

Mr. Curtis of Massachusetts for, with Mr. McVey against.

Until further notice:

Mr. Davis of Tennessee with Mr. Horan.  
Mr. McSween with Mr. Hoffman of Michigan.

Mr. KYL changed his vote from "yea" to "nay."

Mr. PETERSON changed his vote from "nay" to "yea."

The result of the vote was announced as above recorded.

A motion to reconsider was laid on the table.



League of Women Voters of the U.S.

1026 - 17th Street, N.W.

Washington 6, D. C.

JUL 11 1962

July 6, 1962

### WHAT'S IN THE TRADE EXPANSION ACT AS PASSED BY THE HOUSE JUNE 28, 1962

(This analysis of the House-passed trade bill is intended only for those League members who want to know the specific provisions contained in the bill. It is not necessary for every member who wants to write a letter to her Congressman to have mastered these details. But for those of you who enjoy knowing all about a piece of legislation, here it is!)

As passed by the House the Trade Expansion Act provides for:

- . A five-year extension of the President's authority to enter into trade agreements, from July 1, 1962 to June 30, 1967.
- . Authority to modify import restrictions includes:
  1. Basic authority (to the President) to decrease by 50 per cent any tariff existing on July 1, 1962 or increase by 50 per cent any tariff existing on July 1, 1934.
  2. Specific authority waiving the 50 per cent limitation on tariff reduction, to be used only in trade agreements with the European Economic Community, on categories of goods in which the United States and the EEC together supply 80 per cent of the free world export value of such goods.
  3. Authority permitting the President to exceed the 50-per cent limitation on tariff reductions for tropical commodities if: (a) the article is a tropical agricultural or forestry commodity; (b) if the article is not produced in significant quantities in the United States; and (c) if the EEC has made a tariff or other import restrictions commitment likely to insure access to EEC markets comparable to that of United States markets. (This section of the bill is intended to benefit less developed countries.)
  4. Authority permitting the President to exceed the basic 50-per cent reduction on articles subject to duties of not more than 5-per cent ad valorem or the equivalent.

Limitations on use of authority include: reservation from negotiations of articles covered by escape clause proclamations under existing law, or covered by national security provisions. Until 1966 negotiations may not be made on articles which the Tariff Commission has found in escape clause investigations were being imported in such increased quantities as to cause or threaten serious injury to domestic industry; no tariffs may be reduced or eliminated on articles when the President determines that such action would threaten national security; tariff reductions are to be made in not less than five annual stages except for tropical agricultural and forestry commodities; the embargo on importation of certain furs from the Soviet Union and Communist China is continued.

#### . Preagreement Procedures and Safeguards

1. Tariff Commission is directed to hold public hearings on list of articles to be furnished by the President on which the United States may offer concessions in negotiating trade agreements. Within 6 months after receiving the list the Commission would advise the President on the probable economic effect of modification of duties or other import restrictions, on U.S. industries.



2. Hearings would also be held by an agency or interagency committee to be named by the President. These hearings would focus on the concessions the U.S. would be seeking from other parties to the trade agreement.

3. The President is required to seek information and advice on any proposed agreement from the Departments of Agriculture, Commerce, Defense, Interior, Labor, State and Treasury, and from other sources.

. General Provisions relating to trade agreements include:

1. The President is required to appoint a Special Representative for Trade Negotiations who will be subject to Senate confirmation and who will be the chief negotiator for the U.S. during any trade negotiation.

2. A Cabinet level interagency trade organization is created to make recommendations to the President on basic policy issues.

3. Two Members of the House and of the Senate are to sit as observers during negotiation conferences.

4. Transmission to Congress by the President of a copy of each negotiated trade agreement; annual reports to Congress on operation of the trade agreement program from both the President and the Tariff Commission.

5. Most-favored-nation treatment is extended to all countries except members of the Communist bloc to which are added Poland, Cuba, and Yugoslavia.

Also directs the President to take steps to eliminate unjustifiable foreign import restrictions which impair the value of tariff reductions made to the U.S. and prevent the expansion of trade on a mutually advantageous basis.

. Postagreement Safeguards . . . Adjustment Assistance

Adjustment assistance is provided for industries, firms and workers affected by increased imports resulting from trade agreement concessions.

Authority to increase tariffs or impose quotas on imports causing serious injury or the threat of serious injury to domestic industries is provided.

Authority is also provided to give other assistance to the firms and workers of injured industries, or a combination of tariff and adjustment assistance.

Procedures:

1. Any firm, group of workers, or industry, or their representatives, may file a petition with the Tariff Commission asking for tariff adjustment or other adjustment assistance or both. The word "firm" includes farm, mines and fishing enterprises.

2. Upon receiving such a petition the Tariff Commission will begin an investigation. In the case of investigations dealing with requests for adjustment assistance by firms or groups of workers the Tariff Commission must report to the President within 60 days; in the case of industry investigations, within 120 days (with a permissible 30-day extension.)



JUL 11 1962

3. After receiving a Tariff Commission report the President may:

- (a) raise tariffs or impose quotas,
- (b) recommend that the firms in the industry request the Secretary of Commerce for certification of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance,
- (c) provide that the workers in the industry may request the Secretary of Labor for certifications of eligibility to apply for adjustment assistance, or
- (d) take any combinations of such actions.

If the President fails to take the particular tariff adjustment action recommended by the Tariff Commission, his decision may be overridden by a majority vote of both houses of Congress.

Any increased import restrictions under the escape clause provision will be ended not later than four years after the effective date of the initial proclamation, unless extended by further Tariff Commission investigation and Presidential or Congressional decision.

4. Firms eligible for adjustment assistance may receive upon application any or all of three forms of assistance: financial, technical or tax.

- (a) A firm certified as eligible for assistance must submit to the Secretary of Commerce a proposal for its economic adjustment. One of the Secretary's criteria for studying such proposals is the practical benefit to the applicant, - whether it will bring about constructive rehabilitation and whether it will permit rehiring of workers.
- (b) Certified adjustment proposals will be submitted by the Secretary to whatever Federal agency or agencies which can appropriately furnish the financial and technical assistance required (Departments of Agriculture, Interior, Area Redevelopment Administration, Small Business Administration). If these agencies do not have necessary funds, funds may be appropriated under the Trade Expansion Act.
- (c) The Secretary may: furnish financial assistance (in the form of loans) for plant and equipment (including modernization and conversion) and, in some cases, for capitalization; technical assistance, including managerial advice, market analyses, research in and development of techniques and products, etc; tax assistance by allowing a carryback of loss for tax purposes five years instead of the normal three-year allowance period.

5. Workers eligible to apply for assistance may receive:

- (a) a weekly cash allowance intended to supplement regular unemployment compensation for 52 weeks, including weeks of training.
- (b) training for vocational readjustment (if a worker fails to take this training without good cause, his adjustment allowance would be terminated).



- (c) relocation allowances for workers unable to obtain suitable local employment, to cover cost of moving the family to another area where work is available.

The bill establishes criteria for determining eligibility of workers for this assistance and places limitations on its application, making some allowance for those workers who must take very extensive retraining courses to be compensated for an extended period of time.

- (6) A Cabinet-level Adjustment Assistance Advisory Board is created to advise the President and agencies administering the adjustment assistance program on development of coordinated programs. The Board would consist of the Secretaries of Commerce (chairman); Agriculture; Health, Education, and Welfare; Interior; Labor and the Treasury; and the Administrator of the Small Business Administration and any other officer whom the President chooses. In addition, industry committees to advise the Board would be appointed by the Chairman and would be composed of representatives of employers, workers and the public.



# League of Women Voters

of the United States

JUL 11 1962  
*Memorandum*

1026 17th Street, N. W. - Washington 6, D. C.

TO: Local and State League Presidents  
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips

July 6, 1962

## INTERIM REPORT . . . ACTION ON TRADE

The Trade Expansion Act, passed by the House June 28, has been sent to the Senate and referred to the Senate Finance Committee. Senator Byrd (D., Va.) chairman of that Committee, has announced that hearings will begin July 18. The League has requested time for a member of the national Board to make a statement. The Senate leadership hopes that the bill can be brought to the floor for a vote early in August.

Leagues whose Senators are members of the Senate Finance Committee should get messages to them within the next two weeks. Messages from members of the business community are especially important. These same kinds of communications should go to every Senator before the end of the month. Any kind of community demonstration of support would be worth while.

The House passed the Trade Expansion Act (H.R. 11970) June 28 by the impressive vote of 298 yeas - 125 nays after a move to send it back to the House Ways and Means Committee was defeated, 171 to 253. Both votes, as recorded in the Congressional Record, are enclosed, so that you may see how your own Representative voted. If he voted "No" on the motion to recommit and "Yes" on passage it goes without saying that he would appreciate receiving a thank-you note from the League. This kind of communication is all too rare on the Hill. If he did not vote for the bill the less said the better. Perhaps he will be with us on foreign aid or some other issue the League supports.

The trade bill was brought to the floor under a rule permitting eight hours of debate and one motion to substitute another proposal for the bill reported by the Committee.

During the week before the bill was to come up, Rep. Byrnes (R., Wis.) a member of the Ways and Means Committee, was quoted by the press as saying that he was considering substituting a bill similar to H.R. 11970 but without the proposals for trade adjustment assistance to industries and workers proving injury from increased imports due to trade agreement concessions. This would have left in the bill the provision for giving aid to injured industries only in the form of tariff increases or quotas, the provision now in the Trade Agreements Act. This is the only form of relief now available, as the President noted when he raised tariffs on glass and woolen rugs earlier this year. After these tariff increases were announced Belgium promptly retaliated by raising tariffs on some plastic products, thus precipitating what might become a "little tariff war."

Supporters of the adjustment assistance program threatened to withdraw support from the bill if the trade adjustment section was eliminated.

After a reported telephone call from former President Eisenhower and after a meeting of the House Republican Policy Committee, House Minority Leader Halleck (R., Ind.) announced that the House Republicans had decided not to make the bill a Party issue; Mr. Byrnes announced that he would not offer a motion to substitute, and Rep. Mason (R., Ill.) ranking Republican on the Ways and Means Committee, said he would offer



a motion to recommit the bill to Committee with instructions to report back a one-year extension of the Trade Agreements Act. When he did make this motion, June 27, it was pointed out that almost all authority to reduce tariffs under this Act was exhausted but that authority still existed in it to raise tariffs. Just before the vote on the motion to recommit was taken Mr. Byrnes urged support for the one-year extension, saying that then the Senate could rewrite the bill, eliminating "objectionable features." Speaker McCormack (D., Mass.) and Rep. Mills (D., Ark.), chairman of the Ways and Means Committee, told the House that this would be an abdication of the House's responsibility as a "co-equal body" and of its responsibility to initiate revenue bills. Forty three Republicans and 210 Democrats voted against the recommittal motion. On passage, 80 Republicans and 218 Democrats voted "yea."

If the Senate makes changes in the House-passed bill, the bill will be sent to Conference after Senate passage. Differences between the two versions will be adjusted and the bill will go back to both houses for final action. The League is approaching the home stretch in the campaign begun last winter to Break the Trade Barrier. The finish line is in sight. Let's keep on making trade a Lively Issue until the President actually signs the new bill into law!

Senate Finance Committee List:

Democrats

Harry Flood Byrd, of Virginia, chairman  
Robert S. Kerr, of Oklahoma  
Russell B. Long, of Louisiana  
George A. Smathers, of Florida  
Clinton P. Anderson, of New Mexico  
Paul H. Douglas, of Illinois  
Albert Gore, of Tennessee  
Herman E. Talmadge, of Georgia  
Eugene J. McCarthy, of Minnesota  
Vance Hartke, of Indiana  
J. W. Fulbright, of Arkansas

Republicans

John J. Williams, of Delaware  
Frank Carlson, of Kansas  
Wallace F. Bennett, of Utah  
John Marshall Butler, of Maryland  
Carl T. Curtis, of Nebraska  
Thurston B. Morton, of Kentucky



League of Women Voters  
of the United States

# Memorandum

1026 17th Street, N. W. - Washington 6, D. C.

TO: Local and State League Presidents  
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips

July 6, 1962

INTERIM REPORT . . . ACTION ON FOREIGN ECONOMIC AID

The next stage in the passage of the foreign aid authorization bill will take place in the House which is scheduled to begin floor debate on July 9. The House Committee on Foreign Affairs has recommended a cut of \$210 million from Administration requests totalling \$2,125 million. The Senate Committee made similar cuts but of different amounts. (See below) The major suggested reductions are in the amounts requested for the Contingency Fund, Supporting Assistance and Development Grants. The House Committee also placed a ceiling of \$600 million a year on the 4-year authorization for the Alliance for Progress and placed all economic development funds on a loan basis after 1963. (See April 17, 1962, Time for Action - Authorization Foreign Economic Aid Programs.)

The Senate passed the President's foreign aid authorization bill (S. 2996) on June 7th, accepting the recommendations for funds made by the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. The bill now places all funds for the Alliance for Progress on a loan basis. A special provision is included which is intended to protect U.S. property from nationalization, expropriation, discriminatory taxation, and operational conditions not imposed on the recipient country's nationals or other foreign owners. The Senate approved Committee cuts of over \$200 million in the Administration's requests. These included the \$90 million increased aid proposed for India.

Debate on the Senate floor revolved around a move to restrict aid to Communist countries. Despite protests from the Administration, the Senate endorsed an amendment forbidding the President to provide economic or military aid under the Foreign Assistance Act or selling or giving surplus farm commodities under the Agricultural Trade Development and Assistance Act (P.L. 480) to nations "known to be dominated by Communism or Marxism." The vote was 57 yeas - 24 nays. Acceptance of this amendment followed discussion of a proposal to suspend for one year all military and economic aid to Yugoslavia.

The next day opponents of the amendment joined with Senators from farm states in a bipartisan movement to soften its impact. Analysis of the effect of the amendment showed that it would cut off a large potential market for U.S. agricultural surpluses. So the Senate voted, 56 yeas - 34 nays, to permit the President under certain circumstances to provide P.L. 480 aid to Communist countries. At his press conference on June 7, President Kennedy said that he was pleased that the Senate had rescinded part of the earlier amendment. He commented that he had supported former President Eisenhower's requests for discretionary authority to provide aid to Communist nations, and he felt that the authority was still needed both to hold out to people unwillingly under Communist domination the hope for eventual freedom and to support attempts at partial independence from U.S.S.R. domination.

Congressional action on the foreign aid program will not be over when the authorization bill passes the House, goes to Conference Committee, back to the Senate and House and then to the President for his signature. The program will then face the tortuous appropriation procedure. At that stage, Congress will not only consider the amounts authorized this year, but also Administration proposals for development loans, military assistance, and State Department administrative expenses already authorized for fiscal 1963 in the 1961 Foreign Assistance Act.



MAY 17 1962

# Announcement

## NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

July 19-20, 1962    Palmer House    Chicago, Illinois

### Theme — "THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS"

*"... a vast cooperative effort, unparalleled in magnitude and nobility of purpose, to satisfy the basic needs of the American people for homes, work and land, health and schools . . ."*

*"Let us once again transform the American continent into a vast crucible of revolutionary ideas and efforts . . . an example to all the world that liberty and progress walk hand in hand."*

President John F. Kennedy  
March 13, 1961

What does the Alliance require of the countries of Latin America?

What does it require of the United States?

What is it accomplishing?

What are its prospects?

\* \* \* \* \*

Outstanding leaders from the U.S. and Latin America will outline during the two-day meeting the role peoples and governments must play in order to achieve the goals of the Alliance.

\* \* \* \* \*

Prominent Latin American and U.S. experts from business, labor, agriculture, and representatives of civic groups and of national and international governmental agencies will analyze and discuss critically and in depth the many aspects of the Alliance, including Food and Agriculture, Housing, Land, Tax and Fiscal Reform, the Role of Private Investment, Investment Guarantees and Surveys, Efforts of Voluntary Agencies, Trade Unions, Cooperatives, Savings and Loan Associations, Credit Unions.

**REGISTER NOW on the enclosed form.**

**NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT**

1720 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.

Washington, D. C.



NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT

NINTH ANNUAL MEETING

"THE ALLIANCE FOR PROGRESS"

Palmer House  
Chicago, Illinois  
July 19-20, 1962

1720 Rhode Island Avenue, N.W.  
Washington 6, D. C.  
Telephone: 638-4682

REGISTRATION

Name \_\_\_\_\_

Organization \_\_\_\_\_

Address \_\_\_\_\_

City \_\_\_\_\_ Zone \_\_\_\_\_ State \_\_\_\_\_

The meeting fee is \$25.00. This is an over-all charge for the two-day meeting, and includes two luncheons and a Thursday banquet dinner. For those unable to attend the entire meeting, the registration fee is \$10.00, with a charge of \$5.00 for the luncheons and \$7.50 for the banquet.

Enclosed is my check for \$ _____ covering _____	full meeting fee
_____	registration
_____	Thursday, July 19 luncheon
_____	Thursday, July 19 banquet
_____	Friday, July 20 luncheon

\_\_\_\_\_ I will pay the above amount upon arrival.

Participants are urged to send their checks in advance to expedite arrangements. Make checks payable to: NATIONAL CONFERENCE ON INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL DEVELOPMENT.

FOR HOTEL RESERVATIONS SEE ATTACHED SLIP



League of Women Voters  
of the United States

# Memorandum

1026 17th Street, N. W. - Washington 6, D. C.

July 30, 1962

TO: Local League Presidents (Copy to State Presidents)  
FROM: The National Office  
RE: 1) Special CBS Television programs on economic problems  
2) Suburban Homemaker Contest

1) We have just received word of five special CBS News broadcasts on the state of the American economy to be presented on successive evenings beginning Monday, August 20. In view of the interest shown at the national Convention and throughout the League in the inter-relationship of the U.S. economy and that of the rest of the world we thought you might like to alert League members about these programs. Entitled "Where Do We Go From Here?" the special broadcasts will be seen and heard as follows:

Monday, August 20 -- 10:30-11:00 PM EDT

Tuesday, August 21 -- 9:30-10:00 PM EDT

Wednesday, August 22 -- 7:30-8:00 PM EDT

Thursday, August 23 -- 10:00-10:30 PM EDT

Friday, August 24 -- 10:00-10:30 PM EDT

David Schoenbrun, CBS News Chief Washington correspondent, will serve as host of the five special broadcasts. John R. Coleman, Professor of Economics at the Carnegie Institute of Technology, Pittsburgh, will appear as essayist on the programs. Professor Coleman will also conduct a college-credit course on "The American Economy" for the "College of the Air" series beginning in the fall over CBS. Featured on the five August broadcasts will be noted experts on American economics.

\* \* \* \*

2) Mrs. Robert J. Phillips, President of the League of Women Voters of the United States, will serve as a judge in the Suburban Homemaker of the Year contest. In material received from the Suburban Press Foundation, Inc., the sponsors of the contest, it was noted that a representative of the League of Women Voters might be asked to be on the judging committee for the local contests. Mrs. Phillips does not want local League presidents to feel any responsibility to do so. Mrs. Phillips has written the sponsors of the contest to tell them of the many demands on local League leaders' time, we are sure they will understand if you do not wish to participate.





# foreign economic policy

**BUILDING REGIONAL STEPPING STONES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH**

*leaders guide*

---

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES



BUILDING REGIONAL STEPPING STONES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

A GUIDE FOR STUDY, DISCUSSION, AND ACTION 1962-1964.

"Continued support of U.S. policies to promote world economic development and an evaluation of opportunities to expand regional cooperation."

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LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES  
1026 Seventeenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D. C.  
Publication #278. • August, 1962 • Price 50c

BUILDING REGIONAL STEPPING STONES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

FOREWORD

Early in the sixties the economic consequences of building regional stepping stones to economic unity are dramatically apparent. The political consequences promise to be equally impressive. The seventies may well be the decade for building stepping stones to political unity -- a unity which may jump oceans or embrace continents and hemispheres.

The star builder of an economic community is Western Europe where the Common Market has outrun its own timetable -- with tariffs cut in half two and a half years ahead of schedule. The rate of economic growth of the six member nations of the Common Market is phenomenal -- nowhere in the world, with the exception of Japan and the Soviet Union, can this growth be matched. The Common Market is also the source of ferment over great issues of public policy. The world "outside" anxiously awaits decisions about the manner in which the Common Market will receive goods from the outside. Britain negotiates membership and other nations are following suit. The Communist world protests the Common Market. The United States changes its trade policy in order to cope with the Common Market and seeks "partnership" as part of a "grand design" to spur its own progress and growth.

Meanwhile, the contagious effects of Europe's moves toward economic integration can be seen elsewhere -- in South America with its free trade association, in Central America with its common market, in North Africa where the Casablanca group hopes to have a common market in operation by 1963, in Asia where proposals for a common market are being aired. But economic integration in the developing world is a thing apart from that in the developed world -- the motives and needs are different, the likelihood that efforts may be marred by failures is greater.

A totally different kind of economic regionalism can be found in the Communist world -- an economic market dominated by the U.S.S.R. and encompassing the satellite nations of Eastern Europe. The Communist brand of a common market bears little resemblance to the voluntary moves toward economic integration in the West.

\* \* \* \* \*

Even today, economic integration requires political decisions of great magnitude. At 5:29 a.m. on January 14, 1962, the Common Market entered the second 4-year stage of its 12-year transition period. It marked an historic "point of no return" in the process of the economic integration of Europe. Paving the way was a decision to embark on a common agricultural policy -- a decision requiring 214 hours of subcommittee meetings and 45 working sessions -- a decision fraught with politics.

No less political were earlier decisions by politicians to pool their sovereign destinies -- beginning before the end of World War II with the Benelux customs agreement (1944) and followed by such milestones as the



Organization for Economic Cooperation (1948), the European Payments Union (1950), the European Coal and Steel Community (1952), Euratom and the European Economic Community, i.e., the Common Market (1958).

Within the European Community a discussion is being waged on the fundamentals of political union -- union now or later? union through a loose confederation or more intimate federation? It is this question which is the heart of the European decision.

Will the European Community, as it is now constituted or as it may evolve, be simply a manifestation of a larger nationalism or will it provide the sinews of a more responsible internationalism? It is this question with which United States policy is necessarily concerned -- to be answered in the larger political framework of U.S. aspirations at home and abroad.

#### I -- THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY AND ATLANTIC PARTNERSHIP

Long before the beginning of the European Economic Community in 1958, the United States supported closer ties among the nations of Western Europe. Part of the Marshall Plan purpose was the encouragement of unification, and the Organization for European Economic Cooperation (1948) was a direct result. Established to deal cooperatively with the allocation of U.S. aid, OEEC got member nations into the habit of thinking multilaterally.

Out of this experience came a confidence that made possible the next significant step in the creation of a unified Europe -- the European Coal and Steel Community (1952). The motives were a mixture of political and economic imperatives -- on the one hand, to revitalize the basic steel industry whose production had risen only 63 percent from 1913 to 1950 (in the United States production tripled in the same period) and, on the other hand, to minimize the possibility of war between the traditional antagonists, France and Germany.

The union of Europe received a setback in 1954 when the French turned down the European Defense Community which would have integrated military forces. The new Europe was not quite ready for this degree of functional integration which touched so intimately on the sensitive spot of national security.

#### The Common Market\*

But the allure of economic integration could not be assuaged and the creation, in 1958, of the Common Market revitalized the unification movement in Europe. The United States continued to see in all these developments an economically and politically strong Europe which would lessen Europe's dependency on this country and which would constitute a bulwark against Communist inroads. So far, these expectations have been realized (except for U.S. hopes that Europe would bear a larger share of NATO costs for

\*Members are France, West Germany, Italy, the Netherlands, Belgium, and Luxembourg.

military defense). Europe has become a vital force on the world scene, with economic integration the nucleus of that vital force.

Those on the outside of the Common Market now want in. British membership is still an issue. Denmark, Norway, and Ireland have requested membership and are awaiting their turn. The three neutral nations Sweden, Switzerland, Austria, plus those on the periphery of Europe -- Spain, Turkey, and Israel -- have requested associate status in one form or another, which means they want some of the economic benefits of freer trade with EEC without the obligations of closer political ties. Iran and Portugal have asked for exploratory talks. Sixteen African states that were formerly colonies or trusteeships of France, Belgium, the Netherlands, and Italy are already associated with the Common Market. So is Greece, and newly independent Rwanda and Burundi are being added to the list. If the expansion continues, the Common Market may turn out to be a political and economic entity with 10 or more members and dozens of associated countries, embracing in all millions of people -- from the Swedes and the French to the Congolese and the Greeks.

What is this Common Market that has so much appeal for so many? Very simply, the Common Market is a customs union whose purpose it is to free trade among member states and to establish common trade policies with non-member countries. The gains to be had are: 1) a higher rate of economic growth stemming from larger production for a larger market, the stimulus of competition, and the advantages of specialization; 2) greater trade bargaining power with the nations outside; and 3) strengthening of political ties and the spreading of an economic base from which to provide for stronger defense and for expanded activities such as aid to less developed countries.

Membership in the Common Market requires giving up some measure of national sovereignty: there must be a common trade policy -- the removal of internal tariffs and the establishment of a common external tariff. Free movement of capital, material, and services requires the elimination of other restrictions on trade such as cartels. Free movement of men and women requires modification of immigration policies. There must also be common rules on competition. And there needs to be a gradual meshing of other national policies -- agriculture, transport, fiscal, monetary, and economic growth.

How then are judgments made on matters of great import? There must be, of course, common institutions to work out, put into force, and supervise the common rules and common policies:

. The Commission is the administrative authority of the European Economic Community. It has nine members, independent of national interest. The day-to-day administration is carried out by a secretariat of approximately 2,000 civil servants.

. The Council of Ministers, with one member from each member government, is, in most cases, the decision-making body. (It is interesting to note



that no member government has the veto power since a system of weighted voting came into force in 1962.)

. The European Parliamentary Assembly consists of 142 members elected by and from the parliaments of each of the member governments. They sit in three political groupings -- Liberals, Christian Democrats, and Socialists. It is expected that eventually the Assembly will be chosen by direct election.

. The Court of Justice, with seven judges, is the supreme court of appeals in all Community matters.

There is also an Investment Bank which invests in Community projects, a Development Fund to aid the underdeveloped overseas regions, mainly in Africa, and a Social Fund to provide aid for resettling unemployed workers and for making temporary adjustments in wages for workers affected by industrial reorganization.

The scope is large and the achievements great. But the future picture is not all rosy -- the very character of the Common Market is at stake in terms of possible political developments, in terms of membership development, in terms of relations with the outside world.

The major political issue is an issue of the future -- the issue of political union. How close will union be? What form will union take? Those who regard political union as an inevitable outgrowth of economic union -- and most do -- are disputing loose confederation or tight federation, are disagreeing about "how soon," are differing over institutional forms.

Sure to affect the future issue of political integration is the very current issue of membership. Even though British negotiations with EEC have made considerable progress, one crucial issue remains -- an issue centered on how to deal with key agricultural commodities, especially grains. These are particularly important to the "three white dominions" of Canada, Australia, and New Zealand which enjoy a near monopoly of the world's largest food-importing market of Great Britain. As part of its bid for Commonwealth support, Britain is negotiating for an agreement to guarantee sales opportunity for Commonwealth commodities. There is hope that various forms of multilateral agreements may offer future solutions, but no proposal yet devised has met the demands of the British and satisfied the Community. These points could be the rocks on which all negotiations for Britain's entry founder. The entry of Britain holds the key to membership growth of the Common Market; it may also be the key to the manner of political integration.

The last issue is the issue we naturally hear most about -- what is to be the relationship of EEC with the United States?

Some propose that we join the Common Market. The economic advantages are alluring -- our goods going to Europe would find no tariff wall to hurdle (we would, of course, have dislocations at home, for there would also be

no tariff wall here for European goods to hurdle). But what about the political requirements of a customs union? Is the Common Market likely to want us to join? And, if so, are the American people prepared for the abrogation of sovereignty which would need to take place? And aside from the question of sovereignty, what of the other political advantages or disadvantages? If the United States were "in," would it strengthen or deter the political integration of Europe? Would it provide an association of like-minded nations or would it result in fencing off the industrial center of the non-Communist world, segregating the affluent from the poor, the old from the new? What of our relations with and obligations toward the Latin American countries? Japan? the emerging nations of Africa and Asia?

Or is it more realistic, as some suggest, for our relationship with the EEC to take "a partnership," in which we and the EEC would be working in tandem? Those who support "partnership" rather than membership stress that there is no automatic assurance that European regionalism will lead to greater cohesion of the western world, and that there is always the possibility that the Common Market will simply become a large grouping of nations with more power than before to discriminate against outside trade and capital. They see the U.S. role to be that of the leader of the "outsiders," to encourage European regionalism to "look outward." And they view a far-reaching U.S. trade policy as one of the major ways to put into force our powers of persuasion in raising Europe's sights.

#### Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD)\*

Although it is not strictly regional, as is the European Common Market, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development is regional in origin, stemming as it does from the earlier Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC).

Not much public attention has been paid to OECD, yet France's Jean Monnet is not alone when he predicts that OECD "already provides the institutional framework for an economic partnership between Europe and North America."

OECD's influence is potentially far-ranging through its three-fold function: to coordinate economic programs and policies, to serve as a clearing house, and to act as a subtle form of pressure on countries to adjust their fiscal policies or expand their development aid in light of what's considered the common good. OECD's activities are reflected through its committee structure with major committees at work on development assistance, economic policy, and trade.\*\*

\* Members are the United States, Canada, and 18 European nations -- Austria, Belgium, Denmark, France, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, and the United Kingdom.

\*\*For more on OECD see "II -- The Pursuit of Economic Growth"



Still, OECD is very new on the intergovernmental scene (it formally came into existence on September 30, 1961) and there are many unanswered questions about the way in which it will work before it can become an Atlantic bridge which will link the common markets of Europe and the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

Few can deny that, in this period of changing economic relationships, the process of institution-building within the Atlantic Community is, for better or for worse, a continuing concern.

#### Selected Readings

"Atlantic Unity -- Key to World Community," Department of State BULLETIN, January 22, 1962, pp. 131-135. 25¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Under Secretary McGhee, in a speech at the U.S. Military Academy, West Point, N.Y., December 8, 1961, discusses the historic foundations and potentialities of an Atlantic Community and notes "that a closer association between the United States and the other Atlantic nations is a prime requisite for the successful carrying out of our basic national strategy. The objective of this strategy is to help create a world environment in which a nation with purposes such as ours can flourish."

Benoit, Emile, EUROPE AT SIXES AND SEVENS. 1961. 275 pp. \$5.00. Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

A detailed background study of the origin and early development of both the EEC and the EFTA by a member of the faculty of the Graduate School of Business, Columbia University. Also treats the U.S. balance of payments, experiences of American companies abroad, and investment opportunities in Europe.

BULLETIN FROM THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY. A monthly publication of the Common Market Commission reporting on the activities of the European Economic Community (EEC). 12 to 16 pp. Single copies free. European Community Information Service, 235 Southern Building, Washington 5, D.C.

\*Carmichael, William D., "The European Common Market: What Is It, and What Does It Mean for the United States," VITAL ISSUES, October 1961. 4 pp. 35¢. Center for Information on America, Washington, Connecticut.

Brief history of the purpose and major developments of the Common Market; points out the advantages of a stronger and more viable European economy to the United States, as well as possible drawbacks.

\*We have starred those materials which are relatively inexpensive, easily available, and of particular relevance to the subject.

"The Common Market," POPULATION BULLETIN No. 4, Vol. XVIII, July 1962. 25 pp. 50¢. Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1507 M Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

This issue of the POPULATION BULLETIN notes that although the population of the six European Common Market countries has been growing only about half as fast as in the United States, the EEC's collective economic growth rate is more than twice as great. The question is then asked (and discussed), "Is a high rate of population growth essential for continued prosperity in the United States?"

"The Common Market and the United States," reprinted from the AFL-CIO AMERICAN FEDERATIONIST, February 1962. 4 pp. Free. AFL-CIO, 815 - 16th Street, Washington 6, D.C.

This article points up the importance of U.S. trade with the European Common Market; compares the economic growth rate of the United States with that of the EEC countries; and discusses briefly the role of organized labor in the Common Market.

DECLARATION OF PARIS, January 19, 1962. 12 pp. Single copies, free. U.S. Citizens Commission on NATO, 722 Jackson Place, Washington 25, D.C. (Also available from the Office of Public Services, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.)

A declaration adopted by the Atlantic Convention of NATO nations meeting in Paris from January 8 to 20, 1962 to consider problems of Atlantic unity and cooperation. "The purpose of the Convention was to explore and recommend ways by which greater cooperation and unity of purpose may be developed to the end that democratic freedom may be promoted by economic and political means."

Drucker, Peter F., "The New European Nationalists," HARPER'S MAGAZINE, June 1962, pp. 38-46. 60¢. Harper & Brothers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Mr. Drucker believes that there are two roads open to Europe today. On the one hand, "if a Common Market Europe takes the road toward economic isolationism, it will almost certainly throw the rest of the Free World into an economic civil war." On the other hand, if the United States and the EEC work closely together, their combined economic power would be enormous -- roughly four times that of the Soviet Union -- and likely to grow faster. "...Only the United States has the political and economic mass to pull Europe away from economic nationalism and toward genuine economic partnership with the rest of the Free World."

THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES. November 1961. 60 pp. 25¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

This report, prepared for the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, by Robert R. Bowie and Theodore Geiger, calls for a partnership be-



tween the United States and the European Community. It describes the Common Market's progress, problems of British entry, and implications for the United States of larger membership. (Also listed under Selected Readings "III -- The American Farmer and the Common Market.")

\*THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY, 1950 - 1960: Ten Years of Progress Toward Unity. 1961. 20 pp. Single copies, free. European Community Information Service, 235 Southern Building, Washington 5, D.C.

An illustrated year-by-year account of the achievements of the European Community, from the Schuman declaration of May 1950 (proposing the pooling of Western Europe's coal and steel industries) to present-day accomplishments.

Frank, Isaiah, THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET. 1961. 324 pp. \$8.50. Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 64 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

Discusses the background and development of the European Common Market and the important effects this regional arrangement is having on the United States and other nonmember areas.

FREEDOM & UNION. Subscription, \$4.00 per year; single copies, 35¢ each; sample copy sent free on request. Federal Union, Inc., 2700 Ontario Road, N.W., Washington 9, D.C.

A monthly publication of Federal Union, a nonprofit, tax-exempt membership organization, the purpose of which is "to promote education in the basic principles of federal union as exemplified in the Constitution of the United States, with a view to attaining world order by a Federal Union of the Democratic Peoples." Specifically, it has favored the establishment of a United States of the Atlantic and extension of this Union to other nations and eventually into a free federal world republic.

THE FUTURE OF U.S. POLICY FOR THE WEST. 1962. 16 pp. 50¢. National Planning Association, 1606 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington, D.C.

A statement by the NPA's Committee on International Policy on the problems and opportunities facing the United States particularly in the field of further cooperation and integration with the European Community. The Committee outlines its proposals for specific policy measures to implement a program of increased Western unity.

"The Goal of An Atlantic Partnership," The Department of State BULLETIN, July 23, 1962, pp. 131-133. 25¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Reprint of President Kennedy's 4th of July speech made at Independence Hall, Philadelphia, in which he set forth the goal of the United States in relation to Western Europe: "...the United States

will be ready for a 'Declaration of Interdependence,' ... we will be prepared to discuss with a United Europe the ways and means of forming a concrete Atlantic partnership, a mutually beneficial partnership between the new union now emerging in Europe and the old American Union founded here 175 years ago."

Gordon, Lincoln, "Economic Regionalism Reconsidered," WORLD POLITICS, pp. 231-253. January 1962. Single copies, \$2.00. World Politics, Woodrow Wilson Hall, Princeton, New Jersey.

Mr. Gordon reappraises the validity of the idea that "the restructuring of the world economy into regional blocs would mark a great forward step in international economic relations, and might also help resolve certain major international political problems."

\*Hallstein, Walter, UNITED EUROPE: CHALLENGE AND OPPORTUNITY. 1962. Approximately 110 pp. \$2.75. Harvard University Press, 79 Garden Street, Cambridge 38, Mass.

This book is based on three lectures delivered by the President of the Commission of the European Economic Community early in 1962 at the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Tufts University, Medford, Massachusetts. In these lectures, Professor Hallstein discussed the historical, the economic, and the political aspects of the EEC.

Harris, Seymour E., "United States Trade and the Common Market," CURRENT HISTORY, August 1962. pp. 65-70. 85¢. Current History, 1822 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Professor Harris of Harvard University examines the Trade Expansion Act of 1962 and explains why the United States needs new trade legislation if we are to continue to have access to the vast European Common Market.

\*Heilbroner, Robert L., FORGING A UNITED EUROPE -- The Story of the European Community. Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 308, January 1961. 28 pp. 25¢. Public Affairs Pamphlets, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

Gives background on the various organizations which make up the European Community. Describes the initial problems of unification and the present status of economic co-operation among the nations involved.

Humphrey, Don D., THE UNITED STATES AND THE COMMON MARKET. 1962. 176 pp. \$1.75 (paperback). Frederick A. Praeger, Publisher, 64 University Place, New York 3, N.Y.

In this "background study" Professor Humphrey explores the history of American trade policy; free trade in Western Europe; tariff reduction and trade expansion; the characteristics of protected American in-



dustries; wages; balance of payments; and various other factors essential to the understanding of where we stand today and what our future course should be.

Hyman, Sidney, "In Search of 'the Atlantic Community'," THE NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, May 6, 1962, pp. 17, 111-114. Check your public library.

A political historian discusses what the phrase "Atlantic Community" encompasses and how the U.S. Trade Expansion Act, the Common Market, NATO, etc., fit into the scheme. He notes that "What is missing from the Atlantic picture is a political superstructure, a 'government of governments,' superior to the sum of its parts, and its own legislative and executive powers."

Kraft, Joseph, THE GRAND DESIGN -- From Common Market to Atlantic Partnership. 1962. 112 pp. \$2.95. Harper & Brothers, 49 East 33rd Street, New York 16, N.Y.

The essence of Mr. Kraft's interpretation of the term grand design is "creative harmony between the United States and Europe for economic, military, and political purposes" which would "bring together in a working Atlantic Partnership two separate but equal entities." He discusses in some detail some of the divisions and disruptive conflicts within the Atlantic Alliance and the need to overcome these differences. (See also Mr. Kraft's article in the February 1962 issue of HARPER'S magazine entitled, "The Grand Design Takes Shape.")

Lippmann, Walter, WESTERN UNITY AND THE COMMON MARKET, 1962. 51 pp. \$2.75. Atlantic-Little, Brown, Boston, Mass.

This short book is based on a series of Mr. Lippmann's columns written during the spring of 1962 in which he discussed some of the problems involved in uniting the North Atlantic nations, including the "nuclear deadlock" between Washington and Paris.

Monnet, Jean and Salvador de Madariaga, "European Unification," ATLAS, June 1962, pp. 466-469. 75¢. Worley Publishing Company, Inc., Office of Publication, 31 West 56th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

Jean Monnet, architect of European unification, and Salvador de Madariaga, Spanish writer and diplomat, discuss the outlook for Europe's political integration.

OECD (Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development). See Selected Readings, "II -- The Pursuit of Economic Growth."

"Opportunities in World Trade," THE GENERAL ELECTRIC FORUM, April-June 1962. 35 pp. Single copies, free. General Electric, 570 Lexington Avenue, New York, N.Y.

A series of question and answer sessions with such notables as Walter Hallstein, President, European Economic Community; George W. Ball,

Under Secretary of State; and Per Jacobsson, Managing Director, International Monetary Fund.

Stewart, Maxwell S., THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET AND THE UNITED STATES. 1962. 20 pp. 25¢. Public Affairs Committee, 22 East 38th Street, New York 16, N.Y.

This pamphlet covers various aspects of the EEC -- its organization, functions, and economic evolution -- and its relations with the United States.

A STUDY OF EUROPEAN ECONOMIC REGIONALISM -- A NEW ERA IN FREE WORLD ECONOMIC POLITICS, Report of a Special Study Mission of the Subcommittee on Europe of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, U.S. House of Representatives, January 11, 1960. 86th Congress, 2nd Session. 176 pp. Single copies, free. Committee on Foreign Affairs, House of Representatives, Washington 25, D.C. (Supply limited)

A background report on the economic and political origins of European regionalism in the form of the European Economic Community (established by the Treaty of Rome on March 25, 1957) and the European Free Trade Association (created by a convention approved at Stockholm on November 20, 1959).

Tennyson, Leonard B., "The European Common Market," CURRENT HISTORY, July 1962, pp. 16-22. 85¢. Current History, 1822 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

The Director of the European Community's Washington, D.C., Information Service assesses the achievements of the EEC as compared to its aims and then embarks upon an examination of its future problems and possibilities.

\*"West Europe: Unity and A Common Market," CURRENT HISTORY, March 1962. 85¢. Current History, 1822 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Eight different authors take a look at the Common Market from the point of view of the various participating countries, as well as some interested onlookers, including the United States, Britain, and Scandinavia. Problems of economic growth are also discussed in some detail. (Also listed under Selected Readings, "II -- The Pursuit of Economic Growth.")

\*"Western Europe and the Atlantic Community," INTERCOM, February-March 1962. 72 pp. 75¢. Foreign Policy Association, 345 East 46th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

An information service pamphlet with brief reports on new programs, books, techniques, visual aids, pamphlets, speakers, public opinion, and sources of information relating to Western Europe and the Atlantic Community (i.e., NATO, OECD, EEC, EFTA, etc.)



## II -- THE PURSUIT OF ECONOMIC GROWTH

The widespread search in recent years for the best ways and means of fostering economic development in the less developed parts of the world is currently being supplemented, although by no means supplanted, by a search for the magic combination of factors which contribute to economic growth in the highly industrialized nations. And, in some ways, the key to economic growth in a mature economy is turning out to be nearly as illusive as in a less developed one.

Developments which have given rise to the current concern have been well-publicized -- the impressive annual growth rate\* of the Common Market countries in the past few years (around 6%) and a contrasting slower rate of growth in industrialized countries outside the Market, notably in the United States and Great Britain (both under 3%).

The contrasts in growth rates are not just between EEC and non-EEC members. Japan has maintained a phenomenally high growth rate (it went as high as 18% in 1959), and the Soviet Union has had an annual growth rate of over 6% in recent years. But the concentration of high growth rates within the bounds of the Common Market has prompted considerable curiosity in finding answers to the question, "How do their economies grow?"

Within this country, the debate over the secret of prosperity in Europe wages hot and heavy and both the questions asked and the answers given differ greatly. Is growth in Europe due to the fact that Europe is still in a catch-up stage of development while the United States has already caught up? To what extent are these factors, individually or in combination, primarily responsible for the high rate of growth: high consumer demand? low tariffs? the establishment of economic goals? deliberate budget deficits? balance-of-payments surpluses? a high rate of investment? favorable tax structures, including generous allowances for depreciation of plant and equipment? rising wage rates? the self-generating psychological spur of growth itself?

Interest in comparing growth rates was given impetus by President Kennedy when he requested the Council of Economic Advisers to institute a study of the factors contributing to growth within the EEC and when, in his well-publicized 1962 Yale Commencement address, he called for "a serious dialogue of the kind which has led in Europe to ... fruitful collaboration among all the elements of economic society and to a decade of unrivaled economic progress." President Kennedy posed the economic growth question this way: "How, in sum, can we make our free economy work at full capacity -- that is, provide adequate profits for enterprise, adequate wages for labor, adequate utilization of plant, and adequate opportunity for all?"

The recent slowing down in the growth rates of some of the European countries, combined with growing problems of inflation, has added an interesting counterpoint to the debate. Germany is one such country. She was, in

\* The growth rate is measured by the annual increase in the Gross National Product, the total production of goods and services.

a sense, the first economic growth star. Her personal incomes are now the highest in Europe and her government the richest in monetary reserves. But recently her rate of growth has slowed down and inflationary pressures seem to be increasing. Does this mean, as some observers have suggested, that Europe's boom is in trouble, too? Or is some leveling off in the rate of growth -- and upward trend in wage rates -- inevitable?

The search in this country for the key to rapid growth in other countries is not being pursued solely through unilateral channels. As Secretary of State Dean Rusk recently observed, "fiscal and monetary problems in today's world defy unilateral solution." He went on to say that "domestic goals -- among them economic growth and higher living standards -- increasingly call for cooperative measures among countries of the free world."

Cooperative planning for economic development was indeed one of the key objectives of the nations which converted the purely European Organization for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) into the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) -- with the United States and Canada added as members. Maximizing economic growth and at the same time maintaining high employment, rising living standards, and financial stability are major concerns of this new consultative body. At their first meeting in November 1961, the Ministers from the 20 member nations, recognizing the interdependence of their economies, agreed to set a common goal for economic development and growth. This collective target was pegged at a 50 percent growth in GNP during the decade 1960-1970. Such an increase would require an average of 4.2 percent in annual growth rates among the member countries. An OECD Economic Policy Committee has been set up to explore areas of mutual concern and to coordinate financial policies of member nations in order to bring about the accelerated growth of all.

Underlying these cooperative efforts to maintain high rates of growth in the highly industrialized countries is the equally conscious effort to facilitate economic growth in the developing countries. In order to coordinate the existing aid plans of the more industrially advanced members of OECD and also to encourage them (particularly West Germany) to increase the amount of aid they have been making available to the developing areas, an 11-member Development Assistance Committee (DAC)\* was set up within the parent body of OECD. DAC has established an annual review procedure whereby the aid program of each member is examined by DAC as a whole. To date, the aid programs of France, Germany, the Netherlands, Portugal, the United Kingdom, and the United States have been so reviewed.

\* \* \* \* \*

How can the developed countries keep their own economies moving forward and at the same time mutually help the less developed ones reach a self-propellent stage of growth? It is amply clear that this question has high

\* DAC members are Belgium, Canada, the European Economic Community, France, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, United Kingdom, United States, and West Germany.



priority on many agendas both at home and abroad. But it remains to be seen whether the priority is high enough.

#### Selected Readings -- U.S. Economic Growth

\*"The American Economy, Is It Growing Fast Enough?" VITAL ISSUES, October 1960. 4 pp. 35¢. Center for Information, Washington, Connecticut.

Answers in clear and simple terms such questions as: What is economic growth and how is it measured? What factors contribute to growth? Why is the rate of growth so important? What can be done to improve it? Tables and suggested readings.

American Federation of Labor and Congress of Industrial Organizations, ECONOMIC PROGRAMS & POLICIES FOR THE SIXTIES. 1961. 59 pp. Single copies, free. AFL-CIO, 815 - 16th Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

This booklet contains reprints of nine different articles on various aspects of the economy, including several on economic growth: "America's Potential for Economic Growth," "Wage Policy for An Expanding Economy," and "Investment and Economic Growth."

THE BUDGET IN BRIEF for the Fiscal Year Ending June 30, 1963. 64 pp. 25¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

A summary of "a program of action" proposed by the President to Congress in January 1962. Includes excerpts from his budget message, together with anticipated costs and proposals as to where the money should come from.

Chamber of Commerce, THE PROMISE OF ECONOMIC GROWTH, 1962. 53 pp. \$1.00. Order postpaid from Economic Research Department, U.S. Chamber of Commerce, 1615 H Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Contains chapters on: why the sudden concern about growth; what is economic growth; costs of economic growth; obstacles to economic growth; conditions for economic growth; prospects for growth.

Colm, Gerhard, TARGETS FOR U.S. ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE EARLY 60s. February 1961. 30 pp. \$1.00. National Planning Association, 1606 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 9, D.C.

A statement by the NPA Planning Committee and a report by Gerhard Colm (NPA's Chief Economist). The NPA Steering Committee states that "We believe that a combination of government policies and private cooperative endeavors will be needed to accomplish reasonable price stability under conditions of economic growth." The report by Gerhard Colm sets forth various proposals to achieve this objective.

\* We have starred those materials which are relatively inexpensive, easily available, and of particular relevance to the subject.

Colm, Gerhard, and Theodore Geiger, THE ECONOMY OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE. October 1961. 98 pp. \$2.00, paperback. National Planning Association, 1606 New Hampshire Avenue, N.W., Washington 9, D.C.

This booklet analyzes the nature and prospects of the American economic system, how our private enterprise economy has been able to achieve such high productivity and living standards, why it has not succumbed to the fates predicted by the Communists, what its actual problems are and what its prospects are likely to be.

Committee for Economic Development, FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICY FOR HIGH EMPLOYMENT, December 1961. 59 pp. \$1.00. Information Division, Committee for Economic Development, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

This report discusses the potential contribution of fiscal-monetary policy and makes recommendations in regard to desirable characteristics of budget policy, a stabilizing budget policy, etc.

ECONOMIC REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT, January 1962. 214 pp. \$1.00. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Reviews economic developments and policies in 1961, the economy under the Employment Act of 1946, and policies for the future. Contains statistical charts and tables on all phases of the economy.

Ferry, W.H., CAUGHT ON THE HORN OF PLENTY. January 1962. 8 pp. Single copies, free. Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, Box 4068, Santa Barbara, California or 133 East 54th Street, New York 22, N.Y.

Mr. Ferry warns that we cannot solve the growing problem of technological unemployment by conventional means based on conventional economic theory. Although the prospect is that the Gross National Product and the total number of employed will continue to rise through the sixties, the likelihood is that the absolute and relative number of unemployed will also be growing.

FOREIGN ECONOMIC POLICY, Hearings before the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, December 4-14, 1961. 524 pp. \$1.50. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Contains the testimony of many different authorities who were asked to appear before a subcommittee of the Joint Economic Committee on various aspects of U.S. foreign economic policy including: Objectives and World Problems, Problems of European Integration, Interrelation of Japan and Western Trade Policies, Under-developed Countries, Assistance for Readjustment of Domestic Resources, Trade with the Sino-Soviet Bloc, and Commercial Policy. (See February 1962 FOREIGN POLICY ROUNDUP for a list of the 10 study papers which were prepared for these hearings.)



JOBS AND GROWTH, May 1961. 93 pp. 50¢. Conference on Economic Progress, 1001 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Analyzes the problem of economic growth and suggests goals and programs for optimum performance of the U.S. economy, including an appraisal of the Kennedy Administration's program.

Joint Council on Economic Education, NEWSLETTER, February 1962. 16 pp. Joint Council on Economic Education, 2 West 46th Street, New York 36, N.Y.

Contains two articles on economic growth. The first, "Economic Growth" by Rendigs Fels, discusses the measurement of growth, sources of progress and policies to promote growth. The second, "Teaching About Economic Growth" by Albert Alexander, attempts to place the topic of economic growth in broad perspective and to outline meaningful approaches for studying the subject.

MONEY AND CREDIT: THEIR INFLUENCE ON JOBS, PRICES AND GROWTH. Summary of the Report of the Commission on Money and Credit, June 1961. 16 pp. 50¢. Commission on Money and Credit, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

A comprehensive study of the public and private monetary and financial institutions of the United States and their relationship to the following three major objectives: an adequate rate of economic growth, sustained high levels of production and employment, and reasonable stability of prices. The Commission was established in 1957 by the Board of Trustees of the Committee for Economic Development. (The full, 300-page version of this Report is available for \$2.00, paperback, from the Commission on Money and Credit.)

National Association of Manufacturers, CAPITAL AND ECONOMIC GROWTH. September 1960. 14 pp. Free. National Association of Manufacturers, 2 East 48th Street, New York 17, N.Y.

Explains what capital is, how it can be used to foster economic growth, and what conditions are necessary in order to increase capital accumulation.

National Industrial Conference Board, Inc., ECONOMIC GROWTH IN THE 1960s, PREREQUISITES, POTENTIALS, PROBLEMS. 1960. 33 pp. \$1.50. National Industrial Conference Board, 460 Park Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

Presents an over-all view of the American economy and its growth potentials and problems in various sectors in the sixties. Colorful full-page charts presented along with supplemental text opposite each chart. Prepared by an independent, non-profit research organization which operates in the fields of business economics, management and human relations.

Nossiter, Bernard D., "Management, Labor, and the Public Interest," THE REPORTER, May 24, 1962, pp. 21-23. 25¢. The Reporter, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.

In this article, Mr. Nossiter, a reporter for the Washington Post, discusses the problem of economic growth and the need for guidelines which would be applicable to the relationship between management, labor, and government.

Raskin, A.H., "Mr. Kennedy's Guidelines -- Are They Drawn Too Tight?", THE REPORTER, June 21, 1962, pp. 19-22. 25¢. The Reporter, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.

Discussion of the problems involved when attempts are made to maintain price stability by gearing increases in wages to the annual increase in national productivity. Mr. Raskin was formerly chief labor writer for the New York Times where he is now a member of the editorial board.

UNDERSTANDING ECONOMIC GROWTH, Marion Daugherty, Curriculum Resources, Inc., June 1961. \$1.00. Curriculum Resources, Inc., 1515 West Lake Street, Minneapolis 8, Minn.

In understandable language, this pamphlet introduces the non-specialist to basic concepts and problems concerning economic growth. What is it? How is it measured? Is the American economy slowing down? Can we achieve higher growth rates in the future?

#### Selected Readings -- Western European Economic Growth

Dewhurst, J. Frederic, John O. Coppock, P. Lamartine Yates, and Associates, EUROPE'S NEEDS AND RESOURCES. 1962. 1198 pp. \$12.00. The Twentieth Century Fund, 41 East 70th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

Descriptive and analytical study of contemporary economic developments and problems in Western Europe. Covers such topics as human and physical resources, social conditions, government expenditures, capital investment, currency problems, productivity, technology, and the dynamics of integration. Makes projections of changes in population, employment, productivity, and Gross National Product by 1970.

ECONOMIC REPORTS, World Trade Information Service, Department of Commerce, Washington 25, D.C. Single copies, 15¢.

These reports contain the following facts on specific countries: economic and marketing data; basic information of the general economy; current economic developments; business organization; investment and other laws and policies. Especially recommended:

- . Economic Developments in the Federal Republic of Germany and West Berlin, 1961. Part 1, No. 62-7. 14 pp. March 1962.
- . Economic Developments in France, 1961. Part 1, No. 62-38. 14 pp. April 1962.



- . Economic Developments in Italy, 1961. Part 1, No. 62-20. 9 pp. April 1962.
- . Economic Developments in the United Kingdom, 1961. Part 1, No. 62-18. April 1962.

(For other economic reports, see FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY under "Selected Readings -- General." )

ECONOMIC SURVEYS BY THE O.E.C.D., published annually for each member country and for Yugoslavia. Approximately 50 pp. per survey. 50¢ each. OECD Mission Publications Office, Suite 1223, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

A report on each member country will be issued between December 1961 and November 1962. As of June 1962 surveys on the following countries had been published: Austria, Canada, Denmark, German Federal Republic, Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Switzerland, United Kingdom, and United States.

\*"Europe Charts Its Business Future," BUSINESS WEEK, April 7, 1962, pp. 80-92. 50¢. McGraw-Hill Publishing Company, Inc., 330 West 42nd Street, New York 36, N.Y.

Business and government get together in Western Europe on planning to assure economic growth. France's 4-year plan is already started and Britain is following suit, spurred by industry. Lessons for the United States -- similarities and differences in regard to attitudes and responses to like problems.

FRANCE ACTUELLE (a semi-monthly report on modern France and the French Community published by a private association of French businessmen). 8 pp. 15¢. France Actuelle, 221 Southern Building, 1425 H Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

Especially recommended: "The French Patronat," April 1, 1962, pp. 1-7; "Europe's New Competitive Power," May 15, 1962, pp. 1-7; "France's Economic Miracle," June 1, 1962, pp. 1-5.

"Is Europe's Boom in Trouble, Too?" U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, August 13, 1962, pp. 52-53.

Reports from the business capitals of Western Europe indicate that trends now at work represent a transition from an "abnormal" super-boom to more "normal" conditions of growth and to a consolidation of gains made in recent years.

\*Lamfalussy, Alexander, "Exports -- Key to Western Europe's Growth," CHALLENGE -- The Magazine of Economic Affairs, July 1962, pp. 37-40. 30¢. Institute of Economic Affairs, New York University, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

The EEC is increasingly regarded as a "mythical land of promise." Mr. Lamfalussy, Economic Adviser to the Bank of Brussels, analyzes the post-war progress of the EEC countries. He attributes their impressive performance to the export-oriented pattern of growth which has put them in a "virtuous circle": Booming exports lead to higher profits and, hence, to higher investment. The high investment ratios result, in turn, in substantial productivity gains which give a competitive advantage to the EEC and encourage further growth of its exports.

REPORT ON WESTERN EUROPE, The Chase Manhattan Bank, New York 15, N.Y. Free.

A 4-page bi-monthly report issued by the Economic Research Department of the Chase Manhattan Bank; an abbreviated, authoritative analysis of recent events affecting the EEC and EFTA, particularly in regard to American business.

"The U.S., the Community, and the U.S.S.R.," BULLETIN from the European Community. May 1962, No. 53, pp. 4-6. Single copies free. European Economic Community, Information Service, 235 Southern Building, Washington 5, D.C. (Supply limited.)

An interview with Professor Rolf Wagenfuehr, Director General of the Statistics Bureau of the EEC, on the likely course of economic development in the United States, the Soviet Union, and the European Community. Concludes with a discussion of whether the European Community can keep up with the Soviet Union in the field of economic growth. (See also p. 11 of the May BULLETIN for a summary of the EEC Commission's quarterly survey on "The Economic Situation in the Community.")

"West Europe: Unity and A Common Market," CURRENT HISTORY, March 1962. 63 pp. 85¢. Current History, 1822 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Problems of economic growth of the members of the European Economic Community are discussed in some detail. (Also listed under Selected Readings, "I - The European Community and Atlantic Partnership.")

\* "What Place for Planning in the Free Economies?" THE MORGAN GUARANTY SURVEY, June 1962, pp. 4-10. Free. Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, 140 Broadway, New York 15, N.Y.

Review of the French experiment in "indicative" planning which has resulted in an impressive growth rate over the past decade; steps that Britain and Belgium are taking in the way of planning for economic growth; and a discussion of whether the United States should apply some of the techniques currently being used in Europe to stimulate growth.

Wilson, Thomas, "National Planning in a Free Economy," CHALLENGE, July 1962. pp. 29-32. 30¢. Institute of Economic Affairs, New York University, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.



What lessons can the United States learn from the postwar attempts of Britain and France to expand national output through planning? Is national planning inconsistent with U.S. ideas about what constitutes a private enterprise system? What types of planning might be considered feasible in the United States, and what, logically, could be expected in terms of results? These are some of the questions probed by Thomas Wilson, Adam Smith Professor of Political Economy at the University of Glasgow.

Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Development Assistance Committee (DAC)

Ball, George W., FREE-WORLD GROWTH AND PROGRESS. 13 pp. 10¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

The text of a statement made by the Under Secretary of State at the annual meeting of the Board of Governors of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development at Vienna on September 19, 1961, in which he stated that the Development Assistance Committee "will be in no sense a competitor of the Bank" but that "its activities will be harmonized so as to supplement and complement the Bank's own most useful efforts."

THE FLOW OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO COUNTRIES IN COURSE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT IN 1960. 1962. 43 pp. 75¢. OECD Mission Publications Office, Suite 1223, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

This OECD study assembles data from its member countries plus Japan on all types of financial flows including bilateral, multilateral, private investments, grants, and loans. The study is designed to give a broad but sufficiently detailed account of the flow of funds from advanced to developing economies.

THE FLOW OF FINANCIAL RESOURCES TO COUNTRIES IN COURSE OF ECONOMIC DEVELOPMENT, 1956-59. 1961. \$2.00. OECD Mission Publications Office, Suite 1223, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

A report on the flow of financial resources to developing countries in 1956-59, including detailed statistical information on the different types of official and private capital flows from member countries and Japan to developing countries and multilateral agencies. It also contains a description of the institutional arrangements and legislative provisions existing in the different member countries for extending aid.

Kristensen, Thorkil, "The OECD and World Development," RESTLESS NATIONS - A Study of World Tensions and Development. 1962. pp. 99-110. \$1.25, paperback. Dodd, Mead & Company, 432 Park Avenue S., New York, N.Y.

Thorkil Kristensen, Secretary-General of OECD, explains the origin and aims of DAC which was created to coordinate the aid programs of the United States, Canada, Japan, and the seven major aid-giving countries of Western Europe. Excellent background article.

OECD - "To face the economic tasks of the 60's." 4 pp. Single copies, free. OECD Regional Office, Suite 1223, 1346 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Reprints of a communique, setting forth the OECD's targets, issued at the conclusion of a two-day meeting of the Ministerial Council of the OECD in November 1961.

ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT, 1961. 22 pp. Single copies, free. Office of Public Information, U.S. Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Questions and answers on what the OECD does and what it means to the United States and the rest of the free world.

ORGANIZATION FOR ECONOMIC COOPERATION AND DEVELOPMENT, Report of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, March 8, 1961, 87th Congress, 1st Session. Single copies, free. Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington 25, D.C. (Supply limited.)

A report on the OECD, covering its purpose and background; its relationship to GATT and NATO; and the functions of its Development Assistance Committee. The Appendix includes a chart showing official assistance to the less developed countries by members of OECD and Japan from 1956 to 1959, and one showing the importance of OECD nations as a market for less developed countries.

The European Economic Development Fund

THE EUROPEAN DEVELOPMENT FUND -- AND THE ASSOCIATED OVERSEAS COUNTRIES, 1959-1961. 1962. A set of 22 8½ x 11 charts describing the operation and activities of the European Development Fund, which finances economic or social development schemes in the associated overseas countries by means of outright grants. Single copies, free. European Community Information Service, 235 Southern Building, 1425 H Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

Lemaigen, Robert, "The Community's Foreign Aid Program," BULLETIN from the European Community, May 1961, pp. 10-11. 40¢. EEC Information Service, Washington 5, D.C.

M. Lemaigen tells how the Common Market spurs investments and technical cooperation in the developing countries.

OVERSEAS COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES ASSOCIATED WITH THE EUROPEAN COMMON MARKET. 1962. A one-page map reprinted from the March-April 1962 issue of the BULLETIN from the European Community, Information Service, 235 Southern Building, Washington 5, D.C. Free.



### III -- THE AMERICAN FARMER AND THE COMMON MARKET

The American farmer had good reason to lend an ear to the prolonged debates that preceded the agreement by the members of the European Economic Community on a new common agricultural policy in January 1962. The Common Market is the world's largest importer of agricultural products, and the largest proportion of those products comes from the United States.

About one-third of our agricultural dollar exports goes to the Common Market and another third goes to countries that hope to join or associate with the Common Market. Some American farmers, of course, have more of a stake than others in what goes across the Atlantic -- those who raise poultry (in 1961, 51% of our poultry exports went to EEC), those who grow feed grains (36% of exports), soybeans (36%), and cotton (27%). The average U.S. farmer depends upon foreign markets to sell crops grown on one out of every six acres under cultivation -- or to make the point another way, one out of every seven farm workers produces for export. Contrast this export dependency in agriculture with the fact that only 8% of our non-agricultural products are exported.

In short, U.S. farmers have a very large stake in maintaining access to European markets. At the same time, European farmers are understandably reluctant to give up their long-standing protective arrangements, some of which are very much like our own.

Of all the evolving relationships between the Common Market of Europe and the common market of the United States, the agricultural relationship between the two will undoubtedly be one of the most difficult. It will be difficult because of the magnitude of our agricultural trade with the Common Market and because of the magnitude of agricultural protectionism which exists in both common markets.

The technological revolution in agriculture is now underway in Europe. The fruits of new scientific developments and the application of more effective techniques are having a profound impact on European agriculture just as they did in this country. The trend is the same -- fewer and fewer farmers are producing more and more. As production outruns consumption, Europe is becoming increasingly self-sufficient and less dependent on outside sources for its agricultural supplies except, of course, for tropical products. France already had a surplus problem and is looking to the Freedom from Hunger campaign and other international outlets for surplus disposal. Italy, like France, is rapidly becoming a surplus producer. Germany, which before the war imported a large part of its food supplies, is also experiencing an increase in production. And more and more farmers are leaving the farms. Even so, there is still the problem of too many people living at low standards on uneconomically small farms -- a problem even more acute in Europe than in the United States.

European devices to deal with their agricultural "problem" (the maintenance of a suitable parity between agricultural income and other incomes) are not unlike our own -- import restrictions to raise agricultural prices, gov-

ernment sales and purchases to establish price levels and prevent price fluctuations, and production restrictions.

The new agricultural policy of the EEC will provide for a unified system of internal price supports. EEC will move in stages, beginning in 1963, for a period of seven and a half years toward "common prices" for most agricultural commodities. Although the precise levels of such prices have yet to be determined, the upper and lower limits have been set. Member countries with high levels of price support, like Germany, will not raise them and the low level price support countries, like the Netherlands, will not lower them.

Under the new policy, all present forms of import controls on agricultural products, either among the Common Market nations or with the outside world, are to be abolished. The substitute method of protection for many key commodities will be "variable import levies." Variable import levies are designed to equalize the price of imports with the domestic support price, no matter how low the price of imports.

The new policy's effect on access to future agricultural markets within EEC will depend greatly upon the way in which the levy system is applied. EEC has given assurance that it will be applied in a liberal manner, permitting reasonable access for imports. But if import levies are high -- to balance high support prices -- the accessibility of nonmember farm products to the Common Market could be cut down considerably.

In any case, if U.S. farmers are to maintain, much less expand, their exports, the United States will need to negotiate further reductions and, in other ways assure access to the Market. It is often pointed out that the American farmer is even more dependent upon effective trade negotiations by our government than is the American businessman. In order to have freer access to the Market, the farmer cannot move part of his farm inside the EEC as the businessman can move part of his business.

No new tariff bargaining power or any other device in itself can assure the United States continued access to the European market if European agricultural production rises to the point of self-sufficiency -- and the main determinant of that is the future price level which is set within the Market.

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The agricultural problem is, of course, much bigger and has many more sides than U.S.-EEC farm relations. Considering the magnitude and complexity of the problem, it is not surprising that agriculture is also high on the agenda of various international groups where cooperative efforts are being made toward common solutions.

The task of achieving broader access to world markets for agricultural products is one of the three major trade issues with which the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) is currently concerned. Recently, GATT pledged itself to a new effort to break the hold of protectionist systems on the



exchange of agricultural products, an effort which will initiate a review of problem agricultural commodities, beginning with cereals and meat. GATT committees have repeatedly made studies and recommendations which point critically to the disturbing influence on world trade that the protectionist policies of virtually all the developed countries have had -- in conflict with the rules of GATT. The United States itself some time ago obtained a GATT waiver for its own agricultural price support policies.

Meanwhile, an agricultural committee of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development has been concerning itself with several different aspects of the agricultural problem -- such matters as import restrictions, the OECD plan for international standards for trade in fruits and vegetables, the powdered milk trade, and the role of food products in development aid programs.

The United Nations and the Food and Agriculture Organization offer still other forums for grappling with the paradoxical problems of poverty and plenty. In October 1960 the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution endorsing the Freedom from Hunger Campaign of the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO). To implement this resolution, the FAO is engaged in establishing procedures by which the largest quantities of surplus food may be made available on mutually agreeable terms as a transitional measure against hunger. The FAO study, in addition to calling attention to the need to study means to stabilize the world market prices of the exports of less developed countries, proposes that: food aid be used as a carefully planned part of economic development aid; national food reserves be established as a cushion against violent seasonal variations which may lead to speculative activity; there be established an international stock of surplus foods to deal with disasters. The U.S. government has proposed to set up a fund of \$100 million in contributions of commodities and cash to initiate the work under this multilateral approach.

A number of devices, such as multinational commodity agreements, are being experimented with to cushion the shock of price fluctuations, to regulate markets, and to control the production and marketing of wheat, sugar, tin, coffee, and other products. Existing commodity agreements for such commodities as wheat have not augured well for this device as a cure-all. Nevertheless, fresh efforts at working out workable commodity arrangements are being made. (See "IV -- The Trade Plight of Latin America and Africa.")

There are indeed many unanswered questions, but perhaps the most burning question is "What comes first?" Do individual governments first have to work out solutions to their own domestic agricultural policies and then reconcile these policies with their foreign policies? Or can international bodies usefully serve as a friendly prod to help bring about mutual progress?

However, the most pressing policy decisions facing the United States come back to our relations with the Common Market. What should be the U.S. attitude toward the Common Market's new agricultural policy? What are the

long-term prospects for the EEC remaining the world's largest agricultural import market? Is it likely that the EEC will favor its own farmers to such a degree that the American farmer will lose most of his European market?

#### Selected Readings

"Are Foreign Markets Changing?" NATION'S AGRICULTURE, November 1961, pp. 14-16. Single issues, 5¢. Nation's Agriculture, Box 63, Lawrence, Kansas.

The director of the European office of the Farm Bureau Trade Development Corporation reports on developments in European countries, which together purchase almost \$2 billion worth of American farm products annually. He also comments on possible effects of the European Common Market on American agriculture.

AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK CHARTBOOK, 1962. 66 pp. 45¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

This is the successor to FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL TRADE OUTLOOK CHARTS - 1961, published by the Foreign Agricultural Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture. In the 1962 publication, there are nine main sections: 1) agricultural situation and outlook; 2) supply prospects; 3) demand prospects; 4) marketing farm food products; 5) commodity highlights; 6) family living; 7) world food budget; 8) foreign agricultural trade; and 9) leading foreign customers.

Committee for Economic Development, AN ADAPTIVE PROGRAM FOR AGRICULTURE, 1962. 71 pp. \$1.00. Committee for Economic Development, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

This CED report suggests that the United States implement a farm program which would remove federal controls over agriculture within the next five years and reduce the farm labor force by about one-third in the same period. The program also calls for immediate reduction of the prices of wheat, cotton, rice, and feed grains so that farmers will not be misled by high price supports into retaining excessive resources in agriculture.

(For a critical review of the CED report, see "Plowing the Farmer Under," p. 7 of the I.U.D. BULLETIN, published by the Industrial Union Department, AFL-CIO, 815 - 16th Street, Washington 6, D.C.)

"EEC Farm Policy -- Agricultural Agreement Called A New Treaty of Rome," BULLETIN from the European Community, March-April 1962, No. 52, pp. 1-5. Single copies, free. European Community Information Service, 235 Southern Building, Washington 5, D.C. (Supply limited.)

This article discusses the January 14, 1962, agricultural agreement reached by the European Common Market which sets in motion a new



system that eventually will lead to free trade of the main farm products produced by the Six.

\*THE EUROPEAN ECONOMIC COMMUNITY AND THE UNITED STATES. November 1961. 60 pp. 25¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

This report was prepared for the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, by Robert R. Bowie and Theodore Geiger. It includes a brief but succinct discussion of the problems involved in working out a common agricultural agreement among the European Common Market countries, the problems raised by Britain's application to join the Six, and how all this affects the United States and other farm exporting countries. (Also listed under "I -- The European Community and Atlantic Partnership.")

FOREIGN AGRICULTURAL TRADE OUTLOOK CHARTS for 1961. November 1960. 58 pp. 35¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Published by the Foreign Agricultural Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, this pamphlet contains tables and charts (with commentary) on the outlook highlights for U.S. agricultural exports for 1960-61; trends in world agricultural trade; leading foreign customers; and commodity highlights. (Predecessor of AGRICULTURAL OUTLOOK CHART-BOOK, 1962.)

GATT, Committee II -- Trade in Agricultural Products, "Second and Third Reports," 1962. 50 pp. \$1.00. Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

An examination of, and the Committee's general findings and conclusions on, the use and effects of agricultural protectionist measures on international trade in agricultural products, and findings of the Committee on individual groups of commodities such as dairy products, meat, cereals, fish, sugar, vegetable oils, and oil seeds.

GATT, Committee II -- Trade in Agricultural Products, "Report on Country Consultations," 1962. \$1.00. Columbia University Press, 2960 Broadway, New York 27, N.Y.

Country-by-country reports on the consultations held by Committee II with 38 contracting parties to GATT. Each report includes a chapter on the agricultural policies followed by the country consulted and a chapter on its main commodities.

Mansholt, Sicco L., "A Common Policy for Agriculture," BULLETIN from the European Community, May 1961, No. 46, pp. 6-9. Single copies, free. European Economic Community Information Service, 235 Southern Building, Washington 5, D.C. (Supply limited.)

\* We have starred those materials which are relatively inexpensive, easily available, and of particular relevance.

This article is based on a speech made by Dr. Mansholt in December 1960, almost a year before the six EEC nations reached agreement on a common agricultural policy. In his speech, the Commission's Vice-President pointed up the many problems involved when a group of countries with very different farm programs tries to work out a farm policy that will satisfy all concerned.

Tontz, Robert L. and Alex D. Angelidis, "The Farm Surplus and Tariff Reform," CURRENT HISTORY, August 1962, pp. 95-102. 85¢. Current History, 1822 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

The following subjects are discussed in this article: the amount and kind of agricultural products exported and imported by the United States; dollar and non-dollar sales; the Food for Peace program; types of trade barriers (tariff and non-tariff); the EEC's new agricultural policy and how it affects U.S. trade policy.

U.S. AGRICULTURAL EXPORTS FOR FISCAL YEAR 1961. December 1961. Single copies, free. 4-page fact sheet prepared by the Economic Research Service of the U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

Facts and figures about U.S. farm exports, commercial and non-commercial. Points out that the United States is the world's largest exporter of farm products, and that nearly one-sixth of U.S. farm income was derived from agricultural exports in fiscal year 1961.

U.S. Department of Agriculture, "Kit on U.S. Agriculture and the Common Market," 1962. Information Division, U.S. Department of Agriculture, Washington 25, D.C.

This "kit" contains a variety of materials pertaining to U.S. agriculture and the Common Market, including statements and speeches by the Secretary of Agriculture and other officials, fact sheets on the nature and volume of U.S. farm exports and imports, and questions and answers on the new Trade Expansion Act.

\*Weiss, Leonard, THE COMMON MARKET AND U.S. AGRICULTURE, May 28, 1962. 7 pp. Single copies, free. Department of State, Office of Public Services, Washington 25, D.C.

The Director of the State Department's Office of International Trade notes that with increased growth and economic activity and rising levels of income, the demand within the EEC for goods of all kinds including agricultural products as well as industrial should increase. However, he also points out that although the EEC is the largest market for U.S. agricultural exports, Europe is currently expanding its production of many of the products exported by the United States. Excellent presentation.

Wheeler, Leslie A., THE NEW AGRICULTURAL PROTECTIONISM AND ITS EFFECT ON TRADE POLICY. January 1960. 23 pp. Single copies, free. Committee for a National Trade Policy, 1025 Connecticut Avenue, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. (Supply limited.)

Discusses the problems of agricultural protectionism.



#### IV -- THE TRADE PLIGHT OF LATIN AMERICA AND AFRICA

Occasionally a story will land on the front page of some of our newspapers which dramatizes the trade plight of the primary-producing nations of Latin America and Africa. There was, for instance, the story of a finance minister of a Latin American country who noted that, because of unfavorable trade conditions, monetary aid from the United States had been more than cancelled out by losses his country incurred from falling prices for primary products. Such articles usually place the blame on the United States because of our reluctance in the past to participate in agreements to stabilize commodity prices or because of the sale of surpluses from U.S. stockpiles which depress world prices. Such stories, though dramatic, tend to be quickly forgotten.

The trade problems of the nations of Latin America and Africa are somewhat comparable -- there is heavy dependence for export earnings on the sale of primary products which are subject to the vagaries of world market demand and world price fluctuations. For Latin American countries, exports represent between 15% and 25% of the Gross National Product (compared with 4.5% in the United States). And for most African states, international trade is the major source of money income at this stage of their development.

This dependence on export earnings to furnish the capital which cannot be squeezed out of private and public savings becomes particularly irksome and risky to these single crop countries in view of the inherently unstable nature of prices. Copper prices, for example, climbed 41% in 1955, only to drop by an equal amount over the following two years. Similarly, cocoa quotations, after tumbling 35% and 27% respectively in 1955 and 1956, rose 12% and 44% in each of the two succeeding years. Fluctuations like these also have occurred in recent years. According to the 1961 "World Economic Survey" prepared by the U.N. Secretariat, there was a major reduction during 1961 in the average prices of such raw materials as rubber, sisal, and copra, and foodstuffs like cocoa and butter. As a result of such price declines, there was a widespread deterioration in the terms of trade for many of these countries; the primary exporting countries on the average had to export 2% more than in 1960 in order to acquire the foreign exchange necessary to purchase the same amount in imports.

For both Latin America and Africa, the European Economic Community compounds present problems but in different ways. The special status accorded by the Common Market to former territories in Africa, especially if Britain joins and her former dependencies are also granted special status, will put the competing products of Latin America at a considerable disadvantage. Latin America has a significant commercial stake in Western Europe; in 1960, about 30% of all Latin American exports went there, and about half of those to the six Common Market nations. Facing possible displacement are such products as coffee, cocoa, bananas, lead, zinc, hides and skins, vegetable oils, sugar, wheat, meat, and hardwoods. (Meat and wheat exporting nations, Argentina and Uruguay, are likely to be affected more by the common agricultural policy of EEC than by discrimination in favor of overseas associates.)

There are, however, other influences at work which may modify the apparent disadvantages which Latin American products may have in EEC markets: 1) the widening of the area and degree of discrimination will be gradual and provide time for adaptation; 2) the absorptive capacity of the EEC market may grow as a result of integration; 3) there is the question of the capacity of Latin America's African competitors to supply European needs; and 4) there are important qualitative differences between the products shipped by Latin America and those exported by the overseas associates which may help to cut the competitive edge. All things considered, however, the share of Latin American exports in the EEC is likely to shrink even though their export trade may not suffer a decline in absolute terms. This obviously is not a very comforting prospect for a region whose economic and social development is rigidly fastened to expanding exports.

As for the African associated overseas territories of the Common Market, they do seem at the moment to be in a position of special preference. They are given duty-free markets in the member states for important tropical agricultural products; they are allowed to retain their tariffs against third countries; they need only progressively abolish their tariffs on Common Market commodities if this can be done in accordance with their development needs. But the anticipated addition to this preferred status of the independent African countries in the British Commonwealth and British colonies in Africa raises, in some African minds, the specter of uncover economic imperialism and neo-colonialism. "Euroafrica," Africa associated by close vertical relationships with Europe, still suggests, Africans will argue, the subordination of Africa to Europe, of poverty-stricken primary producers to developed industrial powers. Those who think along these lines see the need to encourage, instead, a parallel movement of unity in Africa to match the growing unity of Europe.

Some in the western world would agree that the vertical lines of close political and economic association between Europe and Africa are not likely to last and that a sounder political aim would be to develop unity on two parallel lines -- Britain into Europe, matched by a steady rapprochement among the ex-European colonies in Africa. The difficulty, of course, is nearly matched by the hostility of Africans to Africans. Also, if Britain enters the Market, she has apparently been assured of associate status for her African partners.

Nevertheless, there may come a day for "Euroafrican" separation -- with the adoption by all industrialized nations of preferential treatment to the imports of all underdeveloped regions without distinction. Such a policy would probably be accompanied by common market developments in Africa and Latin America and by programs of investment and aid, perhaps coordinated by OECD.

\* \* \* \* \*

There has been a growing concern in the United States with the trading needs of the less developed countries as witnessed by the inclusion in the trade legislation of special accommodations for tropical products and by its par-



ticipation in the current world coffee conference. The United States has also been involved as a member of GATT and the United Nations both of which are giving increased attention to the trade problems of Latin America and Africa.

GATT, following the adoption of the very important Declaration on Promotion of Trade of Less Developed Countries\* set up a Special Group on Trade in Tropical Products to take into account all the present and foreseeable problems in international trade in such products as cocoa, coffee, tea, vegetable seeds and oil, and tropical timber, to consider ways of overcoming the difficulties that confront the less developed countries exporting these tropical products and to make appropriate proposals.

Furthermore, the Ministers agreed at the last GATT meeting that, in view of the stage of economic development reached by the less developed countries, a more flexible attitude should be taken with respect to the degree of reciprocity to be expected from these countries in the course of tariff negotiations.

The United Nations, too, made a point about modifying reciprocity in a General Assembly resolution which called for the extension by the more economically developed countries to the less developed countries of advantages not necessarily requiring full reciprocity. U Thant, in his report to the Economic and Social Council, indicated that the continuing efforts of GATT, the International Monetary Fund, and the Committee on Commodity Problems of the Food and Agriculture Organization, to expand the trade of the developing countries are "indispensable to the success of the Development Decade." He also emphasized that "it is necessary for the United Nations itself to deal with trade expansion more systematically and more continuously than in the past," and stressed that such increased concern is warranted by the urgency of the problem as well as the United Nations' "broad membership" and "over-all concern for development."

That the trade plight of the primary-producing nations of Latin America and Africa is receiving greater attention on all sides is a matter of great encouragement. But will nations subscribe to recommendations and put into practice the policies necessary to alleviate this plight? Do different types of products require different treatment? Under what auspices can such problems best be met?

#### Selected Readings

Abbas, Mekki, "Africa: The Crucial Problem of Economic and Social Development," UNITED NATIONS REVIEW, March 1962, pp. 34-35. 25¢. Sales Section, Publishing Service, United Nations, New York.

Mr. Abbas, Executive Secretary of the U.N. Economic Commission for Africa, writes that "the prospects for primary exports in the foreseeable future are far from promising." He notes that in the search

\* 19th Session of GATT, Geneva, Switzerland, November - December 1961.

for new markets "African countries need to pay considerable attention also to intra-African trade which, at present, forms only a small fraction of total African trade, but which in the long run offers greater possibilities. The development of intra-African trade, of course, pre-supposes the existence of an efficient intra-African transportation and communications network, which at present hardly exists."

\*"Aid for Developing Countries by Increasing International Trade," UNITED NATIONS REVIEW, December 1961, pp. 29-31. 25¢. Sales Section, Publishing Service, United Nations, New York.

Review of a debate before the General Assembly's Second (Economic and Financial) Committee during which it was pointed out that exports of manufactured goods increased considerably in both volume and value but exports of primary commodities, while rising steadily in volume, showed little increase in aggregate value. At the same time, the world-wide quest for rapid economic development has given priority to industrial imports and has tended to turn the terms of trade against the primary exporters. That is not merely a problem of supply and demand, it was argued, but one which has been aggravated by the protectionist policies of many industrialized nations. A greater stability in commodity prices is essential for maintaining a high and expanding level of international trade.

\*Blumenthal, W. Michael, "International Commodity Problems," Department of State BULLETIN, June 18, 1962, pp. 997-1001, 25¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

A condensed version of a statement presented by the Deputy Assistant Secretary for Economic Affairs before the 10th Session of the U.N. Commission on International Commodity Trade at Rome on May 16, 1962. Mr. Blumenthal states that "what is needed, above all, is a common approach -- an agreed-upon set of principles upon which to define a true world commodity policy to which the major producing and consuming countries of the world can subscribe."

Brodie, Henry, COMMODITY PROBLEMS AND STABILIZATION PROGRAMS IN LATIN AMERICA, Press Release No. 251, April 14, 1962. 11 pp. Single copies, free. News Division, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

In this speech, the Director of the Office of International Resources points out that "there are two main elements to the Latin American commodity problem: the long-term and the short-term." The former and more serious of the two is "the lagging demand for primary products in the industrialized countries." The short-term problem is one of "wide fluctuations in export earnings" which "greatly add to the difficulties of planning for any sort of orderly economic growth."

"The Common Market and Developing Nations," CHALLENGE, the Magazine of Economic Affairs, May 1962, pp. 30-34. 30¢. Challenge, 475 Fifth Avenue, New York 17, N.Y.

\* We have starred those materials which are relatively inexpensive, easily available, and of particular relevance to the subject.



Bela Ballassa, Assistant Professor of Economics at Yale University, assesses on a commodity-by-commodity basis the likely impact of the Common Market on the trade of the developing countries. Each product has its own peculiarities of supply and demand dictated by the trade policies of both exporting country and recipient country, complicated by benevolent paternalism on the part of former colonialists and privileged position on the part of former colonies.

COOPERATION FOR PROGRESS IN LATIN AMERICA. April 1961. 56 pp. \$1.00. Committee for Economic Development, 711 Fifth Avenue, New York 22, N.Y.

This statement on national policy by the Research and Policy Committee of the Committee for Economic Development is an attempt to reconsider U.S. foreign economic policy, including development assistance policy, in the light of the changing world structure. Subjects discussed include main commodity problems (coffee, minerals, cotton); the Atlantic Community; and regional economic cooperation. Features a chart showing the value of Latin American exports of major commodities from 1948 through 1959.

"Economic Conditions and Policies in Latin America," FOREIGN AGRICULTURE, March 1961, pp. 6-8, 15¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Discusses the creation of two free trade areas (in Central America and in South America), both of which are designed to help create mass markets for specialized production because at the present time the available market in many Latin American countries is not large enough to justify much diversification in industrial development within any one country; but if the market could be widened to include all or several of the Latin American countries, leaders believe that some degree of specialization might be developed between countries. That would allow them to cash in on any advantage this would give by trading goods freely among the countries.

\*ECONOMIC POLICIES TOWARD LESS DEVELOPED COUNTRIES. 1961. Prepared for the Joint Economic Committee, U.S. Congress, by Raymond F. Mikesell and Robert L. Allen. 96 pp. 30¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Part IV of this study deals with commodity stabilization policy and the less developed countries, and analyzes the causes of instability of exchange earnings of those countries. Also, the study discusses the four major international agreements currently in existence that deal with coffee, sugar, wheat, and tin.

"Getting Together in Latin America," THE MORGAN GUARANTY SURVEY, March 1961, Free. Morgan Guaranty Trust Company, 140 Broadway, New York 15, N.Y.

Discusses the origin and purpose of Central America's Multilateral Treaty of Free Trade and Central American Economic Integration, and

the Latin American Free Trade Association (LAFTA) formed by the Montevideo Treaty, February 1960.

Hirschman, Albert C., editor, LATIN AMERICAN ISSUES, ESSAYS AND COMMENTS. 1961. 201 pp. \$1.40 paperback. Twentieth Century Fund, 41 East 70th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

Contains an article by Raymond Mikesell, Professor of Economics at the University of Oregon, on the movement toward regional trading groups in Latin America, and a lengthy commentary by Victor Urquidí, Economic Advisor to the Bank of Mexico, on using such groups to further economic development.

\*Jackson, Barbara Ward, "Free Africa and the Common Market," FOREIGN AFFAIRS, April 1962, pp. 419-430. \$1.50. Council on Foreign Relations, Inc., 58 East 68th Street, New York 21, N.Y.

The author points out that the African continent is still a system of essentially colonial economies and that inter-African trade is minimal. She explains the difference between the economies of the ex-French and the ex-English-speaking colonies and how Britain's entry into the European Common Market might affect both.

LATIN AMERICAN BUSINESS HIGHLIGHTS, The Chase Manhattan Bank, Second Quarter 1961. 32 pp. Free. The Chase Manhattan Bank, 1 Chase Manhattan Plaza, New York 15, N.Y.

Includes chapters on: population and progress; the Act of Bogota; inflation and growth; trade and commodity problems; Latin American Free Trade Association; and Latin American business trends.

"New Common Market Treaty Signed in Central America," FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY, March 6, 1961, pp. 9-10. 15¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

This article discusses the General Treaty of Economic Integration and the second Protocol to the Central American Convention on Equalization of Import Charges, both of which were signed at Managua, Nicaragua, on December 13, 1960. The former provides for the establishment of a "common market" among the contracting parties (Guatemala, El Salvador, Honduras, and Nicaragua) within five years of the entry into force of the General Treaty. The latter aims to unify customs and transit treatment of items free traded in the common market area and to simplify the application of a common external tariff.

"Reciprocal Tariff Concessions Being Negotiated by the LAFTA Countries," FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY, November 20, 1961, pp. 5-7, 30¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

The seven original signers of the Latin American Free Trade Association (Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Paraguay, Peru, and Uruguay),



combined with two subsequent adhering countries (Colombia and Ecuador), account for 72% of Latin America's population and 79% of the land. Together they produce 40% of all sugar produced in Latin America, 55% of the bananas, 61% of the coffee, and 66% of the tobacco. In November 1961, they met in Montevideo, Uruguay, for the first of 12 annual negotiations on reciprocal tariff concessions.

Rivkin, Arnold, "African Problems of Trade and Aid," CURRENT HISTORY, July 1962, pp. 35-42. 85¢. Current History, 1822 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

The author notes that "for a large part of Africa, export earnings arising from cash crops are the major source of income, and they are likely to be so for some time to come." Unfortunately, "primary producing economies, and particularly monocrop economies, are susceptible to the vagaries of the world market demand and price fluctuations." To get around this, the Africans should develop more trade among themselves. But one of the major obstacles to the growth of an internal African market is the lack of adequate transportation systems. The central importance of the European Common Market's association with Africa is also discussed.

Schaetzel, J. Robert, "The North Atlantic Partnership and the Less Developed Areas," Department of State BULLETIN, July 9, 1962, pp. 77-81. 25¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Mr. Schaetzel, Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for Atlantic Affairs, explains the need for the EEC and the United States to promote access to markets in industrial countries for the products of the less developed countries.

"Special Supplement on Africa," FOREIGN COMMERCE WEEKLY, April 17, 1961, pp. S-1 - S-16. 15¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

The lead article notes that sweeping changes in the trade patterns of Africa are accompanying the political upheavals taking place on the continent. Three fundamental features of the "big change" are in evidence. First, the ground rules for commerce with Africans are increasingly being made in Africa by Africans. Secondly, dominance of African trading by a few large expatriate trading firms is gradually disappearing. Thirdly, the foreign-based corporation appears to be economically as well as politically obsolete and locally-based firms with local capital participation are becoming increasingly popular.

UNITED STATES-LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS, Document No. 125, August 31, 1960. 817 pp. Single copies, free. Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington 25, D.C. (Limited supply.)

A compilation of seven studies prepared under the direction of the Subcommittee on American Republics Affairs.

## V -- THE COMMUNIST BLOC AND WORLD TRADE

The Communist market is big! It encompasses more than one-quarter of the world's surface, 30 percent of its population, and more than one-third of its industrial production.\*

It is interesting to note that Stalin, a year before his death, said "The disintegration of the single, all-embracing world market must be regarded as the most important economic sequel of the Second World War ... so that now we have two parallel world markets ... confronting one another ..." Stalin may be given credit for some accuracy in his prophecy for indeed the Communist market operates primarily apart from the world market. The preponderant part of the foreign trade of each of the Communist bloc countries is with other bloc countries. Less than 25 percent of total bloc trade occurs outside the market. However, bloc trade with the outside world has been increasing in recent years. In 1961, for example, U.S.S.R. trade with non-Communist countries increased 12 percent over 1960.

The manner in which efforts at economic integration have developed within the Communist market are very different from integration movements on the outside. Contrast, for example, the voluntary association of nations which initiated the economic community of Western Europe with the economic exploitation of the Eastern European countries through the Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (now known as COMECON) organized by the Soviet Union in 1949 as a counter to the Marshall Plan's OEEC. There have, however, been some changes in COMECON since the repudiation of Stalinism in 1956. The policy which has since emerged seems to have invested COMECON with new dimensions and greater depth in order to achieve the eventual economic integration of Eastern Europe.

The means may have changed but the goal of economic independence from the West has not. Three Soviet bloc members -- Poland, Czechoslovakia, and Hungary -- have resisted efforts to shrink back non-bloc trade. Poland and Czechoslovakia recently intensified their efforts to expand exports outside the bloc in order to acquire modern machinery and technology available for the most part only from the West. Poland's exports of coal and processed foods and Czechoslovakia's traditional exports of glass products, metal-working machinery, and food specialties are already feeling the pinch of competition within the Common Market.

Paradoxically, the Soviet Union itself also sees selected trade with the West as providing a major contribution to the more rapid achievement of greater bloc-wide self-sufficiency for which the Communist planners admittedly strive. The industrialized nations of the West are regarded as providing a reservoir of goods to supplement domestic sources, stimulate industrial technology, and compensate for the failures and miscalculations of the planning mechanism.

Recently, Soviet criticisms of the European Common Market have become increasingly frequent. As a countermove in another form, the Soviets are

\* The Communist market includes the U.S.S.R.; the Eastern European countries of Albania, Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, and Romania; and Asian countries -- mainland China, Mongolia, North Korea, and North Vietnam.



proposing an international trade organization. This is not a new proposal -- as early as 1959 Soviet bloc delegates at a meeting of the U.N. Economic Commission for Europe called for the creation of an all-European trade organization. It was thought at the time that, in trying to transform the Economic Commission for Europe into a European trade organization, the Soviets hoped to create a substitute for GATT. Although Czechoslovakia is a member of GATT and Yugoslavia and Poland have a special relationship with GATT, the Soviet Union itself is not a member and is not considered to meet GATT's membership requirements.

Furthermore, the Soviet Union has repeatedly called for the most-favored-nation treatment which, as practiced by the countries of the West, does not include the Soviet Union. The rationale for not granting such favored treatment to the Soviet bloc is that its economic and trade policies do not grant true reciprocity; its tariffs have no meaning and there is no such thing as a quid pro quo.

Efforts toward economic integration within the Soviet bloc, Soviet protests against the Common Market, and proposals for a world-wide trade organization all pose difficult policy questions for the United States and its Western partners.

On the initiative of the United States, a voluntary international group called COCOM (Coordinating Committee) was set up in 1950 to control exports of strategic materials to the Sino-Soviet bloc. Fifteen nations -- all NATO members, except Iceland, plus Japan -- belong.

The chief laws which govern U.S. policy on trade with the Communist bloc are the Export Control Act, the so-called Battle Act, and sections of the foreign aid, trade, and farm surplus disposal laws.

Export controls to keep strategic commodities from the Soviet Union and its European satellites have been in effect since 1948, and a total embargo on all trade with Communist China and North Korea has been in effect since 1950. Congress, in 1962, renewed the Export Control Act for a three-year period and, in so doing, tightened restrictions on shipments of strategic and critical materials to Communist and other unfriendly countries by requiring the President for the first time to take into account the economic warfare potential as well as the military value of U.S. exports. The bill contains a policy declaration stating that the United States should try to get its allies to cooperate more in halting the shipment of strategic goods to the Communist bloc.

The Battle Act (Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act) was passed in 1951 as a further and stronger expression of the desire of Congress to keep strategic goods from the Communist bloc. It goes beyond the Export Control Act insofar as it authorizes the withholding of U.S. aid from any country which ships arms or strategic material to the bloc. So far this sanction has never been invoked.

During the summer of 1962 efforts were made in Congress to reduce trade and aid activities with two bloc nations -- Yugoslavia and Poland. These

moves, probably provoked by Congressional annoyance, particularly at Marshal Tito, evoked strong protests that they would drive Poland and Yugoslavia further into the Soviet embrace and thus frustrate the "fragmentation" policy the United States has employed under three Administrations in the hope of weakening Soviet influence in other Communist countries.

At the same time that pressures in the United States demand a decrease in trade with the Soviet bloc the trade between the Soviet bloc and Western Europe increases -- the 1961 increase over 1960 was between 6 and 10 percent.

It is difficult to line up the relative advantages and disadvantages of increased or decreased East-West trade into neat pro and con categories. For one thing, a pro and con discussion will probably not uncover the more subtle choices -- alternatives which call neither for strong opposition to nor deliberate promotion of East-West trade. It is also important to be precise, in discussing East-West trade, as to which countries are being considered: on the "east" side, are we referring to trade with the Soviet Union? Communist China? Yugoslavia? Poland? Eastern Europe as a whole? And on the "west" side, the United States? Western Europe? Canada? Japan?

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What should U.S. policy be toward Soviet bloc trade? What are the relative advantages and disadvantages of more (or less) trade with the Soviets? Are the independent satellites special cases that demand special treatment? Would it be feasible to be part of an international trade organization which includes the Soviet bloc nations, considering their completely different economic system and trade practices? What should be western policy toward Soviet bloc trade with the less developed countries?

These are but a few of the questions which are currently being asked in this highly charged area of foreign economic policy.

#### Selected Readings

ASPECTS OF EAST-WEST TRADE (Policies, Experiences, and Practical Guides). American Management Association, Report No. 45, 1960. 95 pp. \$2.25 (\$1.50 for AMA members). American Management Association, Inc., 1515 Broadway, New York 36, N.Y.

A series of papers on national policies and practices, private attitudes and experiences, procedures and methods of U.S.-Soviet trade aimed at trying to find "a meaningful and rational approach" to the problem.

THE BATTLE ACT IN NEW TIMES. March 1962. 54 pp. 25¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

Fifteenth Report to Congress by the Secretary of State on the Mutual Defense Assistance Control Act of 1951 (the Battle Act). A current



evaluation of the Act, including provisions, aims, and new problems confronting its execution.

" 'Battle Act' and Related Hearings," CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY ALMANAC, Vol. XVII, for 1961, pp. 842-847. Available at your public library.

A review of congressional action on East-West trade legislation during 1961 dealing specifically with the Battle Act of 1951 and the Export Control Act of 1949.

"Controversy Rising Over Trade with Communist Bloc," CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, week ending May 18, 1962, pp. 842-847. Available at your public library.

Discussion of recent congressional criticism of what some feel is insufficient government control over U.S. trade with the Communist bloc and the major U.S. laws dealing with that trade.

Coppock, Joseph D., THE COLD WAR AND U.S. TRADE POLICY. April 5, 1962. 8 pp. Single copies, free. Office of News, Press Release Section, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C. (Supply limited.)

An address by the Director of the Foreign Economic Advisory Staff in which he discusses trade relations between the Communist countries and the countries of the free world, including the amount and composition of such trade.

Dirksen, Senator Everett, U.S. AID -- A WEDGE IN THE BLOC. 1962. 4 pp. Reprints available free of charge from the Agency for International Development, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Senator Dirksen (R., Ill.) discusses the nature of, and the reasons for, U.S. aid to Poland and Yugoslavia.

"Foreign Trade," CONGRESSIONAL RECORD, April 12, 1962, pp. 5981-5988. Available at your public library. (A very limited number of copies are available for 23¢ from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.)

Remarks by Representative Derounian (R., N.Y.) on East-West trade, together with the text of a report by a 1960 task force headed by George W. Ball, now Under Secretary of State.

Herter, Christian A., "Poland? Yugoslavia? Why Help Communists?" NEW YORK TIMES MAGAZINE, July 1, 1962, pp. 6, 24-25. Reprints available free of charge from the Agency for International Development, Department of State, Washington 25, D.C.

Former Secretary of State Herter explains the bipartisan case for aiding nations whose relative independence is more important to us than their Marxist ideology.

\*Kalb, Madeleine and Marvin, "The Communist Dread of the Common Market," THE REPORTER, July 19, 1962, pp. 27-30. 25¢. The Reporter, 660 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N.Y.

Discussion of the Soviet Union's reaction to the success of the Common Market and the shortcomings of the Communist bloc's Council of Mutual Economic Assistance (COMECON).

"Khrushchev and the Common Market," U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT, August 13, 1962, pp. 48-49.

An analysis of Europe's approach to economic unity and what it means to "the Soviet empire."

"Khrushchev's New Moves," ATLAS, June 1962, pp. 458-465. 75¢. Worley Publishing Company, Inc., Office of Publication, 31 West 56th Street, New York 19, N.Y.

Four reports -- three German and one Italian -- on several economic offensives recently opened by Moscow. First, the 3-pronged Soviet drive on Europe's oil market. Second, some details about the scope of the iron and steel traffic between Russia and West Germany. Third, Soviet moves to develop closer trade ties with Western Europe. And finally, how Communist Czechoslovakia has become the spearhead of the Soviet bloc's economic offensive against the underdeveloped countries.

\*Kovner, Milton, "The Communist Bloc in World Trade," CURRENT HISTORY, July 1962, pp. 35-43. 85¢. Current History, 1822 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

Discussion of trade within the Communist bloc, East-West trade, and Communist bloc trade with the underdeveloped countries.

\*Mares, Vaclav E., "United States Trade and the Soviet Bloc," CURRENT HISTORY, August 1962, pp. 88-117. 85¢. Current History, 1822 Ludlow Street, Philadelphia 3, Pa.

A discussion of East-West trade from the American, the Soviet, and the European points of view. Professor Mares also presents in capsule form the testimony and policy recommendations of a number of professors, politicians, and business leaders who were asked to testify before the Joint Economic Committee in December, 1961.

THE POLITICAL STAKES IN EAST-WEST TRADE -- A Report on a fact-finding trip to the U.S.S.R. and Eastern Europe, submitted to the Subcommittee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee by Senator Jacob K. Javits, 87th Congress, 2nd Session, February 1962. A very limited number of copies still available from Senator Javits' office, U.S. Senate, Washington 25, D.C.

\* We have starred the materials which are relatively inexpensive, easily available, and of particular relevance to the subject.



Senator Javits reports on a fact-finding trip made in November 1961, on authorization of the Subcommittee, to the U.S.S.R. and other parts of Eastern Europe.

\*A NEW LOOK AT TRADE POLICY TOWARD THE COMMUNIST BLOC -- Materials prepared for the Sub-Committee on Foreign Economic Policy of the Joint Economic Committee by Samuel Pizar, November 1961. 103 pp. 30¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

A detailed study and analysis of the factors which have determined, and may determine, the course of East-West trade.

TRADE OF THE UNITED STATES WITH THE SOVIET BLOC, 1959-60. Part 3, No. 61-17, June 1961. 8 pp. 20¢. Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington 25, D.C.

A statistical summary of trade between the United States and the Soviet bloc, compiled by the World Trade Information Service of the Department of Commerce.

"Why Trade with Russia?" THE ECONOMIST (London), July 1961, pp. 18-19. Single copies, 50¢. The Economist, 415 Madison Avenue, New York 17, N.Y. (Or check your public library.)

This article notes that as Communist economies mature, opportunities for trade with them grow, and that this may be not only good business but good politics as well.

#### Congressional Documents

##### U.S. House of Representatives

INVESTIGATION AND STUDY OF THE ADMINISTRATION, OPERATION, AND ENFORCEMENT OF THE EXPORT CONTROL ACT OF 1949, AND RELATED ACTS. Hearings before the Select Committee on Export Control, Part I (October and December 1961) and Part II (February 5, 1962), 87th Congress, 1st and 2nd Sessions. Single copies, free. Select Committee on Export Control, U.S. House of Representatives, Washington 25, D.C. (Report of the Select Committee is also available from the Committee.)

Testimony by government officials and private citizens on various aspects of the Export Control Act of 1949.

##### U.S. Senate

AMENDMENTS TO THE MUTUAL DEFENSE ASSISTANCE CONTROL ACT OF 1951 (The Battle Act), Report No. 199. Committee on Foreign Relations, 87th Congress, 1st Session, April 27, 1961. Single copies, free. Committee on Foreign Relations, U.S. Senate, Washington 25, D.C. (Supply limited.)

Report (including one-day hearing) on S. 1215, a bill to amend the Mutual Defense Assistance Act of 1951.



SEP 5 1962

# Memorandum

1026 17th Street, N. W. - Washington 6, D. C.

This memo and the Foreign Economic Policy LEADERS GUIDE going on Special Subscription Service.

August 31, 1962

## BUILDING REGIONAL STEPPING STONES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

### The New Dimension

The central focus of this LEADERS GUIDE is on the new dimension to the League program item on foreign economic policy, as readily indicated by the GUIDE'S title: REGIONAL STEPPING STONES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH.

Despite this emphasis on the "new," this GUIDE is a blend of issues new and old, just as the League program item itself is a blend of "an evaluation" and "continued support". Issues long familiar to the League--trade, aid, and the balance of payments--are woven into issues new to the League -- the agricultural policies of the EEC, the comparative economic growth rates of the United States and EEC countries, East-West trade, -- to name but three. All are woven together in this GUIDE to form a basis for League study, discussion, and action on the 1962-64 program item on foreign economic policy.

Once you open the pages of the new GUIDE you will readily see the focus, in the Foreword, and the five major foreign economic issues which have been singled out for League concentration, in each of the five Chapters. Extensive non-League readings, with descriptions of what the book or article is about, and how to get a copy, appear after a brief narrative on each issue. In each chapter three or four of the especially-recommended readings are indicated.

### WORKING INSIDE THE LEAGUE

This GUIDE is addressed primarily to the Current Agenda committee chairman on your local Board -- or the foreign economic policy chairman if you have a separate one. Also we can't think of anything better than for each member of your resource committee to have a GUIDE of her own.

The GUIDE is, however, multipurpose, and therefore multi-designed for several audiences. It is addressed to other members of local and state Boards: publications, public relations, and bulletin chairmen. Each can put the GUIDE to use in various ways. The bulletin chairman, for example, might find a quotable item for use in the bulletin just before a member discussion meeting on foreign economic policy. We don't just mean quotes from the substantive parts of the GUIDE: the annotations with selected readings at the end of each chapter are quotable too. For instance, picking up a few words about the July 19, 1962 REPORTER article on "The Communist Dread of the Common Market" might be just the thing to perk up interest of League members in coming to a League discussion meeting on West-East trade.

The GUIDE also can make good reading for the member with a particular interest in foreign economic League issues. Don't hesitate to share it with a member eager for a deeper look at these issues.



League of Women Voters  
of the United States

# Memorandum

1026 17th Street, N. W. - Washington 6, D. C.

This memo and the Foreign Economic Policy LEADERS GUIDE going on Special Subscription Service.

August 31, 1962

## BUILDING REGIONAL STEPPING STONES TO ECONOMIC GROWTH

### The New Dimension

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The material designed for member discussion -- the background briefs (now known as FACTS & ISSUES) -- are being issued in sets of three. The first three, which will be sent to your League in early October, are to be the following: Economic Growth, It's A Puzzlement; The Farmer Goes to Market; East-West Trade Winds. These relate to Chapters II, III, and V of the LEADERS GUIDE.

Naturally few Leagues will have the luxury of three member discussions on foreign economic policy the first year. But we do hope that most Leagues will try to cover the essentials of all three FACTS & ISSUES by late spring -- the end of the first program year -- May, 1963. The second set of FACTS & ISSUES, which will probably cover the European Economic Community, the trade problems of Latin America and Africa, and one other current issue, will not be issued until well into 1963.

#### STEPPING OUTSIDE THE LEAGUE

From all reports the Leagues really established rapport with both individuals and groups during the trade campaign. Although the same intensive community effort will probably not be necessary during the study and pre-action phases of the new item, most Leagues will want to keep in touch with contacts made during the work on trade. Many helpful suggestions will be found in the new TIPS ON REACHING THE PUBLIC in the section on Working with Organizations and in the section on how to engender interest in program during a period of study.

Actually the particular subjects chosen for League emphasis,-- the growth of the Atlantic Community, U.S. relations with the Common Market, the agricultural policies of the European Economic Community, West-East Trade, the Trade Plight of Latin America and Africa -- are issues which are bound to be in the news so the League job will not be one of trying to create interest where there is none but to take advantage of the opportunities which are almost sure to abound.

Just a few simple examples:

The Opportunity (or the Stepping Stone)  
The educational television series on the Common Market offered on NET stations.

Magazine articles mentioned in the LEADERS GUIDE and others sure to appear in the months ahead.

Publications of other organizations listed in the LEADERS GUIDE.

The television course on economics to be given over CBS beginning about October 1.

The Possible Action (The Step)  
Holding discussions, publicizing, working with stations on audience building. One League plans to ask Chamber of Commerce members to be resource persons at their discussions.

Get the library to feature a display of magazines, along with the LEADERS GUIDE. Run "article reviews" in local League Bulletins.

Alert the local chapter of the organization that it was mentioned; borrow a copy from the local group to use in League study.

Find out which colleges and universities in the community are giving the course for credit; ask if members can audit on campus sessions; publicize the course.



DEC 3 1962

## SPECIAL SECTION

# The news from Latin America

*Excerpts from a report to the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions*

As part of its continuing study of mass media, the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions, in Santa Barbara, California, has conducted a survey of the news coverage of Latin America by the United States wire services and *The New York Times* during the sample month of February, 1962. The findings, distributed privately to a few journalists for comment, have prompted replies from both of the wire services and from the *Times*.

In response to the interest aroused by the Center's announcement in July of the existence of the study, the *Review* is printing in this special section excerpts from the findings and from the replies. The *Review* presents this previously unpublished material as documentation by professionals in a field that receives too little concerted study; the *Review* does not necessarily endorse the judgments expressed by the writers.

The Center's study represents the first phase of a broader inquiry into suppliers of news suggested by Alicia Patterson, editor and publisher of *Newsday*, at a meeting of the directors of the Fund for the Republic, the Center's parent organization. This phase was organized and directed by Frank K. Kelly, formerly of *The Star*, Kansas City, and The Associated Press, and now a vice-president of the Fund and staff administrator of the Center's mass-media studies. Ten years ago, he was United States director for the International Press Institute study, *The Flow of the News*. He had the advice in this new project of a committee whose members were Miss Patterson; Harry S. Ashmore, formerly editor of *The Arkansas Gazette* and now editor of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*; William S.

Baggs, editor of the *Miami News*; Alan Hathway, managing editor, and William J. Woestendiek, editorial director of *Newsday*; and Paul Veblen, executive editor of the *Santa Barbara News-Press*.

As a first step in the study, four editors in the United States—two on small newspapers and two on large ones—were asked to review the dispatches of news agencies reaching them in February. Particular attention was directed to reports from five major Latin American countries: Argentina, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, and Venezuela. A journalist now on the staff of the Fund prepared an examination of *The New York Times*.

As a further step, an editor in each of the five major countries was asked for a summary of February events in his country. This group was also asked to comment on the general quality of wire-service news coverage of the five countries.

Mr. Kelly concedes that this preliminary study does not meet all requirements for a thorough examination of Latin American news coverage. He describes it as "impressionistic."

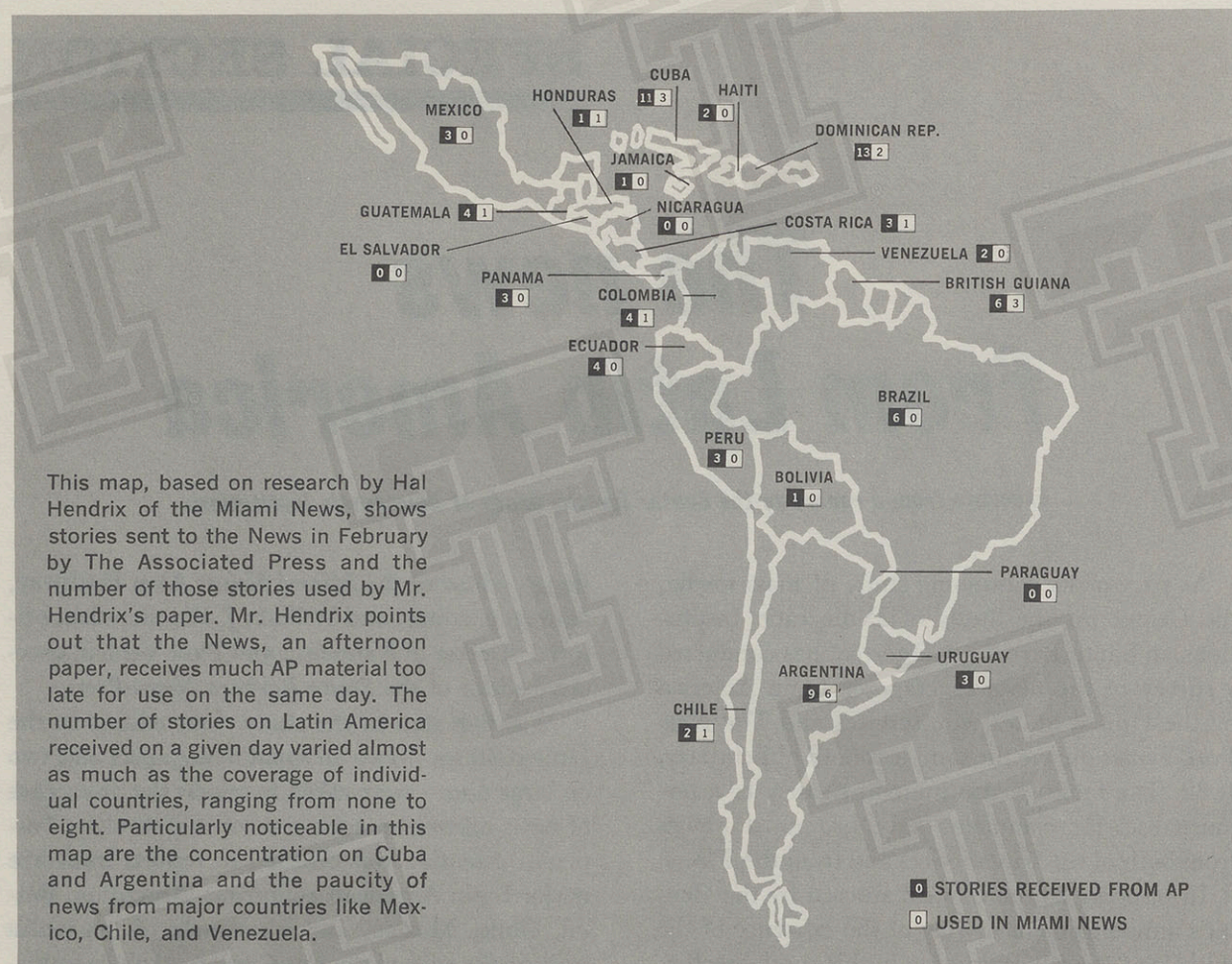
The Center has now undertaken the second phase of its study. In this survey, the editors of thirty newspapers, the major news magazines, and broadcast-news executives are being asked to report their use of dispatches the agencies supply.

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This map, based on research by Hal Hendrix of the Miami News, shows stories sent to the News in February by The Associated Press and the number of those stories used by Mr. Hendrix's paper. Mr. Hendrix points out that the News, an afternoon paper, receives much AP material too late for use on the same day. The number of stories on Latin America received on a given day varied almost as much as the coverage of individual countries, ranging from none to eight. Particularly noticeable in this map are the concentration on Cuba and Argentina and the paucity of news from major countries like Mexico, Chile, and Venezuela.

## The Associated Press

By HAL HENDRIX

An examination of the Associated Press file from Latin America—that is, the material transmitted to a newspaper like *The Miami News*—for the month of February, 1962, discloses quickly that news reports from this important area of the world still are pitifully short in quantity and far from representative of events. Most of the major stories dealt with Cuba or events related to the Communist take-over in Cuba, and with Argentina's troubles in the wake of the Organization of American States conference at Punta del Este, Uruguay, which also was linked to Cuba. For a reader or an editor dependent solely on The

Associated Press for information about other Latin American republics during the month of February, this file offers insufficient enlightenment.

From Bolivia, for example, there was one short item during the month—announcing the arrival in La Paz of Prince Philip, who was touring South America.

From Colombia, one of the closest friends of the United States in South America, there was only brief comment on the OAS vote against Cuba and short stories about a bus crash and a train wreck.

From Peru came only shorts about a plane crash and a bus wreck.

There was a short story from Chile noting that Billy Graham was conducting his crusade in Santiago.

Panama got brief attention when the United States Secretary of Defense visited there.

*Hal Hendrix is Latin American editor-correspondent of the Miami News, and was formerly the inter-American specialist of The Star, Kansas City.*

A bomb exploded in a Guatemalan church and that sent a paragraph across the news desks of the United States.

There was no dispatch from Paraguay, El Salvador or Nicaragua.

It seems from the month's sampling that the long-standing attitude of the Latin American about presentation of news of his nation and problems in the United States still holds true—revolutions, earthquakes, and other catastrophes make news in the North American press.

Through the years the United States reader has caught an occasional glimpse of Latin America from reports of catastrophe, war, looting, piracy and political upheaval. After the first flash of violence, little has been done to explain the causes of the events or acquaint the North American reader with the personalities involved.

The imbalance in the flow of news from Latin America, compared with the flow from other parts of the world today, results in a continuing distor-

tion of perspective. It has been estimated that about 20 per cent of the reading matter in today's North American newspapers is devoted to foreign affairs. Of that amount, a fraction of 1 per cent concerns the twenty Latin American republics in the Western hemisphere.

I am firmly convinced that the United States reader has a genuine curiosity and interest in Latin American news. This, however, is a matter that most news editors have not yet accepted when they begin threshing the thousands of cabled words reaching them each day. Too many still are in the deeply instilled habit of allocating a low priority for Latin American news and seeking out only the capricious, trivial, or disastrous from the Americas.

What is sorely needed in the United States press—and in the offerings of The Associated Press with respect to Latin America news coverage—is less of the trivial and more of the fundamental; more solid information and good news along with the turbulent developments.

## United Press International

By AL MARLENS

When a news service or a newspaper does its job well, it is against the odds. But at least the chance is there. United Press International in its coverage of Latin America during the month of February, 1962, took a few halting steps out of the starter's gate but never really entered the race.

The bare, brutal statistics for the coverage on UPI's "A" wire—the basic source of news for most clients—of the continent's five largest countries:

*Chile:* For UPI, Chile's 286,000 square miles and approximately 7,000,000 inhabitants did not exist. In the 28 days, no story was filed on that nation.

*Mexico:* During the month, four brief stories carried a Mexican dateline. One, never heard of again, described in three short, second-hand para-

*Al Marlens is news editor of Newsday, Garden City, New York.*

graphs reported from a Mexican newspaper, an armed uprising by 500 men, unidentified.

*Brazil:* Only once did this nation—not only the largest but the most important in any calculation of the future of Latin America—produce a story worth UPI's close notice. It concerned the seizure of an American-owned utility by a state government.

*Argentina:* One of the major news stories of the month occurred here and was followed almost daily during the first half of February. It concerned the demands of the military on President Frondizi and Argentina's resulting break in diplomatic relations with Cuba. No other aspect of Argentine life was reported on during the month.

*Venezuela:* During the month Venezuela produced three stories for UPI; the wire service can fairly be said to have produced none of its own. The three: a government announcement that it had broken up a plot against it, a plane crash, a speech by President Betancourt.

The major preoccupation was, of course, Cuba. Cuba was reported on from all directions: from the United Nations, from the Organization of American States in Washington, from Havana, from Miami, from Moscow, from Ottawa, from the North Atlantic Treaty Organization in Paris.

A daily wire report is an unwieldy thing, without neat categories. It interrupts itself with bulletins and revisions, with real and imagined new leads. To



create geographical categories is automatically to do some injustice. Stories from the world compete with each other; to say of one, in retrospect, that it was under-written is to be patently unfair.

What follows therefore unavoidably commits some injustice simply because it is in retrospect, and because it does not acknowledge the unknowable things that make their unwelcome contribution to any newspaper. It is the product alone that is judged.

The only prolonged Latin reaction to the Punta del Este conference occurred in Argentina, where the leaders of Argentina's military forces exerted pressure on President Arturo Frondizi for his decision to abstain on the vital sections of the resolution on Cuba. Precisely what the military men sought and precisely how much Frondizi gave — these are the essential questions in such a situation. One can read in vain for a clear answer through yards of UPI copy. Here is the day-by-day progress of the Frondizi story as reported by UPI:

February 1, 4:35 a.m. (New York time): "Informed sources" said the military sent messages to Frondizi demanding: "The resignation of Foreign Minister Miguel A. Carcano....Discontinuance of diplomatic relations with Castroite Cuba within 48 hours; other [unspecified] changes in Argentina's foreign policy."

10:01 a.m.: A new lead was sent for the story with a significant omission: The diplomatic break with Cuba no longer had a time limit.

11:28 a.m.: Bulletin: "Argentine military leaders...today were reported to have forced the resignation of Foreign Minister Miguel Angel Carcano." The report was attributed to "diplomatic circles."

February 2, 6:55 a.m.: "Argentine soldiers, sailors and airmen were confined to barracks early today in possible anticipation of a showdown on their commanders' demands for a break with Fidel Castro's Cuba." There followed a "report" that the ambassador to Cuba had been called home as a prelude to a break. Then: "Carcano refused yesterday to confirm reports that his resignation has already been handed in."

10:30 a.m.: The report of the ambassador's recall was now offered as a fact and it was moved as a new lead to the story. The armed forces were still in the barracks.

February 3: Unexpectedly, Frondizi made a public speech defending his policy at Punta del Este. A news piece reported the speech; then an analysis story said Frondizi was bowing to the military. In an apparent attempt to make the two compatible, an insert was made in the analysis.

February 4: A story repeated the "report" that Carcano's resignation had been agreed to. "Sources" said the break with Cuba would come February 8.

February 5: The generals met and again said nothing. This, UPI said, was a "wait and see" attitude; the generals were waiting to see if Frondizi would break with Cuba. UPI now had "observers" estimate it would take until the end of February for details to be cleared up and the break made. This replaced the February 4 prediction of a break on February 8; which replaced a timeless prediction made at 10 a.m. on February 1; which replaced an earlier prediction on February 1 that the break would come by February 3.

The story referred to "reports" that Carcano's resignation had been demanded, but not to the UPI bulletin that said it had already been handed in.

February 5, 2:58 p.m.: The numbers game, like an amoeba, reproduced itself as two games. The ambassador was to be withdrawn on February 8 and the break was to come within 30 days.

February 7, 4:11 a.m.: The story quoted a foreign office official as saying the break would come "this week end." (February 9 or 10.)

February 8, 5:08 p.m.: Bulletin: "Argentina has broken diplomatic relations with Cuba, the foreign ministry announced today." The game was over.

The story has some postscripts. When the break finally came, UPI — neither in its bulletin nor its later wrapup story — ever carried a single sentence from the Argentine government on the reasons for the break in diplomatic relations. And when Carcano went before the foreign relations committee of the Argentine senate to explain the position of the government at Punta del Este, the testimony occupied two paragraphs low in a long story about Castro-inspired street demonstrations. Carcano, despite UPI's bulletin, lasted until the cabinet resigned in mid-March. And, for all we know, those troops are still confined to barracks.

One of the few other Latin stories that made headlines during the month was the general strike against the government of Cheddi Jagan in British Guiana. In general, UPI's coverage of this action story, beginning with the strike on February 14, was adequate.

Yet there sticks in an editor's mind a gnawing annoyance. In several thousand words of copy, not once did UPI identify the opposition political parties — the organizers of the strike — by name. There was the mention of "opposition leaders Dr. Forbes Burnham and Peter Daguilar," but never were we told they are the leaders of the People's National

Congress (Burnham) and the United Force (Daguilar).

The failure to give the names of these two political parties may seem a forgivable misdemeanor. It is really a basic kind of failure, at the level of police reporting — and that is a failure at a high, not a low level. Those two missing names were important because they represented simple, obtainable facts.

Cuba and its continuing development as a full Communist state created not only its own splash in the news but the ripples that made most of the news in Latin America during the month. UPI's coverage of Cuba exhibited both its strength as a large, news-gathering organization and its weakness as a disseminator of meaningful information. Cuba was covered from all points of the globe, including a NATO meeting in Paris and a parliamentary debate in Ottawa (the latter a particularly good story). Castro's interminable speeches were covered faithfully and properly; the anti-Castro colony in Miami was covered somewhat too faithfully and uncritically.

But the record is less clear if one asks: How much did UPI's coverage of Cuba — scarcely a day in the month without a Cuba story — increase a North American's understanding of the unpleasant man with the beard and his unpleasant friends? Here is some of the evidence from the UPI file:

On February 1, a Miami dateline story moved in the early morning, and a rewritten version of it moved in New York later the same day.

The Miami story, based on radio monitoring of a Havana rally, refers in the lead to crowds "mustered" by Castro "bellowing" demands for the closing of Guantanamo naval base. The second paragraph calls them "mobs." The third paragraph:

A new slogan heard over the air — "Worms (foes of Castro) at home, the people in the street!" — suggested to observers here that Castro may be having some difficulty drawing crowds to his recurrent mass meetings.

Within the week, a UPI story reported a crowd of more than a million in Havana's main square to listen to Castro, the largest ever assembled there.

Restricted to radio monitoring, a reporter can understandably be frustrated by the one-sided version of his story coming from Havana. But it is, at the least, questionable whether the use of "mobs" for crowds and "bellow" for shout is the way to redress the balance. One waits in vain for a UPI story on the meetings of anti-Castroites in Miami which describes them as mustered, bellowing mobs.

On February 14, Carlos Rafael Rodriguez, a veteran Communist, replaced Fidel Castro as head of

Cuba's Land Reform Institute. UPI used the occasion to send an analysis piece that editors could have run as a supplement to the main story or, by editing in certain information, by itself.

The analysis tried to place the day's action in context, saying what had gone before to make it logical, and what was likely to come after. It included a compact biography of Rodriguez. That much was good. Then this vital but totally bewildering background paragraph:

Rodriguez' ascendance in the Cuban political firmament became evident last year when, as head of the state planning commission, he succeeded Ernesto (Che) Guevara, erstwhile crown prince, as Cuban economic czar. Guevara remains as head of the Cuban national bank.

What reader (not to mention editor) was supposed to understand Rodriguez's job progression? First, he was head of the state planning commission; we were not told what this was, but we must assume it meant he was the head of a commission that was in charge of planning for the state's economy. That sounds important, but he progressed from it when he succeeded Guevara as "Cuban economic czar." It is too unlikely that Castro would have an important state official bearing the title "czar;" the associations are too negative. So we found out neither the title nor the job description of the apparently important position in which Guevara was replaced a year ago by Rodriguez.

During the month, two first-rate stories were sent — the two best pieces in the period — for release Sunday, March 4. One, which moved on February 21, gave a brief description of the economic situation of each nation in Latin America, keyed to the status of the Alliance for Progress. The other, moved February 27, was a close look at Haiti. In the main, they are evidence of good intent, good execution, and UPI's ability to distinguish a good story.

Yet figures supplied by UPI show that many of its readers never will get to see these stories. UPI serves 1,200 newspapers in the United States, but only 170 of them have Sunday editions. And although both these stories were for use March 4 or later, the press's aversion to a story bearing an old release date is well known. The release date really meant March 4 or never.

In summary:

1. A great failure of UPI in February was the simple failure to report things of importance. Figures supplied by UPI show that it has 219 full-time employees in 25 South and Central American na-



tions, at least one news bureau in 13 of them, and part-time employees in all of them. The news product produced by this organization during the month did not come close to reflecting the size of the staff.

2. The greater failure was the failure of omission, the failure to convey important information. Examples: the loss of opportunity in the Rodriguez story in Cuba, and the failure to report from Brazil both on the government's Punta del Este position and on the turmoil over land reform.

3. The failures of commission cover a broad range. In almost all cases, they were magnified reflections of the misdeeds committed communally by the American press. These failures of commission include totally unqualified acceptance of time as the dominant element in the presentation of the news story.

Poor reporting afflicted UPI, as it afflicts every news medium every month. Here is one of the most flagrant examples:

There was a presidential election in Costa Rica on February 4, and UPI sent four stories before, during, and after the vote. A reader who read all of the 1,000 words in these four stories, would still not know: how long a term of office the president has (one story noted that the last election was held in 1958); the names of two of the three parties running candidates, or whether there are such names; the powers of the office being sought; the position—left, right or center—of candidates or parties.

4. Poor selection must be held responsible for the sending of some strange stories while stories of a vital nature were almost ignored. There were a number of these during the month, but one of them at least serves this editor a purpose he had not anticipated—ending this report with the words of Billy Graham, the evangelist, a UPI favorite.

After sending a number of short stories reporting on his geographical progress during a tour of Latin America, UPI turned its wire over to Graham for a long piece "written exclusively for UPI" on his impressions. It was, appropriately this time, considering its author's occupation, for Sunday release. It says:

During the past two years I read everything I could lay my hands on about Latin America and I thought I was quite well versed on this part of the world....

But I changed my mind!

...There's no doubt more Americans are reading about Latin America than ever before, but most of us are really uninformed about the world south of the Rio Grande.

Amen.

## The New York Times

By JOSEPH P. LYFORD

Because of its unique emphasis on foreign news, because of the size of its editions, and because it maintains its own staff of full-time correspondents in Latin America, *The New York Times* was included in this study as a special example of relatively heavy reporting on developments in South America, as well as an example—through its leased wires—of a major news supplier to other newspapers.

This report is not written with the intention of stressing statistics, but some statistical summary seems necessary as an introduction. Certainly, the quantity of items published in February establishes the fact that the *Times* gave very frequent attention to Latin America. In 28 days, 273 items appeared that fell within the range of this study, or an average of between 9 and 10 stories per day.

Despite the quantity of stories published, the *Times's* Latin American coverage was geographically uneven and restricted in subject matter. Only 136 stories of the 273 carried the dateline of a Latin American country, which means that about half the *Times* stories were about Latin America, but not from Latin America. Most of these carried New York and Washington datelines. Of the 273 items, 42 were two paragraphs or less. Ordinarily these small items dealt with events that one might classify as geological, economic, or political "accidents."

Nearly half of the 273 stories—110—were about Cuba or the Cuban situation. Few of these pieces were filed from Cuba; the *Times* in February had no correspondent on the island. Of these "Cuban" pieces, nearly half—45—dealt with the aftermath of the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Organization of American States at Punta del Este, which ended January 31. The immense concentration of the *Times* on Punta del Este is exemplified by the fact that on February 1, of 13 pieces on Latin America, 12 were about the conference.

*Joseph P. Lyford is an executive of the Fund for the Republic in New York, with journalism experience on the Boston Post, International News Service, The New Republic, and the Hartford Times.*

The same emphasis is evident in the stories on Latin America emanating from Washington and New York (mainly United Nations sources). The *Times* was, of course, not entirely responsible for this emphasis; it was simply reporting UN discussions and administration statements. Nevertheless the effect was to increase further the lopsidedness of the Latin American news budget. It should also be pointed out that much of the Washington and New York material was repetitive.

The issue of February 1 provides a good example of such redundancy, which, it should be said, the *Times* requires as a "newspaper of record." A front-page piece from Washington, by E. W. Kenworthy, gave a well-rounded picture of Punta del Este developments as seen by our government officials. A perceptive background feature, "Impact of Punta del Este," by Tad Szulc, presented a view of developments as seen from the site of the conference. A second Punta del Este dateline, by Juan de Onis, quoted Secretary of State Dean Rusk on the official United States view, which had already been reported extensively by Kenworthy and Szulc. The *Times* also printed the text of the same Rusk statement. An editorial, "At Punta del Este," introduced the *Times's* view of the matter—essentially a recapitulation of the actions of the conference. A *Times* summary of OAS conference developments, "Actions on the Americas," listed the same events.

There is no question but that the *Times* did an exhaustive job of reporting—and re-reporting—these diplomatic crises. A reader must ask, however, whether the immense quantities of space devoted to the subject could not have been used more effectively on other aspects of the Latin American scene.

The main sources of news, other than Punta del Este, during the month of February were Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Georgetown (British Guiana). Brazil provided thirty-three stories, almost all dealing with either the government's attitude on Punta del Este and Cuba or the telephone-company seizure. Buenos Aires accounted for ten stories. Georgetown was the source of seventeen stories, nine dealing with the riots and demonstrations against the government of Premier Cheddi Jagan.

Meanwhile, what were *Times* readers getting from other parts of Central and South America? In a month, the dateline of Mexico City appeared in the *Times* seven times, and only two of the stories—one dealing with Mexican protests against an import tax on United States periodicals (a story that was not followed up) the other with pollution of Mexican water by the United States—could be said to have even secondary news significance. Only four

stories were written from Venezuela, one of them about a forest fire and two about the arrival and departure of Prince Philip of Britain. Chile produced a half a dozen small items. Colombia was the source of only three small stories. Uruguay, if one excludes the Punta del Este conference reports, produced one small piece about a strike. The whole month evoked a single one-paragraph item from Peru, about the visit of Prince Philip. Ecuador also owed its presence in the *Times* news pages entirely to Prince Philip's visit and departure. No stories appeared from Paraguay. Elections in Costa Rica produced a piece from *Times* correspondent Paul P. Kennedy; and the Dominican Republic was noted in the *Times* by half a dozen or so articles.

An impressionistic summary of the stories filed from South America would have to emphasize that the reader of the February *Times* received very little information about the economic, cultural and social developments on the entire continent, and that most of what items he did receive came from three countries. The remainder of Latin America could have been in hibernation.

There is also significance in the subject matter. Almost without exception, the reports printed in the *Times* were occasioned by statements of government officials, by various "accidents," or by political events. It does not appear that more than a scattering of reports from Latin American countries were primarily the result of independent investigation.

The point to be made is that most of the *Times* Latin American stories were records of events of a purely political nature, usually generated by a statement, a press conference, or a meeting of some sort, and accompanied by relatively little explanation of social or economic conditions contributing to the events. There were almost no stories filed that attempted to investigate potential sources of news.

It might also be said that, with notable exceptions such as Szulc's evaluation of the Punta del Este conference results and de Onis's description of the Brazilian land reform bill, most of the *Times* special reports dealt with events that could have been covered by the wire services. An examination of wire-service dispatches from Latin America in February shows that a majority of the *Times* special reports did in fact deal with spot news events covered by the AP and UPI.

A critic of the *Times* coverage in this period would undoubtedly concentrate on the unevenness of its coverage, both in geography and content. He would also center his fire on what seems to be an assumption of the *Times* editorial staff that the type



of government-generated news characteristic of *Times* coverage for February is the most essential type of information to be reported from Latin America. The critic might ask: Should the *Times* allow its news treatment of an entire continent to be so determined? Could not a reporter of knowledge and experience be better utilized in probing the conditions that create the political crises so faithfully recorded by the *Times*? Could not there be more illuminating reporting from the hinterlands, like the pieces by Juan de Onis on the rise of the peasant leagues in northeast Brazil that appeared in the April 9 and 10 issues of the *Times*?

In response, a defender of the *Times* might say that the necessity for giving full coverage to Punta del Este took away time and space that would ordinarily have been devoted to producing stories on other subjects. He also might say that it is not the purpose of a newspaper to educate people about the nature or aspect of a country and its people, but to record observable events. A newspaper, it could be argued, cannot expect to offer a running diary of a culture or an economy; its function is to be a seismograph for the tracing of rumbles and disruptions. Like the seismograph, the *Times* will cover an earthquake — political or geological — when it takes place and not before.

However, if one accepts the argument that the function of a newspaper is to record the quakes, then there seems to be little reason for a newspaper to maintain its own special staff of correspondents when it is already paying for two wire services.

The frequency of stories on Latin America from Washington raises another point. Granted that these stories were an indispensable part of the day's news, the fact remains that they constitute a very high percentage of the total material provided a *Times* reader about Latin America, and that the stories are about what our government officials have to say about the subject, not what the reporters or Latin American nationals have to say. The news content of the Latin American budget of any United States newspaper is thus watered down considerably.

The same applies, for the most part, to the Latin American stories that emanate from the UN. In February, these were largely accounts of UN debates provoked by Cuban reaction to expulsion. The stories were essential, and competently done, but the fact remains that again the information they supplied was restricted.

One seems obliged to return to the point that the high percentage of Latin American stories that covered the Cuban crisis reflects an assumption that

almost the only news about Latin America fit to print is that which deals with United States-Cuba relations, or — by extension — is related to immediate United States interests.

Any discussion of the quality and distribution of the *Times* February coverage of Latin America seems eventually to boil down to a definition of what is essential news in the foreign field, and what is the role of a special correspondent of a newspaper that also has the wire services.

The *Times* record in reporting and following up the battle reports cannot be criticized on any ground. Day after day *Times* readers received the latest developments in the anti-Jagan riots in Guiana. Just as energetically the *Times* pursued the happenings in Brazil connected with the IT&T seizure. But whether British Guiana was so important in the Latin American scheme of things that it rated a dozen stories on the Jagan riots — about twice the month's output from Mexico City and far surpassing the combined coverage of a dozen other nations — is debatable.

It is understandable that the wire services, which are responsible for "covering" everything from tennis-match results to deaths of minor Chilean poets, cannot hope to provide investigative reporting. A newspaper that has its own foreign staff, however, would seem to have opportunities to do just this. A four- or five-man staff of roving reporters obviously cannot conduct information expeditions in every country of a vast continent, or write daily pieces in a dozen countries at once, but this type of "expeditionary" or "diagnostic" reporting has been done successfully in the past (sometimes by the *Times* itself) — and provided unusual glimpses of exciting realities of life that exist far from a capital city. Too many editors denigrate such reports by calling them "color stories" or "timeless features." They are not. Such reports are vital news.

If one is to try to evaluate the *Times* handling of Latin America in February, news standards must be kept in mind. If news is what "happens" on a particular day at a particular place then the *Times* has carried out its responsibility in at least a handful of Latin American nations. If news is to be defined as information that illuminates a situation, that builds a sophisticated understanding of a nation and its people, that is obtained first-hand by a reporter from primary sources, that is checked independently of hearsay or political sources, the *Times* may be fairly charged with having provided much less than is needed. Yet it has done a far better job than any other American newspaper: and this is the most ominous fact of all.

## Comments from Latin America

By FRANK K. KELLY

What do the editors who participated in our study of agency coverage of Latin America have to offer in the way of professional suggestions?

Here are the main points emphasized by the editor who reviewed the march of events in Venezuela:

The quality of the coverage given Venezuelan news by the agencies is always as good as their correspondents happen to be — no better and no worse. If one of them happens to have a good man, the coverage of that agency will be superior to that of its rival; if it loses that man, and gets an inferior one, its coverage will be behind....

What can be done to improve their work?

1. *Better men.* This means the agencies should pay better, and get the highest type of men.... The men should have good educations, broad backgrounds, and fluency in the language of their assignment.

2. *More men.* It is impossible to cover the news from Venezuela with one or two men. This means the budgets should be increased to allow for more personnel. And they should not depend on sales!...

3. *More areas with direct coverage.* Coverage from Maracaibo and the oil fields — not to mention other cities — is poor. Either there should be stringers in these areas, or there should be enough personnel so two or three reporters can constantly travel and cover these areas, and be able to go there when something happens.

The Chilean editor who participated in our study wrote:

AP and UPI both send to their Latin American desks in New York a fairly heavy flow of news from Chile.... Both UPI and AP burden their heads of bureau with the additional duties of managing the business side. This cuts sharply their available time for reporting. They have to depend to a considerable extent on their local assistants. Wire-service work is the hardest in journalism and the one that offers to local employees the least satisfaction. The pay in Chile is below the average and inevitably the ablest men leave the wire services and enter a newspaper or magazine as soon as they have made a name. This means that much of the reporting is done shallowly by second-rate reporters....

Some simple measures could improve the coverage. It should be a principle that any correspondent should be bilingual, that he should have a period of adaptation of several weeks before writing on any country, that his staff should include at least one

highly paid assistant or, if possible, that he should be freed from administrative responsibilities.

The report from Argentina was prepared by Francisco Rizzuto, director of *Veritas*, Buenos Aires, and a former secretary of the Inter American Press Association. Mr. Rizzuto commented, in part:

The North American news agencies — Associated Press and United Press International, as well as the others that provide services to Argentine newspapers, have a dual role in Buenos Aires. Aside from their local desk or news staffs they have their foreign desk or correspondents' desk. While the former receives, edits, and distributes information coming in from abroad, the latter is engaged in gathering the news originating in the country to be sent abroad....

The foreign correspondents of North American news agencies are not necessarily North Americans, and that is an excellent policy adopted recently by the AP and UPI.... In effect, the local agencies of the Associated Press and the United Press International are Argentine offices, with 70 per cent or more of native personnel, and with more than half of the people on the correspondents' desk being Argentines.

Not all observers share Mr. Rizzuto's view. When I was in Latin America, North Americans told me that one of the deficiencies in agency coverage was the lack of North American correspondents. AP and UPI were relying too largely on natives of the countries to cover explosive developments that often involved relatives or friends of the native reporters.

The report prepared by W. D. Shanahan of *The News* (Mexico City) reveals an astonishing number of important events that were scantily covered in the dispatches sent from Mexico to the United States by the agencies. Mr. Shanahan's thorough summary made me realize how little we know about what is going on in the large country just below the Rio Grande. His description of the way the agencies operate in Mexico does not offer much hope for extensive coverage of the country. He wrote:

All three of these wire services operate in the same manner. Each has a reporter who mans the day shift, one on the night shift, and a bureau manager.... Each wire service has a special arrangement with one of the metropolitan newspapers to receive duplicate copies of all local stories. This means the wire service actually has a staff of native reporters at work for them.



In addition the wire services maintain "stringers" in the leading cities outside of the capital. These stringers generally are reporters on one of the newspapers using the particular wire service....

All factors considered, I believe the wire services do a fairly good job of reporting and distributing news. Naturally the operation could be improved by the usual methods — putting on more men and paying higher salaries to attract better qualified men for specialized fields. However, I believe the wire services feel that the amount of business they are doing in Mexico and the amount of news originating from here does not warrant the additional expense this would require.

When the suggestions of all the editors in North and South America are reviewed, what emerges?

As I see it, these things emerge:

1. A need for institutes for foreign correspondents, comparable to the institutes established by the State Department for foreign-service officers, to give wire-

service reporters and editors the professional perspectives needed.

2. The need for publishers and broadcasters to give the wire services greater financial support, to enable the agencies to hire, train, and keep men of high caliber.

3. The need for periodic conferences by professional newspaper men and broadcasters, to be held alternately in Latin America and in the United States. These conferences would not focus on the technical and legal problems that occupy so much of the time of the Inter American Press Association, but would be frank exchanges of background information on the main currents of events in the Western Hemisphere.

The open discussion of important trends in the Hemisphere, conducted by editors and broadcasters, would help to widen public interest in the flow of the news.

## Replies from AP, UPI, the Times

### FROM THE ASSOCIATED PRESS:

Frank Starzel, general manager (now retired):

The Associated Press welcomes examination of its news report and constructive criticism and suggestions. Here are a few observations on some of the specific points made, plus some general statements on the matters under discussion:

On the question of whether The Associated Press and United Press International should rely more heavily on North Americans or more heavily on nationals of the various countries, Mr. Kelly notes that there are two distinct schools of thought. The AP practice is to use both; moreover, *all* of the North Americans sent to Latin America are definitely bilingual.

The amount of news coverage that comes out of a country depends, not on the amount of "business" that the agency does in that country, but on the amount of outside interest there is in what is going on in the country.

That we have subscribers in a country does mean that the chief of bureau or correspondent has added administrative duties. Any suggestion that this is a handicap or somehow interferes with AP news coverage is unrealistic, to say the least. On the contrary, it means that the office has a larger staff, better facilities, and added news sources to throw into the coverage of a big story. On balance, the outside world gets better news coverage because of the larger operation within the country.

We know that Latin America is important and that a sizable group of United States editors is interested in greater news coverage from that area (al-

though this is not always translated into use by their newspapers of the coverage provided them).

The AP has increased its staff and its coverage in Latin America in recent years. In addition to staff members regularly based in the larger news centers, highly qualified experts are frequently sent on roving assignments of the type discussed in the summary.

While "occurrence" news still must have high-priority coverage, The Associated Press has placed more and more emphasis in recent years on the background story, the situation wrapup, the analysis, the human interest story that reveals something about the people of the country. This idea has been done in Latin America as in other parts of the world.

The demand for this type of news, and the acceptance of it by editors and readers, has been growing steadily. A major breakthrough occurred, by coincidence, in the same month that was selected for the studies quoted in the summary—February, 1962. In that month The Associated Press started servicing its "AP World Spotlight," which now regularly gets full-page Sunday play in many papers.

Five foreign stories regularly make up the "Spotlight" budget. And almost always one of the five is a story from an AP staff writer in Latin America. Latin American coverage was further augmented in September in "AP Special Report," a new program of background stories for afternoon newspapers.

The Associated Press Managing Editors Association, organized in 1933 to provide better liaison between managing editors of member newspapers and the AP management and staff, has appointed "Continuing Study Committees" every year from 1948 on.

Each year editors have been especially assigned to the foreign news report. Latin American news has

figured regularly in the studies. This year a report of Philip S. Heisler, managing editor of the Baltimore *Sun*, again by coincidence, came during February. Heisler queried 100 members of APME, selecting newspapers to give a cross section of the United States. He had responses from 78. Some of his findings follow:

1. Question: Do you still think South and Central American news coverage is neglected?

No — 40

Yes — 37

(This represents a significant change. Past APME continuing study reports indicated that editors were mostly of the opinion that (1) South American news was neglected and (2) this neglect was a result of a conclusion that there was little reader interest.)

2. Question: Do you think reader interest in South and Central American news has increased in recent years?

Yes — 57

No — 18

The same — 2

3. Question: Are you printing more South and Central American news in your paper?

Yes — 56

The same — 22

Major weaknesses in coverage from the area, as rated by the editors: lack of backgrounders, lack of wrapups, slow follow-ups, lack of features, spot news. Many editors also urged better photo coverage.

Herbert Corn, then managing editor of *The Washington Star* (since retired), wrote: "I have seen efforts to improve South of the Border coverage rise and fall during the past 20 years. In my opinion the coverage cannot become adequate until the newspapers demand it and then use it. Surveys have shown that the best efforts of the AP, particularly at backgrounding, failed to get the general usage they deserve. The AP service must rely on response from its clients to direct its planning."

### FROM UNITED PRESS INTERNATIONAL:

Earl J. Johnson, vice-president and editor:

I think that this report has tried to cover such a broad surface that it has sacrificed depth. Surely the Center will want to underwrite something more searching and practicable. This would require lots of money and knowledgeable investigators who could be employed full time.

I understand that the part-timer who looked into our file examined only one side of UPI's national double-trunk wire. Apparently he did not have time to look at the wire that had carried special dispatches dealing with cultural, social, and economic developments in Latin-American countries.

In addition, our special Latin-American report, which is distributed to about twenty-five clients especially interested in Latin-American service, was ignored.

On the average, we have more than a score of Latin-American datelines daily on one or another

wire, and an equal number from domestic or foreign bureaus referring to items of Latin-American interest.

To attract readers an editor must publish news that will strike something at least vaguely connected with what the reader already knows. Much news from Latin America is useful but not interesting, important but dull because there is this wide gap between the fact and the reader — a lack of reader background. An event that may get headlines all over South America itself, where people have enough background to understand the new fact, will get squeezed to death in North American papers.

Part of this gap-closing is the job of the news service, and of course we try earnestly to weave in enough background to make the new fact understood. But then the story may be too long, and the newspaper editor decides that the new development itself doesn't warrant the space required to explain it.

Physical facilities are abundant enough. The fastest routes between American countries run through New York. Mexico gets Peruvian news through New York; Brazil gets Argentine news through New York; Venezuela gets Colombian news through New York, and so on.

Consequently, our New York editors have quick and constant access to the news of 20 American republics — up to 8,000 or 10,000 words a day. Much of it is specialized neighborhood news, of no interest to the United States. We are not easily discouraged, but it is a fact you must accept that when the newspapers don't publish it the UPI editors are inclined to switch to other subjects.

The blame falls on the news services when we don't pick the right Latin-American situations or package them with the right detail and background to make a thousand telegraph editors feel that here is something their readers need and want.

The news resources are there, and we are constantly experimenting with topic and content. In 1960 we were carrying two well-researched and well-written situationers a week, taking one Latin-American country at a time. These reports ran 800 to 1,200 words each. But so few newspapers found room for this schedule that we are now down to one a week.

I note that some of the contributors favor North American reporters and others favor residents of Latin-American countries. Nationality does not make a good or bad newspaperman; talent and training and experience do. I think it is nonsense to complain that there are "too few Americans" in South America to cover its news properly. Good newsmen come from all corners of the earth. I regret seeing the Center circulate provincial views on this point.

I also regret that some of the contributors appear to believe that the amount of news sent out of a given country depends on whether much or little news of the outside world is sold there. Witness Cuba and the Congo, both big news stories last year and both negligible or non-existent news markets. The prime example is Moscow.

More datelines from South and Central America are appearing in more North American newspapers



every year. Spanish is our second language, and the children studying it learn of poets and politics. Visits, scholarships, and the doughty Inter American Press Association, all are powerful educational forces. So is Fidel Castro, even as Peron once was. So there is some reason to cheer up.

## FROM THE NEW YORK TIMES:

*Clifton Daniel, assistant managing editor:*

I deplore what seems to be a general tendency among critics of the press to denigrate so-called spot news. Backgrounding, interpretation, commentary, descriptive writing and feature writing are all fine, and we use as much of that sort of material as we can possibly find space for in *The New York Times*. Indeed, I would say we use more of this material than any other paper in the United States.

At the same time, we feel that the great, overriding, compelling need of readers today is to understand the news as it is happening. We try to hire people who can bring an extra dimension into their reporting of the news, and that dimension is superior understanding. We encourage them to give that extra dimension to everything they write. It is not good enough, in my opinion, just to let the agencies handle all of the so-called routine and let some genius or prima donna come along later and tell the peasants what it means. The readers are entitled to know immediately what the news is about. We subscribe to as many agencies as most newspapers, and we have, perhaps, a million words of agency copy available to us in this office every day, but we use very little of it.

The reason we use so little is not because we think the agencies are incapable of covering spot news. On the contrary, they do a good job almost everywhere, and in some places and on some occasions a superb job. But we think the agencies generally cater to a broader audience than that of *The New York Times* and are not always as exhaustive in handling the more portentous news as we would like.

The other point I would like to emphasize is that studies of the sort the Center has made of Latin American news tend to be too narrow. I think that any critic of the press can take the news from any area for any given period and conclude, without too much trouble, that it is inadequate. But a newspaper like *The New York Times* is not a regional or specialized journal. It is a newspaper of general circulation and has to find room in its columns every day for a modicum of news from all of the fields that are of interest to its readers—provided there is some activity in those fields.

It is not enough to look at *The New York Times*, or any other newspaper, and say that it does not carry enough Latin American news. The question is whether it gives adequate representation to Latin American news in the light of what is happening in other parts of the world and in other fields of human endeavor and in relation to the interests of

its primary audience. That audience, manifestly, is not in Latin America or among specialists in Latin American affairs. We would not claim that our reporting from Latin America was as complete or as perceptive or as well written as it should be. But we do not think it is proper to consider it in isolation from the rest of the newspaper or without regard to various practical difficulties. These difficulties include not only limitations on space, but the costs of maintaining correspondents in so many parts of the world and the fact that even the most energetic correspondent cannot gather and write more than a few hundred words of news copy in an ordinary day.

*Emanuel Freedman, foreign news editor:*

One of Mr. Lyford's complaints is that so much of the copy from our staff in Latin America is spot material that we could just as well take from the agencies, thus releasing the correspondents for labors that would enable them, presumably, to get closer to the ultimate truth in each country. On the other hand, Mr. Kelly's experts seem to complain about the quality of the agencies' product.

I can readily agree with Mr. Lyford that we could do a better job, but I wonder whether a study embracing our performance for the one month of February, 1962, does not give a too narrow picture. I feel that a study for, say, a three-month period would give a pattern of coverage that might be somewhat closer to Mr. Lyford's ideal.

Even our preoccupation with the aftermath of Punta del Este in February was not so narrow as Mr. Lyford suggests, because, after all, Punta del Este was a hemisphere-wide operation, and we were reflecting repercussions in many countries.

While there is no disputing the importance of Latin America, there is also no disputing the importance of North Africa, sub-Sahara Africa, the Middle East, Southeast Asia, the Soviet Union, Western Europe, the Common Market, space research, scientific discoveries, and the whole spectrum of human activity. The problem is to find a balance within the limitations of a newspaper of general circulation that will provide the most meaningful material from all areas. When one starts analyzing output on a geographical basis, without regard to news values that might require greater emphasis on material from other areas in the period under study, it is easy to build up a fairly formidable indictment.

I believe that Mr. Lyford tends to underestimate Latin American material from Washington, which, after all, is the seat of the dominant power in the hemisphere and the headquarters of the Organization of American States, and has a concentration of senior diplomats from all countries. Is there any one spot that is better for a view of United States policy and for getting a broad perspective on Latin American official attitudes? This does not belittle Mr. Lyford's point about getting to "the people" in each country; he is certainly right on the general proposition, but I fear that one-man Gallup polls will not automatically provide the light of truth.



# Time For

SEP 10 1962

LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS  
OF THE UNITED STATES

1026 17TH STREET N. W. • WASHINGTON 6, D. C.

## ACTION

September 6, 1962

TO: Local and State League Presidents  
FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips  
RE: FOREIGN AID APPROPRIATION

This Time for Action is going  
on Special Subscription Service.

"HOUSE FOES OF FOREIGN AID  
WHET KNIVES FOR FUNDS CUT"

This headline in the Washington POST of August 27 tells in ten words the story of what's ahead for the foreign aid appropriation, probably the last bill that Congress will consider before adjournment.

### THE LEGISLATIVE SITUATION

The bill appropriating money to implement the programs authorized in Foreign Assistance Act of 1962 (signed by the President August 1, 1962) and in other legislation last year, is still in the House Subcommittee on Foreign Operations of the Appropriations Committee. (The amounts authorized will be found in the chart at the end of this Time for Action.)

The Subcommittee Chairman, Rep. Passman (D., La.) has said that the bill may come to the House floor about September 18. He has announced that he plans to make cuts of \$1.7 billion in the sums authorized. Just where these deep slashes will be made is not known, although it appears likely that the Development Loan Fund and the military assistance grants will bear the brunt of the reductions.

When the bill reaches the floor it may contain not only appropriations for the foreign aid programs listed in the chart, but also funds for the International Monetary Fund, the Peace Corps, refugees relief programs, the International Development Association, the International Development Bank and for the administration of the Ryukyus Islands. By loading the foreign aid bill with these other fund requests, the total of requests considered by the Subcommittee in this bill will come to \$7,046,000,000, instead of \$4,672,000,000 authorized for foreign aid programs as such. When you read the headlines or hear money for foreign aid discussed it might be well to make it clear just what part of the bill pertains to foreign aid per se.

The House rarely refuses to accept the recommendations of its Appropriations Committee, but it is hoped that some attempt may be made on the floor to restore some of the Committee cuts if they are as devastating as Mr. Passman says they will be. Last year part of the cut in military assistance funds was restored on the floor.

### WHAT THE LEAGUE CAN DO

Letters and more letters are needed, to every member of the House NOW, urging that the full amount authorized for the economic aid portions of the bill be appropriated. These include the Development Loan Fund, developing grants, the Alliance for Progress and some of the contributions to international organizations.



Other organizations supporting foreign aid, business men who have a pocketbook interest in aid, should be alerted. Local party officials should be urged to write or call your Representative.

Articles and editorials in the local paper would be useful and letters to the Editor are timely.

Can you think of other ways to make the plight of foreign aid appropriations come alive? If you can now is the time to put them into practice.

REMEMBER an authorization for foreign economic aid, although signed into law, carries no weight if there is no money or not enough money appropriated to carry out its purpose.

Foreign Aid Authorization  
(Fiscal 1963, in millions)

Development Loans .....	\$1,250.0*
Development Grants .....	300.0
Alliance for Progress .....	600.0
Supporting Assistance .....	415.0
International Organizations	
U.N. Technical assistance	
and Special Fund .....	50.0
U.N. Fund for the Congo .....	34.3
U.N. Relief and Works	
Agency for Palestine	
Refugees .....	17.2
U.N. Children's Fund .....	12.0
U.N. Emergency Force .....	1.32
International Atomic	
Energy Agency .....	1.2
World Health	
Organization special	
programs .....	0.5
NATO science program .....	1.53
Indus waters .....	30.0
Commission for	
Technical Cooperation	
in Africa .....	0.6
Asian productivity	
organization .....	0.2
Contingency Fund .....	300.0
Investment Surveys .....	2.0
Investment Guarantees .....	----
Administrative expenses .....	53.0
Administrative expenses (State Dept.) .....	3.1
Total Economic .....	\$3,072.0
Military .....	1,500.00 ***
Total .....	\$4,572.0
	(figures rounded)

\* Congress in 1961 authorized \$1.5 billion for fiscal 1963 as part of a multi-year fiscal 1963-66 authorization. The President requested only \$1.250 billion of that amount for fiscal 1963.

\*\* Unlimited funds for the investment guarantee reserves were authorized.

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U.N. Children's Fund .....	12.0
U.N. Emergency Force .....	1.32
International Atomic	
Energy Agency .....	1.2
World Health	
Organization special	
programs .....	0.5
NATO science program .....	1.53
Indus waters .....	30.0
Commission for	
Technical Cooperation	
in Africa .....	0.6
Asian productivity	
organization .....	0.2
Contingency Fund .....	300.0
Investment Surveys .....	2.0
Investment Guarantees .....	----
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Administrative expenses (State Dept.) .....	3.1
Total Economic .....	\$3,072.0
Military .....	1,500.00 ***
Total .....	\$4,572.0
	(figures rounded)

\* Congress in 1961 authorized \$1.5 billion for fiscal 1963 as part of a multi-year fiscal 1963-66 authorization. The President requested only \$1.250 billion of that amount for fiscal 1963.

\*\* Unlimited funds for the investment guarantee reserves were authorized.

\*\*\* Congress in 1961 authorized \$1.7 billion for fiscal 1963. The President requested only \$1.5 billion of this amount.



League of Women Voters of the U.S.  
1026 - 17th Street, N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.

September 7, 1962

STATEMENT IN SUPPORT OF FOREIGN ECONOMIC AID  
TO THE SENATE APPROPRIATIONS COMMITTEE  
BY MRS. WILLIAM H. WOOD, SECRETARY OF THE  
LEAGUE OF WOMEN VOTERS OF THE UNITED STATES

The League of Women Voters of the United States is a long-time supporter of U. S. participation in programs designed to aid the developing countries of the world to move toward economic growth. This support stems from the awareness and conviction of our members that this is an interrelated world -- economically and politically -- and that the United States cannot turn its back on the needs of the people of the have-not regions who are no longer willing to stand still while the more prosperous economies surge ahead.

Last spring at our biennial Convention in Minneapolis delegates representing 82 percent of our membership voted to continue to support foreign economic development programs. They phrased the study and action program they are undertaking to carry through in the next two years this way: "Continued support of U.S. policies to promote world economic development and an evaluation of opportunities to expand regional cooperation."

League members are convinced that the economic health of the United States is closely related to the economic health and political stability of other countries and that much depends on the continuation of the joint efforts of all the highly developed countries in promoting economic growth and a higher standard of living in the new nations. This is not to say that League members do not have other reasons, humanitarian reasons, for supporting aid programs. But they are well aware that the practical, matter-of-fact approach must be considered, and that the spending of tax monies must be justified on the basis of national self interest. We believe that indeed this country has a very real interest in promoting economic growth abroad as well as at home.

This has been a year of transition for United States foreign aid programs, with reorganization of the administering agency and adjustments to changing conditions in our own continent as well as in Africa and Asia.

The League believes that this program is designed to move in the right direction -- toward a long-range, coordinated and adequately financed program, with emphasis on country-by-country planning and maximum self-help. The amount of money needed to carry on existing programs and to encourage the developing nations to make great efforts to stimulate their own growth is certainly not excessive when considered as insurance against the spread of poverty and despair among the peoples of these countries. Much of the foreign aid money is seed money, and will be used to attract capital from private sources inside and outside the growing nations.

Congress last year in accepting a five-year authorization for the Development Loan Fund recognized the need for the kind of long-term, low-interest capital investment that this Fund undertakes to help finance. We hope that the full amount requested this year to keep the Fund in business, \$1.25 billion, will be appropriated. We urge you to grant the \$300 million authorized for development grants which will carry on programs of technical assistance, long-term planning and other predevelopment programs.



We believe the \$600 million authorized for the Alliance for Progress in fiscal 1963 is necessary if this program for aiding South American countries toward growth and social progress is to achieve the promise with which it was proposed and accepted.

Finally we hope that you will agree to the full request of \$50 million for the United States contribution to the United Nations expanded program of technical assistance and the Special Fund. We believe these programs have proved their worth and should be continued.

What I have said is based on studies carried on by our members in 1,150 local Leagues in all fifty states and the District of Columbia. Our membership includes 132,000 women.

Thank you for this opportunity to give you the views of the League of Women Voters.

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League of Women Voters of the U.S.  
1026 - 17th Street, N.W.  
Washington 6, D.C.

SEP 24 1962  
September 7, 1962

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League of Women Voters  
of the United States

# Memorandum

1026 17th Street, N. W. - Washington 6, D. C.

October 24, 1962

TO: Local League Presidents (copy to State Presidents)

FROM: Mrs. Robert J. Phillips

RE: The current crisis

On Tuesday, October 23, the Christian Science Monitor requested a statement from the League about the current crisis. This is the statement I made:

The League of Women Voters is of course in no position to judge all of the implications of the President's response to the Soviet Union's actions in Cuba but we feel confident that the President would not have acted as he did unless the situation were of extraordinary seriousness. We support the President's action in attempting to utilize both regional and international peacekeeping machinery in this crisis -- the consultation with the Organization of American States, his request for an emergency meeting of the United Nations Security Council and his appeal for United Nations observers to supervise the withdrawal of offensive weapons from Cuba.

It is quite possible that by the time you receive this memo there may have been a direct confrontation between the United States and the Soviet Union. We do not underestimate the gravity of the situation. As you are perfectly aware, the President is not only attempting to act through the United Nations and through the Organization of American States, but unilaterally as well.

One thing is clear. Even under the best of circumstances, the world wide crisis is likely to be before us for many months to come. Many suggestions are being and will be made on how to resolve it. In a crisis situation such as this the League inevitably asks itself "What should and can it do?" It seems to me that there are several things that we can do. For one thing, we can understand ourselves and help our communities to understand exactly what the United Nations can do in this crisis and, just as important, what it cannot do. We can understand what the Organization of American States can and cannot do. We can make it very clear that the use of one set of peacekeeping machinery does not negate the use of other methods. While we can look for opportunities or ways in which the international and regional machinery can be used and strengthened through such use, we can discipline ourselves not to suggest uses that are unrealistic and which might, in fact, serve to undermine the usefulness of the machinery itself. You have certain materials that are already in your hands. Look again at "The United Nations: The Changing Scene" and "Who Cares For Peace?" -- the first two of the League's series of FACTS & ISSUES on the United Nations which will help all of us to understand the use of the veto in the Security Council, the referral of disputes to the General Assembly under the Uniting for Peace Resolution. Next month's issue of the VOTER will be largely devoted to issues before the 17th General Assembly including especially the current crisis and negotiations on disarmament.



You will need to depend largely, however, on the mass media to keep yourselves informed and up-to-date. Negotiations may take time. They may be complex. There may be many steps in the process of arriving at a peaceful settlement of this dispute. There may be adoption by the Council or the Assembly of compromise resolutions. The United Nations may be the mediating body in a U.S.-U.S.S.R. summit meeting.

Two weeks from now the national Board will be in Washington. We may have further suggestions after the Board has re-thought League work on the Current Agenda in light of the current crisis.



*Natt Prox PK*  
NOV 26 1962

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