

Good morning

Friends, the climax in the Senate fight on the European Recovery program was reached last Friday night when the Taft amendment was voted upon. Something of history was undoubtedly made when two strong Republican Senators -- Senator Taft and Senator Vandenburg, both possible Republican nominees for the Presidency, stood ~~fasting~~ face to face and slugged it out.

Senator Taft is the acknowledged Republican congressional leader on all matters other than foreign policy. Senator Vandenburg has been the acknowledged Republican leader on foreign policy. But Senator Taft was definitely challenging Senator Vandenburg's supremacy in the foreign affairs field. Throughout the two weeks of debate on the bill, as was the case last Friday, it has been largely a Republican fight. The Democrats are lined up almost solidly behind the program as recommended by President Truman and as supported by Senator Vandenburg. The chisms within the Republican Party, however, ~~has~~ run deep. Senator Taft's amendment was the dividing line. With Senator Taft 22 Republican Senators voted. With Senator Vandenburg 23 Republican Senators voted. So you see the division of support for the two on this proposition was equally divided in the Senate. The overwhelming Democratic support given Senator Vandenburg, however, caused Senator Taft's amendment to be defeated by a decisive 56 to 31 vote.

Senator Taft's amendment would have reduced the amount of the bill from \$5,300,000,000 for next year to \$4,000,000,000. The question of this reduction goes to the very basic concept of the program, and that is that this is an economic recovery program, not just another European relief bill.

As I see it, we must either spend enough to do the job or not do it at all. It is plainly a question to do it or not to do it. Now I am not in a position to know whether 4 billion dollars or 5 billion 300 million dollars is necessary, and I doubt if Senator Taft knows.

perhaps neither
The Senate Committee ~~doesn't know~~, nor does the Administration ^{*knows*}. However, the Administration has made the most exhaustive studies and analyses of the European situation and the Senate Committee has held weeks ^{*a*} and months of hearing and study, after many of its members personally inspected conditions in Europe. The Administration and the Senate Committee under the leadership of Senator Vandenburg, after reducing and reducing estimates, have agreed that the 5 billion 300 million figure is the very minimum which will guarantee an effective program.

Let us take a look at prevailing European situation which it is hoped this program will relieve. Before the War Western Europe was one of the great industrial workshops of the world. France, Italy, Great Britain, Germany, Holland, Belgium exported their products to

all parts of the world and in turn bought food, machinery and raw materials from all parts of the world. They traded and exchanged with the tropics, the temperate and cold zones on both sides of the equator.

In that pattern, which was an important part of world civilization, the United States was ^{significant partner,} ~~an important member.~~ Two-thirds of our own exports went to western Europe and from western Europe we bought many things that our people either needed or desired. From us they bought automobiles, they bought tobacco, they bought bread and meat, and refrigerators and tools. ^{to our mutual advantage,} ~~Yes,~~ Western Europe was one of the most highly civilized areas of the world. Its standard of living, while not equalling that in the United States, far surpassed that of any other continent; education, the arts and the sciences thrived.

Then came the War with its vast destruction. I have seen much of that destruction; in fact, I actually saw some of the towns ^{obliterated} ~~leveled~~ by ^{our own bombs & shells.} ~~the awful destruction of war.~~ ~~The~~ GI's who were in Europe know full well the extent of that destruction; factories, power plants, oil refineries, railroads, freight cars, barges, machines, buildings, bridges, tools—broken, twisted, devastated. On top of that their soil was impoverished by ~~the~~ overcropping ~~for~~ for wartime food. ~~And on top of that Western Europe had their valuables taken, displaced.~~ Invaded by Germany, their paper money became of questionable value because ^{and an invading occupying power was printing it in enormous quantities.} ~~the~~ French Frank, for instance, was printed for a long time by Germany. Once Germany was driven out, who ^{would prize very highly} ~~wanted too badly~~ the French Frank

when no one knew the extent of the countless millions that had been printed by an invading force. Not only in France, but in other occupied areas monetary currency lost ^{much of its} value. People ^{preferred a} ~~had rather have~~ something material, a piece of cloth, a piece of land, a tool or a piece of machinery, some food. So inflation ran wild.

Immediately upon driving the Germans out, the United States began to give relief. We were giving them food and clothing, but not the things they needed to produce for themselves. Instead of giving them a cow, we were giving them milk, figuratively speaking. On top of this, political wrangling set in. The people of the liberated nations were overjoyed when the forces of the ~~democratic~~ allies freed them. They had hoped for much from this victory. ^{But} Instead of peace and tranquility, the victorious Allies have fallen to dangerous strife between themselves - Russia on one side and the United States and the other victorious nations on the other.

So ~~what has been the situation in Europe?~~ The devastation has ~~continued~~, the whole people ^{of Western Europe} ~~-- over~~ ^{more than} two hundred million of them ^{remain} ~~-- on the~~ brink of starvation. ^{Instead of material improvement of their lot,} They got continued hunger, continued cold, continued inflation, continued living in warwrecked houses. As if this was not enough, there was the horrible winter of 1947 with floods and freezing, and ^{then} last summer the worst ~~drouth~~ drouth in more than 100 years. The physical strength of the people ~~were~~ was ending, their hopes were sagging, their misery -- already more than 8 years old -- was but

compounded. It was plain to see that people who were so long deprived of the opportunity to work, and as a result of their work, to get food and shelter for themselves and children, — People for whom no hope brightened were in danger of turning to any avenue for change. There was danger of their surrendering the political liberties which gave birth to our own, just as the German people ~~did~~ in desperation at the bottom of their depression in the early 1930's, ^{turned to and followed} ~~when~~ Hitler, ~~rose to~~ ~~power.~~ The Communists were gaining favor. They came dangerously near taking over in France and are even now in danger of taking over in Italy.

It was against this background that the United States started to move, and move with something more effective than another relief bill. The purpose of this ^{Recovery} ~~program~~ program is to give to the peoples of Western Europe the things they must have to get going again. Let us compare ~~the~~ it roughly with our own desperate situation at the bottom of the depression in the early 1930's. No recovery could be had, ^{then} ~~merely~~ by continuing soup kitchens and doles. What the United States finally had to do ~~then~~ was to get the wheels of production going again, get ~~the~~ men and women into jobs where they could work and earn something and produce something, ^{then} changing what they produced in excess with the other fellow for what he produced, and start the lifeblood of our complex economy flowing once more.

Perhaps this is an over simplification, but it is basically what

what needs to be done in Europe, except that they do not have the tools with which to work. The job cannot be done cheaply, and if we try it, it will be just another relief program. There is nothing we can do, however, ^{that will be effective} unless the European nations cooperate not only with us but with themselves. ^{There are hopeful signs of this. Indeed,} Five of those nations have just signed a compact of political and economic significance, the contents of which you will soon know.

The overall purpose of the program is peace, world peace. ~~And~~ Peace is something more than simply a cessation of shooting and bombing. [§] Peace, ^{+ condition in which} genuine peace, is a time ^{when} men and women everywhere can devote their energy to doing ~~the~~ things for the betterment of ~~the~~ themselves and humanity, increasing their standard of living, their education and building clean, efficient and free governments, ~~Yes, and~~ building all upon the dignity of man, ^{increasing} the value of ~~the~~ human life, rather than devoting their energy to the means of destroying mankind, ^{and his aspirations to walk in the image of his creator}
