Again we face exactly those conditions stated by President Franklin Roosevelt. Declaring Communist arms and munitions to be contraband in our hemisphere is certainly "not a threat against any nation." It certainly is an essential step of "preparation for continental defense." Certainly the "grave danger" is apparent from the example of Cuba and the Communist Manifesto of 1960, plus Nikita Khrushchev's speech of January 6, 1961. These openly declared active Soviet Bloc support of "wars of liberation" and uprisings to overthrow non-Communist governments.

Another F. D. R. precedent was his declaration of the "Defensive Waters" zone around the Americas in which he declared that the U. S. Navy would "protect all merchant ships -- not only American ships, but ships of any flag." This message also was long prior to our entrance into World War II, being announced on September 3, 1940. It set the precedent that we would exercise control "in the waters which we deem necessary for our defense." It is now obviously necessary to our defense, and to the defense of our Latin neighbors to whom we are treaty bound, to exclude arms and munitions of Communist origin from the waters around our continent.

Concepts of International Law Support a "Declaration of Contraband"

As always in the days of the decline of resolute U. S. action since World War II, many will fear the reaction of "world opinion" if the United States takes a firm stand against the introduction of Communist power into the Americas.

Sincere opinion everywhere really respects strength and resolution, and despises weakness which attempts to buy popularity by appeasement or currying favor. By failing to invoke the Monroe Doctrine at the outset, we have shown a weakness strange to our nation's principles in lacking the courage to be forthright.

The United States is in the strongest possible position to carry through a "Declaration of Contraband" in the present situation. It is completely removed from the character of armed intervention or invasion. It will not operate inside the sovereign territory of any country. It does not attempt to coerce or threaten to interfere in the internal affairs of any Latin American nation. It should be popular with all who sincerely desire peace, and who consider arms and munitions to be a threat to peace. It is strictly a quarantine measure.

This policy would be merely a continuation of the most durable tradition in American diplomacy -- the Monroe Doctrine. This Doctrine served successfully in the 19th Century to stamp out monarchial reaction and preserve the independence of all American states. It must again be applied to protect the continent against Communist invasion.

The concept of a "Declaration of Contraband" can be much more peaceful in nature than the concept of "Blockade." To effect a blockade, we would have to ring Cuba with warships. This would be denounced as "aggressive" and we would be pictured as the big bully threatening the small island of Cuba and impliedly imposing the threat of starvation. With a blockade the right of visit and search can be exercised only in the immediate area of the blockade. A declaration of contraband can be enforced by visit and search anywhere on the high seas.

Contraband is a centuries older and more fundamental concept in international law than blockade. It was recognized long prior to the time of the development of such ships as are required to make the maintenance of an effective blockade possible. The contraband concept was well developed as early as 1589, according to Charles Cheney Hyde's "Treatise on International Law," and had been recognized by the law of nations for many centuries.

This concept is based on the first law of nature -- which is also the most fundamental principle of international law: self-preservation. In the past no nation with sufficient seapower permitted an enemy bent on destroying it to use the seas for carriage of arms and munitions to carry out this purpose.

Thus were set the precedents of international law on contraband. If the United States permits the Soviet Bloc to use the seas to build up a stockpile of arms and munitions to bring to our own continent their war of conquest, we will be the first nation which had the power to prevent preparations for its own destruction, but failed to do so.

Rather than set such a suididal precedent, would it not be better to modernize the concept of a "Declaration of Contraband" to meet the needs of the type of war the Soviet Bloc is now waging against us?

Only one technicality stands in the way. In ages past, declarations of contraband, with the attendant right of visit and search of vessels for enforcement, were recognized only if a state of "belligerency" existed. Actually, we could meet even this tenuous technicality inherited from centuries long past, by a realistic recognition of the present de facto state of belligerency. The Communists have forced on us their new type of "war called peace." The Moscow Communist Manifesto of November-December 1960 and Khrushchev's speech of January 6, 1961 certainly amount to creation of a state of belligerency aimed at the destruction of all non-Communist governments throughout the world as well as in the Americas.

More than half a year before the U. S. entered World War II, on May 27, 1941, President Franklin Roosevelt declared that:

> "From the point of view of strict naval and military necessity, we shall give every possible assistance to Britain and to all who . . . are resisting Hitlerism or its equivalent . . . our military and naval technicians . . . with me will work out and put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed."

Now we ourselves and our neighbors to our South are compelled to resist the "equivalent of Hitlerism" in its aggressive conquest of the world. Will our present President be reluctant "to do what must be done," to meet the naval and military necessity of defending our continent from aggression, and to "put into effect such new and additional safeguards as may be needed?"

Let us declare Communist instruments of war and aggression to be contraband in the Western Hemisphere. Let us create an invulnerable peace zone for the Americas.