"FOR THE GOOD OF AMERICA"

An Address
By HAROLD E. STASSEN



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From portrait by Boris Challetin for TIME

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Mr. Stassen was introduced by Mr. Guy George Gabrielson, Chairman of the Republican National Committee.

My Fellow Citizens:

At the very opening of my address tonight may I say with deep sincerity that I join with every citizen in America, of both political parties, in expressing commendation to the United States Secret Service for their alert and courageous performance of their duty in defending the President, in extending our sympathy for the family of the deceased guard, Leslie Coffelt, and for the wounded guards, and our prayerful thanks as Americans that the President is alive and speaking to the nation tonight.

But my fellow citizens the shocking news of the attempt of the two fanatic Puerto Ricans is overshadowed by news many times more grim from Korea.

Tonight, as we meet, thousands of young Americans are facing in bloody battle one hundred thousand Chinese Communists in the rugged mountains of North Korea. During this week American casualties have been higher than any week since the Korean war began.

I solemnly charge that this is the direct and terrible result of five years of building up Chinese Communist strength through the blinded, blundering, bewildering American-Asiatic policy under the present national administration. It has been five years of coddling Chinese Communists,

five years of undermining General Mac-Arthur,

five years of snubbing friendly freedomloving Asiatics,

and

five years of appeasing the arch-Communist Mao Tse-tung.

And then the whole burden of redeeming the blunders in blood is thrust upon the American armed forces weakened by a shortsighted, socialistically inclined national administration.

I do not like to use such strong words. But the time has come when America must face facts and make decisions.

This bad news from Korea saddens every heart in America. It causes young men to wonder what will be their future duty of military service. It causes every home and every mother and every wife to be concerned about the future effect on the young men of the nation.

And it causes every citizen of America to ask "How can it be?" How can it be that five short years after winning a sweeping victory in World War II, so much of what we fought for has been lost, the bright hopes for peace have been destroyed, one third of the peoples of the world have been brought under Communist dictatorships, and the churches of all faiths, Catholic, Protestant, and Jewish should be under vicious attacks in one third of the world?

I submit that as these five years are reviewed quietly and earnestly by the people in their own homes, without regard to speeches or campaigns, it becomes apparent to everyone that this bad news tragically dramatizes the terrible result of the unbelievable errors in American-Asiatic policy since the end of World War II.

The hour has come when for the good of America a sweeping Republican Congressional victory should be voted from coast to coast. As I speak tonight with such seriousness I speak not from hearsay or vague rumor. I speak of hard facts which no one can deny.

As Assistant Chief of Staff to Admiral Halsey, under General MacArthur's strategic command during the war, I saw, as a part of my duty, the secret intelligence reports of all Asia. I was present at the State Department Conference a year ago in October, 1949, when the whole soft appeasing approach to the Chinese Communists was unfolded. I said then, directly across the conference table, that to me it was a policy of hastening the victory of the Communists in China, and that it was tragically wrong. I have watched closely each step in the policy. I have protested repeatedly as has every leading Republican, including the great statesman of our generation, the man who took the leadership in foreign policy in Europe—the Honorable Arthur H. Vandenberg.

Now there is an understandable tendency on the part of some to excuse the immediate postwar blunders on the ground that their consequences could not be foreseen when they were made.

But the startling facts are that the same kind of mistakes are still being made.

It has just been revealed that when the President ordered the United States Seventh Fleet to safeguard Formosa during the Korean fighting, he also ordered the Fleet to break the Chinese Nationalist blockade of the Communist Chinese coastline. As a result, supplies for the Communist Chinese war machine have been flowing in—and are flowing in today—in ships of every description, including Russian freighters.

Almost unbelievable action has taken place in Japanese copper. Everyone knows that copper is one of the most important metals for a war machine. During this year 1950, four million pounds of copper were produced in Japan. The Chinese Communists tried to buy it, but General MacArthur under his authority and regulations wisely and rightly said no, and did not permit the sale. Then what did they do? The Japanese copper was shipped to New York, which, of

course, was permitted by General MacArthur's regulations. When it arrived in New York it was out of General MacArthur's jurisdiction. Then, believe it or not, this four million pounds of copper was shipped back around the world to the Communist Chinese war machine!

And it is not unlikely that in Northern Korea today, and in other battles in the future, American boys will be killed by bullets made with this four million pounds of copper.

I say with all of the emphasis at my command, this appearement of Communist war machines by shipping war supplies to them must stop! America will never buy peace by shipping war supplies to Communist forces, whether they are of the Russian, or Chinese, or other variety.

These are actions of the same type as occurred in 1947. I charge that in August, 1947, the Soviet ship, Mikhail Kutusov, sailed from New York with atomic devices and machinery for Russia. These postwar shipments of electronic devices and machinery, and the spying of Klaus Fuchs and Harry Gold, are the direct reason that the Communists of Russia have atomic bombs today!

These facts have been revealed in the spy investigations in this country and in England.

These facts point up and prove that our national administration has been so weak and confused and spy-riddled that this more than anything else accounts for that tragic five-year loss of the bright hopes of peace for which so many men fought and so many men died in World War II.

The revelations of postwar foreign policy make it clearer day by day that the President has been caught between very bad advice from his State Department and very bad politics of the Missouri Pendergast machine moved up to a national operation.

It is understandable, therefore, that he said practically nothing tonight about that foreign policy record, but tried to cast some unfounded remarks about Republican isolationism which no longer apply to the Republican Party or to any Party.

It is now apparent that even at this late date his administration will not take General MacArthur's advice on Communist China, and Formosa and Indo-China, which are the three future trouble spots. Instead, the trip to Wake Island was clearly staged as a political escapade to obtain publicity for the campaign.

As a Philadelphia carpenter with a son in Korea commented to me bitterly recently,

"It looks like the President had more cameras along for his first meeting with MacArthur than our soldiers had tank guns for their first meeting with the North Koreans."

The President said nothing tonight about the defense responsibilities of his administration and his Congress these last two years.

But the policies of the Administration at home have been just as wrong as his Asia policies, but the sad results are not yet as obvious.

A Democratic politician cynically commented to me recently that he knew the inflation was dangerous but that we Republicans would never be able to get the people to understand the dangers of inflation.

It is true that inflation is a complicated subject. All too often in the history of other countries, the people did not understand its evils until it was too late. Then the wild price rises and the wiping out of savings and earnings by panic caused the tragic collapse of the country.

But I am confident that the American people are too intelligent to follow on down this slippery inflationary road.

Every housewife in America knows that higher and higher prices have been pushing in through the kitchen door, and higher and higher taxes have been pushing in through the front door, and the family is squeezed in between, with increasing difficulty in keeping the family budget in balance, particularly if there are small children in school. This is the main reason why in each of the last four months more

savings bonds have been cashed by the people than have been purchased by them.

In these last five years the cost of living for the people has climbed 44 points. Thus the dollar today will buy much less than it would buy five years ago. During this same five years the total dollar income of the American workers and wage earners has increased only 30 per cent, from 171 billion dollars to 223 billions.

During the same five years the total debts of the consumers of America have climbed from 6 billions to 21 billions for a record high total. In other words, the workers and wage earners in America are worse off today in their own pocketbooks' condition, in their own cost of living, in their own family budgets, than they were five years ago. This is especially true of those millions of Americans with low fixed incomes.

This is the direct result of the careless, wasteful financial policies of the national administration. It is the direct result of an administration that has been the worst spendthrift administration in American history and has the least to show for it as the five years end.

It is the direct result of financial policies which have resulted in the very high national indebtedness today of 257 billion dollars, which is 22 billion dollars higher than the debt when the President took office five years ago.

For the good of the family budgets in America there is an urgent need of a change in these federal spending and financial policies, of a cut in non-defense spending, of stopping the inflationary spiral. And I am confident that a Republican majority in the next Senate and House would take these important steps for the well-being of every family in America.

Now of course, every time we Republicans speak of the importance of sound money and of less spending in government, the administration politicians, as the President did tonight, try to brand us as reactionaries and say we would

ignore the needs of the people. But the plain facts are that the best programs for true human welfare and for the aged and the dependent and the children and the handicapped are carried on today under the leading Republican administrations, such as those of Governor Earl Warren in California, Governor James Duff in Pennsylvania, Governor Thomas Dewey in New York, and Governor Luther Youngdahl in Minnesota.

A sincere humanitarian government can meet the real needs of the people and at the same time carry out a sound policy against inflation to safeguard the future earnings of the people.

My fellow citizens, as we close this crucial mid-century Congressional campaign, it is shocking to find the President using the power of his office and the cash of his political committee to take a ten o'clock monopoly on all of the radio and television networks for an unprecedented attempt to get more members in the next Congress who will be political puppets for his administration.

He made a Pendergast type of low-level ward politics appeal to short-sighted, selfishness when the American people want and need in this critical hour an appeal to the heart and the spirit and the faith which under God has made America great.

He made an outrageous attack on the 80th Congress, and he knows as well as the people of the country know that the 80th Congress in instance after instance voted thirteen to nothing in its Foreign Affairs Committee, under Senator Vandenberg's leadership for great steps in foreign policy which have proven to be right. The President also knows that he excluded the 80th Congress from Asiatic policy with tragic results. He knows that the 80th Congress was more right than was the President and his administration. Instead of attacking the 80th Congress, what the President should have done tonight was to apologize to the 80th Congress for his earlier attacks, just as he apologized to the United States Marines!

My fellow citizens the issues to me appear clear.

If you want to continue the tragic costly blunders in Asia vote for the President's candidates on Tuesday.

But if you want a new Asiatic policy which is consistent with a dynamic world opposition to Communism, which is constructive and foresighted and which listens to General MacArthur's advice before fighting begins instead of only after the bloodshed starts, then regardless of your party membership vote for the Republican candidates throughout the nation on next Tuesday.

If you want to bring all of the doctors and the nurses and the hospitals under the thumb of the Washington politicians, then vote for the President's candidates.

But if you want to make progress in a sound health program for America, which now leads the world in its health record, developed in cooperation with the doctors and hospitals without socializing medicine, then vote for the Republican candidates on Tuesday.

If you want to put a Brannan Brand on the back of every farmer in America, and injure both the farmer and the consumer, and follow a course which in other countries has seriously damaged both agriculture and the worker, then vote for the President's candidates.

But if you want a sound food and agricultural program worked out with the great farm organizations of America, developed from and improving upon the present farm program which originated in the Republican Hope-Aiken Bill, then vote for the Republican candidates.

If you want a continuation of waste and delay and fivepercenters in armament production, vote for the President's candidates.

But if you want an insistence on competent management of armament production above politics, the elimination of waste and extravagance so that our armed forces have what they need when they need it, then vote for the Republican candidates for the Senate and Congress throughout the nation on next Tuesday. I am pleased to report to you tonight that throughout the nation there is an exceptionally able group of candidates, even as you have in Connecticut. Many of them are veterans of World War II. They are deeply concerned with the future of their country, devoted to its cause, alert to the nature of Communism, and genuinely concerned with the needs of the workers, farmers, and people as a whole.

My fellow citizens, I have great faith in the American people. I have a deep and abiding faith in the future of America and of the cause of freedom. I believe that we can yet win a just and honorable peace. It is late but it is not too late. If we hold fast to the fundamental principles, drawn from our great religions, which the founding fathers wove into the very fabric of our America, then I believe we can overcome the Communist threat in the world without the tragedy of a third World War. We can move on with firm steps toward the goals we hold dear! We can advance the cause of peace and freedom!

I believe the people of every walk of life, in their own silent decisions expressed in the voting booth, with only their conscience and their God as witnesses, will rise to the challenge of this critical hour before America. They will respond to the nobler and finer sentiments of man. They will demonstrate again that the founding fathers of America were right. Man was meant to be free!



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