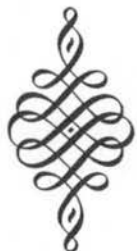


"REAPING THE RED WHIRLWIND"

An Address

By HAROLD E. STASSEN



CBS Broadcast



From portrait by Boris Chaliapin for TIME

"Reaping The Red Whirlwind"

By HAROLD E. STASSEN

My fellow citizens:

For the next few minutes I should like to talk to you earnestly and straight from the shoulder about the position of the American people in the world today.

Our country is in grave danger. It is in greater danger today than at any time in the last fifty years.

We face across the world an unfriendly power with far greater military strength than was possessed by either Hitler or the Kaiser.

It is an unfriendly power which in five years of cold war has established its dictatorships over one-third of all of the peoples of the world . . . in Poland, Eastern Germany, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, North Korea, and China. It is an unfriendly power which behind its Kremlin walls undoubtedly made the decision which sent the North Korean aggressors slashing southward through the Republic of Korea. It is an unfriendly power which has active fifth column agents throughout the world. It is an unfriendly power under a leadership which follows an ideology that might makes right, that man is meant to be dominated by other men, and that there is no God.

For five years that unfriendly power has been practicing a ruthless, vicious imperialism toward other peoples and other

nations more destructive to their liberties, more degrading to their dignity, more crushing to their independence, more repressive of their worship, and more devastating to their standard of living, than any other imperialism in all history.

We face this unfriendly power with our own country under an executive administration which during those same five years has made a series of tragic major mistakes in policy. These men with responsibilities for our country's administration have been almost unbelievably confused and inefficient. They have been wasteful and neglectful. Thus they have added to the strength of this foreign opposition and have sadly weakened our own preparedness.

This administration of our country has sown so many pink seeds that now the American people must reap a red whirlwind.

It is with reluctance that I use such strong words, but I believe that a correct appraisal by the people of their executive leadership is an essential prelude to wise national action. And I do believe that history will adjudge our country's administration in these five years to be one of the most incompetent in our nation's lifetime.

Tonight is not the moment to dwell in either anger or disappointment upon the familiar story of how we got into this perilous position. Our thoughts must be concentrated on how we move forward from here to national security and a brighter prospect of lasting peace.

It is late, but not too late. I am completely confident that the United States can and will win through. We can and will win through not only to preserve our own safety and freedom but to expand the freedom and progress of all mankind. But to do so we must recognize the basic facts and then move with that firm courage and unshakeable determination of which our great free people are capable. We must especially realize that the situation calls for a quality of leadership in Congress such as ordinarily is not required.

We should all observe that Congress as a whole has been

more right these last five years than has the executive administration. Therefore, public opinion and the press should encourage Congress to exercise increasing leadership. The situation requires statesmanship of a high order in Congress. The statesmen are there and they are beginning to respond.

In a democracy there is a normal tendency to criticize, even belittle the legislative branch of government, which necessarily moves somewhat more slowly and always includes a few members of very questionable judgment; and at the same time a tendency to take the side of the executive branch against the legislative branch. In normal circumstances, such tendencies are understandable. But I submit that under the circumstances which our country faces, the people and the press would do well to look to Congress for increasing leadership. What are we to expect of that leadership? On what are its policies to be based?

First of all, the only safe basis for our future policy is to conclude that the ruthless rulers in the Kremlin have world domination as their grim fixed objective; that they seek to realize that objective through bringing all other nations under national Communist dictatorships, with each of these dictators in turn subordinate to the central dictatorship in Moscow; and that they have a program and plan to carry out that objective.

No one can conclusively prove that that is their objective. But certainly the actions of the Politburo in these last five years, and the writings of Stalin and Lenin, and their excessive armament program, point unmistakably in that direction. Certainly also, their actions in these last five years reveal no sincere desire for peace and progress. Therefore, we cannot base our American policy on any other concept of Kremlin policy.

It would further appear that their program for pushing toward this objective may employ one or more of the following four sets of action.

First, the conquering of other nations one by one, moving

first on the weakest, and using methods of infiltration, of civil war, of external pressure, and of armed invasion.

Second, the continuous embroiling of the major free nations of the world, including the United States, in minor wars at distant difficult points to tire and weaken us and bleed us white.

Third, an effort by repeated threats of aggression to overstretch the American economy so as to cause an economic crash and chaos and weakness in this center of the free world.

Fourth, a direct surprise attack upon the United States as the strongest opposing power, by land through Alaska, by air through the northland, by sea through submarines, and by subversion, sabotage and Communist terrorism.

If this analysis is correct, then America must develop policies to meet any one of these four alternatives. In addition we should include some positive actions and programs of our own.

Clearly we cannot permit the other nations of the world to be picked off one at a time with the weakest and ripest falling first. With the callous willingness to spend human lives which characterizes the Kremlin's policies, the satellite nations of the Communist dictatorship can overrun almost any nation on which they border, unless the United States throws its power, through the United Nations, into the balance.

But if, following Korea, the Kremlin directs an attack of the Chinese Communists down into Indo-China or into Burma, or of the Bulgarian Communists into Greece or into Turkey, or of the East German and Polish Communists into Western Germany, or of the Hungarian Communists into Austria, or orders other similar moves; and if the United States attempts to meet each of those aggressions where they occur; our armed strength will be dissipated and spread out in jungles and mountains and valleys in distant points of the world. Our young men will die facing satellite troops of which there will be no end in numbers, and we will become

a giant pinned to the earth by our own errors of policy, weakened and laid open to direct assault.

Do not these two alternative facts mean that it must be American policy that if further aggressions occur at any point in the world by these Communist imperialist forces, we shall hold the Kremlin strictly responsible? Must it not be our policy to ask the United Nations Assembly to fix that responsibility upon the Kremlin? Should we not make it clear that an attack in Indo-China, or Burma, or Greece, or Turkey, or Germany, or Austria, will not simply mean that war comes to Indo-China, or Burma, or Greece, or Turkey, or Germany, or Austria, but will mean that war will come to Moscow, to the Urals, and to the Ukraine? Can the situation be thought through on any other basis? And if this is the logical conclusion, should we not then make it plain well in advance? Should not Congress declare it to be, by appropriate resolution, the policy of the United States of America, in its determined desire for world peace and justice and freedom? Should not this policy be then laid before the United Nations Assembly for approval? I believe and urge that this should be done.

Let me make it clear that I definitely am not proposing that the United States start a "preventive war." But I am saying that we should set forth with unmistakable clarity that if the Communist leaders do in fact start World War III by aggression through their satellites and puppets, we and our associates in the United Nations intend to finish it, in due time, against the Kremlin itself.

To reemphasize this analysis let me state it this way. Uncle Sam is a world champion fighter when he is aroused, when he understands the necessity of the fight, and when he is prepared. We must not permit Uncle Sam to be chopped down finger by finger, arm by arm, by preliminary fights for which he is not prepared. If the persistent ruthless actions of others make a world fight unavoidable, a ready, alert, wise Uncle Sam must move directly to the main fight!

Once this broad basic policy is established our military leadership will know how to prepare and for what. It should be said that the repeated statements of policy by the State Department and the President that we would not defend Korea and Formosa and the eleventh-hour reversal of that policy, placed our military in a very, very difficult position. It is to the credit of General Douglas MacArthur and to the everlasting credit of each and every soldier, sailor, airman, and marine in the Korean war, that they are discharging, as well as they are, the sudden responsibility placed upon them by the Administration's belated reversal of policy.

Under this vital policy America must be prepared to bring war directly to the centers of Communist power if they persist in starting World War III through satellite aggression. America must be prepared to defend itself against a direct assault, including a civilian defense program such as England had in World War II. America must assist in arming the free and peace-desiring nations for their joint defense, provided they move decisively and effectively to arm themselves. To do these essentials will require a total of thirty-five billion dollars or more per year for a number of years. Thus we must turn our attention to how we can do this job and yet not so over-extend or damage our own economy as to cause our own crash and failure even if war does not come. In other words we must be prepared to fight a world war and also be prepared to remain sound and strong at home if no war comes! To do this is increasingly difficult because of the inflationary policies that have been followed by the Administration these past five years. The war in Korea has had such upsetting effects upon our prices and our economy at home because America was already in an inflationary situation. Thus it is absolutely essential that as we move into this military program, we must also move upon the financial and economic policies that go with it. Otherwise we will stretch our economy so thin that the Communists will need do no more than keep us under such intense economic pressure

for a period of years and we will crash after a mad inflation.

The medicine to cure this fever of inflation is not a pleasant medicine to take. It is not a popular medicine to prescribe. Inflation itself is a political coward's method of meeting financial problems. But inflation is a disease that brings in its wake a pernicious anemia in any economic system.

These then are the steps America must take as we move in this crucial armament program.

We must cut down on non-defense federal spending by at least four billion dollars per year, and preferably by as much as six billion dollars per year. We must cut down on non-defense state and local spending by at least one billion dollars per year. These cuts, of course, can only be made by real reductions in the hand-outs of government and in other activities which may be desirable but are not essential under these conditions.

The hard facts of the rearmament requirements must cause a reevaluation of all other programs of our government and of friendly governments as well. For example, it will mean that the United States will be buying such quantities of rubber and tin and other supplies from the British sterling area and from other nations, that the dollar-gap question of the Marshall plan is entirely changed.

The United States must not attempt to carry on government as usual, nor Marshall Plan as usual, nor pork barrel as usual, nor even services as usual during these next crucial years while priority is given to adequate rearming of ourselves and our friendly associates in the United Nations.

The government must also increase taxes of all types upon everyone to raise a minimum additional ten billion dollars per year.

The government must follow through and reinstate controls over the credit systems of our country, keeping a steady check on installment credit and shrinking to an appropriate degree all forms of credit which add to the inflationary pressures.

Finally, we must place into readiness a system for allocations, price and wage ceilings, and rationing; using it only when needed; but definitely having it promptly and completely set up and ready to go.

Such a system will be adopted with understandable reluctance because of the distastefulness of controls to the American people and because of lack of confidence in the Administration and fear that clumsy administration will seriously handicap production and that the controls might also be used for Socialist purposes because of the many Socialist schemes that have been proposed by the Administration in these last years.

The public and the Congress should insist that these controls be administered by a special emergency agency under an executive, not in politics, confirmed by the Senate, who has the confidence of both political parties, who has business management, and labor, and agriculture and excellent qualifications to administer these key economic mobilization controls and regulations.

Congress must also place time limits upon the control legislation and should provide that the controls can be lifted in whole or in part by Congressional resolution to further prevent the President from abusing the power.

The experience of our country in both World Wars shows that an economy can be mobilized effectively only if the mobilization program is in the hands of a central co-ordinated agency, and that it depends so much upon the ability of the men in charge and upon the confidence placed in them. Thus Congress should rise up and refuse to permit these emergency powers to be scattered among the present politically appointed members of the Cabinet, or any of the other present members of the Administration who have been involved in these weakening internal feuds and errors of basic policy.

The people of the United States have not received their

money's worth from the fifty billions spent for defense in the past four years.

The public and the Congress should insist that a top caliber man, not in politics, be brought into the administration to take charge of armament production. Only in that way will the American people get their money's worth for the increased billions which now must be spent. Far more important, only in that way will the job be done. Only in that way will our fighting men have the armament they need.

Coupled with these military and economic policies we must embark upon a major offensive in the Cold War. There is an understandable tendency to shift all attention right now to the Korean War. But we must not forget that one of the reasons that we are engaged in this Korean War today is the Administration's failure to wage the Cold War successfully. It must become increasingly clear to the many millions of peoples of the world on both sides of the Iron Curtain that it is the sincere objective of America and of the United Nations to advance their standards of living; to recognize their human dignity and their rights regardless of color; and to expand their individual freedom. This requires the early initiation of a comprehensive Asiatic Economic Program, parallel to the Marshall Plan, and yet different because of the different conditions in Asia.

It should involve only a small fraction of the amount of money spent on the Marshall Plan, both because we do not have the resources to spend more and because the non-industrial economy of Asia has different and lesser needs in terms of dollars.

In many instances American surpluses can materially assist in Asia. As one specific example, India today needs wheat. India has needed wheat badly for the past ten months. India has sought thirty-six million bushels of surplus wheat from America. America has over three hundred million bushels of surplus wheat on hand. Yet America has not shipped any of this surplus wheat to India. This is an inex-

cusable shortcoming in American action. American surplus wheat should be promptly shipped. In fact, America can quite likely receive valuable raw materials, in future years, useful to our production and to our stockpiles, in repayment.

Initiative in developing an economic program for Asia should come from leaders of Asia itself. Such men as Pandit Nehru and Liaquat Ali Khan and Carlos Romulo and Elpidio Quirino should be encouraged to work out an economic plan for Asia, and under their leadership, America and the United Nations should move upon a far-reaching Asiatic economic advance. Such action has been requested by Congress in the Mutual Defense Assistance Act, but the State Department has not acted.

America should constantly point out the imperialistic aims and evil objectives of the Soviet Union and contrast this with new deeds of a non-imperialistic, modern, enlightened approach of the Western world to Asia.

Assistance and encouragement should be given to all of those throughout the world who wish to advance the cause of freedom, including those millions within the countries now under Communist dictatorships. This part of our program should best be characterized as the front line of our offensive in the Cold War. It should be placed under able leadership of high caliber, preferably someone who has had successful experience in a position of leadership in the Office of Strategic Services during World War II. The methods and details cannot be spelled out in advance, but if able men are given the responsibility and the resources to conduct a Cold War offensive, I am confident of excellent results.

We should always remember that a Cold War can only be won with hot ideas!

As these major policies unfold consistent efforts should be made to have Great Britain and France and India and other members of the United Nations move with us. One of the most difficult problems in this regard is the question of the application of the Communist Chinese government for

the seat in the United Nations. Clearly this application should not be granted. But Great Britain and India have voted for it. It would appear wise to ask Great Britain and India to join with us in the United Nations for the appointment of a special commission to go to China and investigate the application. The seat carries with it a veto power and thus it is a situation without precedent. Thorough inquiry should be made before passing on the application as to whether or not the applicant government is under the complete domination of another power and as to its recognition of its international obligations and of the fundamental human rights of its own people. This commission should also observe the Manchurian-Korean border and the Chinese-Indo-China border to determine whether the Chinese are violating the United Nations Charter.

If such a United Nations Commission is refused entry to China, all nations will then have clear ground for rejecting the application for the veto seat. If entry is permitted, the resulting period of investigation will constructively ease the present tension and may well result, through the good offices of Nehru and others, in a trend toward the better in the entire confused Asiatic scene.

A further United Nations request should be issued to its Korean Commission and to the United Nations Commander, General MacArthur, to assemble and report all information bearing upon any assistance given, following the cease fire order, to the invading North Korean forces by any member of the United Nations.

Through it all we must exercise moral leadership in keeping with our fundamental philosophy and the teachings of our great religions. We must express a continuous willingness to meet in conference at any time, seeking the avenues for true peace. We must make it clear that our experiences have been such that we will not accept mere words or documents or treaties as assurances of peaceful intentions; but that we will look for actions that will definitely reduce the tensions

of war, increase the freedoms and independence of people, and move toward a just and lasting peace. We must clearly indicate that we are not seeking to freeze a reactionary status quo, that we do encourage genuine progress in the well-being of men.

In spite of my grim over-all analysis, I do not consider that World War III is inevitable. I am certain that the non-Communist millions among the people of Russia do not want war. I believe that if the United States and her peace-loving associates quickly and steadily build sound armed strength and at the same time carry on an alert, intelligent idea and economic offensive against the Communist dictatorships, we have a better than even chance of winning a just world peace without incurring the horror of World War III.

For the good of the people of Russia and of the United States and of the world, I pray God this peaceful competition of systems without war will be the answer.

We must show leadership toward the strengthening of the United Nations. It should now be apparent to all that the United Nations in its present form is not adequate for coping with world conditions. If it had not been for the boycotting absence of the Russian delegate from the United Nations Security Council, the Korean action could not have been voted, for a veto would have stopped the Security Council. The return of the Russian delegate and his actions since his return clearly show that the veto will be used in future events. Likewise, the lack of United Nations police forces in being and, consequently, the heavy burden that fell upon our unprepared American divisions; and the slowness because of individual national decisions of other nations to reach the point of battle, clearly points out the need of a genuine United Nations police force.

The United States, then, should take the leadership in planning a future convention to re-write the United Nations Charter, which can be done under Article 109 without a veto, and to strengthen it in the light of experience and of

common sense. At the same time, within the present charter, through a special Assembly motion, action should be taken by those nations which are in accord with us to enlist and equip and train a truly United Nations policy force, permitting any man to enlist therein, from any nation in the world, provided he is sincerely interested in serving to advance the objectives of the United Nations. This would permit the enrollment not only of citizens of the democracies which are members of the United Nations, but also of refugees from the Iron Curtain countries, and of young men of Italy, of Germany, and of Japan. These forces could have great effectiveness in deterring future aggressive moves anywhere in the world or in containing the aggressors at remote battle fields during the period that the resulting World War would of necessity be fought directly against the Kremlin.

Finally, it is high time that the free countries of the world, including the United States, re-examine their policies toward the Communist Party. For too long our governments have been blind to the vicious subversive nature of these foreign Communist Party organizations. For too long these fifth column organizations have assisted in the recruitment that has resulted in spying and stealing the most important scientific, atomic, and diplomatic secrets. The legal privileges extended to these fifth column organizations should be removed. These privileges should be removed with the greatest care to preserve the fundamental freedom of speech, and of thought, and of academic and scientific inquiry. But freedoms are not served by giving legal shelter to organizations so clearly a part of a world conspiracy directed by an unfriendly foreign power. Freedoms are truly endangered by such soft and confused thinking—such coddling of organized Communism.

As you review this message you may get an impression of measures too far-reaching and of a scope too extensive. Let me plead that you realize that we are in this desperate condition in the world today because we have not had policies

with vision far-reaching enough, with a scope broad enough, with a perception deep enough. Our problem is no less than that of the future well-being and freedom of all mankind. Our stake is no less than the survival of this great free nation. Our responsibility is no less than that which devolves upon the leading nation of the world, which with one-sixteenth of the world's people, is producing one-third of all the world's goods and services. Our challenge is no less than the most fundamental one in all of history. It is a clash of basic ideology that can be traced back to the first philosophers of ancient Greece. Unless we think deeply, unless our plans are broad, unless our vision is far-seeing, we will fail. But if this great nation and its people have a sense of their mission in this critical hour, if they draw strength from their faith and their heritage; if they keep in mind the fundamentals upon which their nation was founded, we will win!

If the United States waits until the last minute to think these problems through and if we shift and reverse our decisions at a late hour, our entire national defense will be as desperate and unprepared and costly as the small scale action in Korea has been. The red whirlwind would then indeed be devastating.

My fellow citizens; let us face this grave danger with a clear understanding of its nature and power, and with a calm determination to win through. Let us make the sacrifices! Let us take the decisions! We can win through! We must win through!

It will require treasure and toil, thoughtfulness and blood. But I believe, under God, we will win. And in victory we may yet find that out of these dark days will come the brightest dawn for freedom and for the happiness and well-being of mankind that the world has known. I have faith that this is so because I have faith that the underlying philosophy of our way of life is right. Man was meant to be free! And there is a God!



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