MEMORANDUM FOR MR. RICHARD N. NEUSTADT
The White House

March 31, 1952

Subject: Draft of the President's Speech at the
International Development Conference, April 8, 1952.

Jack Bingham has looked this over. Obviously, it does not
contain any new or startling statement of policy.

I do not think N34 has been adequately presented. But the
beginning of the Point 4 aspects of the speech on Page 3 opens the
way for Mutual Security with the reference to the "comprehensive
plan to carry out our world policy." On Page 8, Mutual Security
discussion could go into detail.

[Signature]
Paul Duncan
Director, Public Affairs
Technical Cooperation Administration

Enclosure:
Original & 2 copies of
Draft of the President’s
Speech.
First Draft for President
International Development Conference, April 8, 1952.

Henry Gariland Bennett came from the soil. And no matter how far he traveled, he never left it. His convictions were rooted in the simple, enduring truth that the strength and vitality of a people rests on the soil and their wise use of the soil.

Henry Bennett carried two great concepts into the Point Four program which have left an indelible imprint on the pattern of our technical cooperation with other nations.

First, he knew that the fight for progress in the underdeveloped areas of the world must start with the fight against hunger and disease and ignorance. He knew that independence and self-reliance cannot grow where the people expend their major energies in a daily struggle for just enough food to live on. His fight began with the filling of basic human needs. For he knew that with adequate food and fundamental health protection come greater vitality and the impetus for a people to move forward.

And second, Henry Bennett was armed with a steadfast faith in his fellow man. He had an instinctive understanding of human yearnings and devoted his life to helping in the fulfillment of those yearnings. He had confidence in the ability of people to advance through their own efforts if they were not denied the tools of opportunity.

Like
Like another great American educator—Booker T. Washington—he knew that lasting human advancement must come from within people themselves, growing out of their own skills and resources and aspirations.

Booker T. Washington knew that a people cannot be suddenly and arbitrarily transplanted into a new civilization. Henry Bennett knew that a modern technological civilization cannot as suddenly be transplanted among an unprepared and untrained people.

Henry Bennett's vision reached to the mountain-tops, but his feet were planted firmly on the ground. He knew that man lives not by bread alone—but he knew too that the full life must start with a full stomach.

In perhaps his last statement on the Point Four program, Dr. Bennett expressed again his belief in Point Four as a "simple, down-to-earth, self-help program" operating primarily in the fields of food, health, and basic education.

"This has been my consistent position and my conviction," he said, "and I must be faithful to it."

Henry Garland Bennett was faithful—to the very last. As we carry forward the work of technical cooperation—the work for which quite literally he gave his life—we too must remain faithful.

* * *
Our chief concern at this conference is the economic and social development of the underdeveloped areas of the world—which has come to be known as the Point Four program. We can best keep our perspective in examining Point Four and its works if we look at the entire program for peace and freedom of which Point Four is an essential element.

You will recall that in 1949—when America first offered to share with the world her knowledge and technical skill—I laid out four major courses of action. Point Four derives its name from the fact that it is the fourth of the points in this comprehensive plan to carry out our world policy for building and preserving the peace. All of the parts must be fitted together and given their proper place—if the whole is to form a realistic, workable plan.

First, we pledged unfaltering support to the United Nations and its related agencies. We have given this unfaltering support. We have backed the United Nations and its principles with the most direct action possible—by force of arms in Korea. We have given time, effort and funds in working with the United Nations and its agencies for trade, labor relations, health, education, the extension of basic human rights, and in other fields. We shall continue diligently to search for ways to strengthen the authority and increase the effectiveness of the United Nations.

Second,
Second, we asserted our intention to continue the program for world economic recovery. We have carried almost to completion the obligations that Congress authorized our Government to assume for helping to rebuild the war-ravaged economies of other nations.

Currencies have been stabilized and credit restored. Factories have been rebuilt. Fields have been restored to productivity. Transportation systems have been rebuilt and are carrying record tonnages.

In Western Europe, where aid through the Economic Cooperation Administration has had its major application, industrial production is 35 percent above production before World War II. Steel production is up 11 million metric tons over 1938. The output of electric power has doubled. Farm production is up 12 percent over pre-war levels, with a steady rise in the yield of bread and coarse grains, meat and dairy products, and other commodities.

Third, we declared our intention to press forward in strengthening the freedom-loving nations against the dangers of aggression. Through the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, we are moving steadily to build up the collective might that will free the community of peaceful nations from the threat of attack.

The military program for this year will provide a powerful defense force, welded into an effective fighting team.
team. By the end of 1952 the NATO countries will provide
50 divisions, together with aircraft and naval units.
Important forces will be added during the coming summer
from the new NATO members—Greece and Turkey. The cost to
us of helping build this North Atlantic force is about one-eighth of what it would cost to arm an equivalent American
force.

And fourth, we set the course for what I called in
1949 a "bold new program" to make our scientific knowledge
and our industrial and engineering skills available for
the improvement and growth of the under-developed areas of
the world. This program has become known as Point 4.

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Point Four is a bold new program as we conceive it and
undertake it today. But the idea is at least as old as the
Sermon on the Mount.

It has been practiced by our religious missionaries
for more than a hundred years. It is a familiar story to
us in the United States.

How do you think this country was developed?

Early American settlers came to the New World seeking
religious and economic freedom, but their emigration was
financed by stock companies looking for a return on business
investments.

The Louisiana Purchase was financed in Holland.

During the 1850's British and Scottish capital helped
develop
develop American railroads and mining and milling industries. In the 1870's British money developed the cattle empires of the Southwest and British capital launched electric power development in the Southeast. Steelmakers from Scotland, Sweden and England brought capital and knowledge into the development of the Southeast's coal and iron industry.

As a young, undeveloped nation we had our own share of technical assistance.

Woodrow Wilson foresaw that the tides of commerce would bring not only exchange of goods but "a commerce of intelligence, of thought and sympathy." Wilson's words were temporarily forgotten. But through the Good Neighbor Policy, Lend-Lease, UNRRA, and the Marshall Plan the average American has finally learned the lesson of helping himself by helping others to help themselves.

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Measured against the vast need in the underdeveloped areas of the earth—measured against the things that remain to be done, Point Four has a back-breaking job ahead. We would be foolish to under-estimate that job.

But we can draw encouragement and new energy from the progress made during the last year and a half.

Seven hundred American technicians from USA alone are now at work on Point Four programs in 33 countries over the world.
world. More than 10,000 nationals of these countries are working with our American technicians. Some 350 other nationals are in the United States for technical training, so that they can return to their own countries and take up the task of teaching their people.

Because inadequate food supplies and the lack of schools and public health measures are common to many underdeveloped areas, Point Four has concentrated its first energies on agriculture, health and basic education. But each area presents its own problems, and even within these broad fields there is concentration and adaptation to attack the critical needs of each country.

In Costa Rica, work has been concentrated among operators of small farms, who are being taught to diversify their crops and use insecticides and fertilizers, contour planting, erosion control, and other conservation measures.

In Liberia, TCA effort has been directed chiefly to health and sanitation measures to stamp out eradicable diseases.

The building of a balanced, diversified economy does not confine itself to these basic fields. Technical assistance
assistance is also being given on government administration, roads and transportation, industrial development, mining and mineral surveys, housing, and social services.

One measure of the success of Point Four is the support and participation it has aroused among the countries receiving technical assistance.

Liberia thinks so well of Point Four that it devotes 20 percent of its revenues to technical cooperation programs.

Chile now puts up $7 for cooperative health work to every dollar provided by the United States. When the health program was started in Chile in 1942, the Chilean Government contributed no funds.

Parallel and supporting programs for technical cooperation are being continued by other agencies of the United States government.

Among these programs are EDA's work in agricultural and industrial techniques; rehabilitation programs in the Philippines and Japan; exchange of technical and scientific information under the Smith-Mundt Act, and exchange of teachers and students under the Fulbright Act.

It is our policy wherever practical to carry out technical cooperation through the United Nations and its specialized agencies, and through the Organization of American States. These activities have great psychological value for the participating nations and help strengthen the international organizations.
For example, in Libya TCA is helping furnish supplies for a desperately-needed technical school. UNICEF is helping furnish teachers. TCA and the UN Food and Agricultural Organization are working together on locust control in the Middle East.

TCA works closely with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development and with the Export-Import Bank of the United States. The Point Four role is to help other governments in the initial stages of projects which may later be suitable for financing by one of these great lending institutions.

From the beginning it has been our policy to encourage the flow of private capital, from local as well as United States sources, into productive enterprise in the under-developed areas.

We are doing this by helping the countries to survey their resources and to make known opportunities for private investment, and by training local nationals to develop small industries which can be financed from local capital. Most important of all, we are helping to create the political and economic stability which will attract private investors.

This has also been the primary objective of the International Development Advisory Board and its chairman, Mr. Eric Johnston, who is now actively engaged in alerting private
private enterprise to its obligations and opportunities under Point Four.

All these efforts have a common objective: to help the peoples of the underdeveloped areas--through their own efforts--to improve their standard of living and raise the level of their economies.

* * *

Point Four has been called humanitarian--idealistic. If Point Four is idealism, it is hard-headed, practical idealism.

There are sound economic reasons behind Point Four. We know that with rising national income and greater industrial activity, other nations become better customers for United States products and commodities. They create markets for American businessmen and jobs for American workers.

But beyond considerations of self-interest there are underlying motives for Point Four--motives imbedded deep in our American democratic traditions and deep in the nature of man.

The peoples of the underdeveloped areas of the world--in Asia, in Africa and the Middle East, in Latin America--are stirring and awakening after centuries of impotence and subjection to outside domination. They were largely passed over by the effects of the Industrial Revolution and the political revolutions of France and America. They know almost
almost nothing of the vast strides forward in technology and scientific achievement, the assertion of political and human rights, the tremendous social progress of the past 200 years.

Even the most commonplace measures we take for health and sanitation are unknown to millions of them. Hundreds of millions cannot read or write and have never known the use of the ballot.

The billion human souls who live in these underdeveloped areas are now beginning to awaken to the potentialities of life in the 20th Century. Many of them have gained national independence. They are learning that hunger, disease and ignorance need not be their everlasting heritage.

And we can be sure that during the second half of our century, they will assert their right to a fair share of the earth's resources and the benefits of man's technological advances.

It is in the tradition and the history of America that we help them to achieve these goals.

In Point Four we have created the instrumentality and the initiative to help them.

Point Four provides not only the means for mechanical and material advancement. It provides the means for demonstrating the social and spiritual values which are the deep strength of the democratic way.
Point Four is the vehicle on which scientific knowledge, technical inventions and material progress become traveling companions with our ideals, our hopes and aspirations for achieving real brotherhood among men.

* * *

Point Four is not a product of our defense effort. It is not a substitute for the massive defense measures we are taking. But Point Four is no less a weapon of defense. And in the long pull, I believe we will find Point Four the heart of our successful relations with other nations and the foundation of the structure of lasting peace.

Point Four is a long-range program. But there are urgencies to the need for prompt technical assistance in some areas.

The very countries where the people are most in need of technical assistance to raise low standards of living are the countries where Communist infiltration and subversion are most active.

The United States cannot afford to let the free countries of Asia and the Middle East, to say nothing of Latin America, fall under Communist domination. The rest of the free world would then be fatally lacking in raw materials and manpower.

We can be sure that the Communist powers will exact every
every effort and use every strategy to gain control in those areas. Where military aggression is not practical, they will step up the campaign of subversion and propaganda.

The situation in India, in Iran, in the Arab States is explosive. Political combustibles have been added to ancient human and economic problems.

India is beset by famine and drought at the very time she is staking her natural resources, her foreign trade balance, her credit and private savings in a 5-year program to wipe out the hunger that has drained India's strength for centuries. The additional burden of natural calamity may cause a breakdown in India's drive for successful democratic self-rule.

In Iran, natural and economic problems are aggravated by political tension.

The ancient and strategic Arab lands—predominantly agricultural and pastoral—are troubled by political unrest, undeveloped resources, artificial barriers to trade, and an appallingy low standard of living. Nearly a million Arab refugees from Palestine press an additional burden upon the economies of the Arab States.

Point Four cooperation and assistance must be stepped up to show real results.
and reassure the people of these countries that democracy
can give them bread as well as a free ballot.

In these areas, Point Four must move swiftly and
effectively--not only in the interest of mutual security--
but to protect itself. There will be no use building a shield
against Communist aggression through our defense programs if
the area behind the shield is left vulnerable to subversion
from within.

We must demonstrate that Point Four has the strength,
the resilience, and the vision to meet this challenge with
speed and determination as we move steadily and inexorably
toward our ultimate goal.

That goal, as we know, is to place the tools of opportunity
in the hands of the people themselves, to help them take their
rightful place as strong, self-reliant, democratic members
of the family of nations--respected by themselves and all
nations.