80

OREGON HEADQUARTERS OF HAROLD E. STASSEN 234 IMPERIAL HOTEL PORTLAND, OREGON

CONFIDENTIAL: FOR THE PRESS AND RADIO.

FOR RELEASE AT 6:00 P.M. (PST), MAY 17, 1948.

ADVANCE DRAFT OF OPENING STATEMENT OF HAROLD E. STASSEN IN THE RADIO DEBATE VITH GOVERNOR THOMAS E. DEVEY OF NEW YORK. 6:00 P.M., PST, MAY 17, 1948, ON THE SUBJECT "SHOULD THE COMMUNIST PARTY BE OUTLAWED?"

Mr. Van Boskirk, your Excellency Governor Dewey, my fellow citizens:

During the recent war I saw many young Americans killed. I watched ships explode and burn, planes crash in flames, men -- our men-my friends --- fall. I met thousands of prisoners-of-war as they were liberated from indescribable conditions of imprisonment and suffering. I viewed the devastation of cities and of frams.

In the midst of these experiences I thought more deeply than ever before of the way in which men should live, of the preciousness of freedom, of the future of America. I made a quiet resolve to do everything within my power after V-J Day to keep America free and to prevent a Third World War.

Four principal objectives appeared to be essential.

First: To maintain a sound and humanitarian free American economy which would include avoiding inflation booms with their out-of-reach prices; preventing depression crashes with unemployment; wisely developing the superb natural resources of water, forests, and minerals; constantly improving housing and health; establishing a fair balance between capital and labor; assuring to agriculture a fair share of the national income; advancing in civil rights, decreasing discrimination and bigotry; and constantly endeavoring to win happier homes throughout America.

Second: To keep America and other free countries strong in a military sense, especially in the air.

Third: To safeguard against the undermining and overthrow of free governments, and to oppose the suppression of the freedom of men anywhere in the world.

Fourth: To establish a strong organization of United Nations for peace and economic progress without a veto, and with a real system of justice.

With a firm conviction that an open and frank discussion would lead to better answers of the manner in which to make progress toward these objectives, I have talked directly to the people of my views, and invited their questions and welcomed any opportunity to meet with others in a joint discussion. This is the background for my Oregon campaign.

I have submitted to the people of Oregon my position on the building of the resources, and the rapid development of the Columbia Basin and the Willamette Valley, and the need for long-range programs in agriculture and forestry, and the importance of a fair balance between management and labor, and of progress in housing and health. I presented my view of a strong foreign policy for America, with alert and trained military position, leadership toward amending and strengthening the United Nations Charter, the stopping of shipments of machine tools and electrical equipment to Russia, the direct outlawing of the Communist organizations in America and in the free countries, and positive action in ideals and moral standards and justice on a worldwide basis. I have presented my optimism, my hope that such policies would lead to a future of peace and of progre ss for ourselves and for others without the tragedy of a third World War.

One part of my proposed program for America has been directly challenged. It has been challenged by a man for whom I have great respect a man who is a fellow Republican, and who has joined in campaigns in Wisconsin and Nebraska, and now in Oregon. Tonight we meet in joint radio discussion of that one point. I will give you my position on this one point in detail and give the reasons why I have reached this conclusion.

When World War II ended, I felt that the key question as future peace would arise if bad policies were followed by the Soviet Union of Russia and by the world Communist Party directed from Moscow. I therefore gave special study to their actions, to their methods, to their apparent intentions. I journied to many of the European countries and to Russia and questioned leaders of many nations for a First hand lookand-listen trip. I followed closely the results of the peace conferences

of Potsdam and Yalta, and the developments in country after country.

I have reached the conclusion that the Communist organizations in the world are absolutely directed by the rulers of Russia in the Kremlin.

I have reached the conclusion that the objectives of these Communist organizations in the world are to overthrow free governments, to destroy the liberties of men, and to bring other countries under the domination of the dictators of Russia.

I have watched country after country in which these Communist organizations have taken every legal advantage but have recognized none of
the corresponding obligations and moralities. The most recent and extreme instance was Czechoslovakia. The Communists never had the support
of a majority of the people.of

Czechoslovakia. But they were given full legal standing and Communists were appointed to some of the ministries of government. The people of the country were free. They were re-building from the War. There was no tyranny. There was no threat to Russia. There was a politeness and a friendliness toward the Communists. But the Communist organizations directed from Moscow took all of these legal blessings, and at the same time moved underneath the surface, established Communist action committees in all the departments of government, in the big labor unions, in key industries, and in the universities and colleges. A few weeks ago the overground and underground moved together. Czechoslovakia was betrayed, the liberties of the people were wiped out, and another country was brought under the domination of the Kremlin.

These developments do give rise to a danger of war.

Analizing what they mean, it seems clear to me that the free countries, including America do not now have adequate laws to safeguard themselves in the face of this menace. I consider it to be clear that these Communist organizations are not really political parties. They are actually fifth columns. They are Quisling cliques. If we are to have the best chance of winning through for freedom without the horror of a third World War the free countries must take action to protect themselves against this fifth column in this unsettled period which has been called a cold war.

I do not think it is generally realized in America, that we do not now have any law to effectively oppose the actions of these Communist organizations either overground or underground. There is now no law in America to prevent these Communist organizations from secretly developing organizations of hidden members, from carrying on secret conspiracies to promote strikes, to stir up hatred between races and religions in America.

and from following the directions from Moscow. Neither is there any present law to prevent the Communist organizations from maintaining large offices with telephone switchboards and a network of communication to be used in reaching and coordinating these underground activities and in recruiting new members.

In facing up to the problem, we must maintain complete Constitutional rights and liberties in America. The right of free speech, of free press, of freedom of conscience, and freedom of religion must be kept inviolate. It must always be open for any individual in this country to protest, to object, to dissent. But there is no Constitutional

right to carry on organizations above ground or below ground directed by the rulers of a foreign power for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the United States and taking away the liberties of its people.

I, therefore, have urged for some months, that we need a new law to directly outlaw these Communist organizations. Governor Dewey has insisted that our present laws are adequate. I submit that a new law is needed. It should directly make it illegal, after its passage, to carry on any organization either above ground, or below ground, which is directed by the rulers of a foreign power for the purpose of overthrow9 ing the government of the United States, destroying the liberties of its people, and bringing this country under the domination of the rulers of a foreign power. Such a law would not outlaw ideas. It would not outlaw thoughts. It would make illegal organized conspiracies of fifth columns.

Such a law is Consitutional under Article IV, Section 4 of the United States Constitution which provides for the guaranteeing of a Republican form of government, that is a representative government of free people to all the states of the Union. A very emminent lawyer, the Honorable William L. Ransom, past president of the American Bar Association, agrees on its constitutionality in an able article in the American Law Journal this month. The language of the Supreme Court of the United States in case of Ohio vs Akron 281 U. S. Reports 81, indicates that the United States Supreme Court would uphold its constitutionality. In fact, the national Congress is right now moving to do this very thing. A law has been introduced, known as the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which among other things provides that it shall be unlawful

to "Attempt in any manner to establish in the United States a totalitarian dictatorship the direction and control of which is to be vested in, or exercised by or under the domination or control of, any foreign

government, foreign organization, or foreign individual; (2) To perform or attempt to perform any act with intent to facilitate or aid in bringing about the establishment in the United States of such a totalitarian dictatorship."

The report of the committee that had investigated the Communist activities before preparing that bill specifically found that the Communist organization was "An organization whose basic aim, whether open or concealed, is the abolition of our present economic system and democratic form of government and the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship in its place."

The Chairman and Secretary of the Communist Party of America have protested that this bill would outlaw their organization. I agree that it would, and I say that it should.

The United States Congress indicated in a preliminary way their

approval of the bill when they voted on last Friday, by a vote of 296 to 40 , to bring it up for action on Tuesday.

It might be amended to some extent before it is finally passed, by both houses because in some clauses directed against individuals it goes even beyond what I have urged. But I do believe that it will pass in the near future in a form that will definitely outlaw these Communist organizations in both their underground and overground activities.

I further believe that this will be a precedent for similar action by the other free countries of the world, and that effective means will be developed to safeguard against the fifth column infiltration of the Communists.

I recognize full well that there are some who very sincerely oppose my position in this matter. I am not certain of the reasons for Mr. Henry Wallace's opposition to my position, but I am confident that Governor Dewey's opposition is completely sincere. I respectfully ask him to reconsider his opposition, a s I believe he is mistaken. His position in effect means a soft policy toward Communism. All the evidence around the world shows that a s oft policy wins neither peace nor respect, nor improvement, from the Communists. We must not coddle Communism with legality. They gras p every concession made, and continue their undermining action.

Consider these facts. There are now eleven countries of the world under the domination of the Communist leaders in Moscow. They are Russi Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania Esthonia, Latvia, and Lithuania.

In none of the eleven did the Communists ever receive majority support of the people in a free election. The last three were taken over by force during the war and held ever since. In every one of the remaining eight, the Communists used the legal recognition of the Commun-

ist organizations as an overground nerve center and recruiting station for their underground movements, until they had seized power and brought. the nation under the dictation of the Communist Politburo.

Russia was the first Communist dominated nation. It came under this dictat orship through a combination of two main reasons. First, the bad government of the Czar; and second, the organization developed by the legalized Bolshevik Party, which formed throughout Russia and elected six members to the Russian Parliament in the last election held in that country before the Communists came to power.

There seems to have been some mistaken idea that the Communists were outlawed in Russia. This is not correct. The Bolshevik Party was active in Russia right up to the first war with Germany. The Communists carried on a nationwide election campaign in Russia in 1912 and elected six members to the Parliament. They used this means of developing their revolutionary organization. When they were caught in the attempted revolution in 1905, and in various sabotage and trainwrecking and bombings, they were severely punished, but they were not outlawed.

When this present Communist Party did come into power they promptly wiped out all other political parties and took the whole peoples under a firm and dictatorial grip.

In each of the other countries --- Poland, Yugoslavia, Hungary, Roumania, Bulgaria, Albania, and Finally Czechoslovakia, the Communists used the blessing of legality as an aid to organizing an underground movement, and finally betraying the liberties of the people and bringing them under the domination of the Kremlin in Moscow. These are the facts which today menace Scandinavia and Western Europe. These are the facts which today present a danger of future world war.

Another mistaken impression is the claim that if we outlaw the Communist organization, that we thereby endanger the liberties and civil rights of other people. In Canada the Party was outlawed for years and the people lost none of their liberties. In fact the Communists were permitted to operate legally again under the name of the Labor Progressive Party in 1943, and soon afterwards, in less than three years, it was found that the Communists were working directly with the Russian Embassy at Ottawa in a spy ring.

In order that we might narrow down our discussion and find out just exactly what the differences are in our positions, I should like to ask Governor Dewey specifically these questions:

- 1. Do you agree that the Communist organizations throughout the world are directed from Moscow?
- 2. Do you agree that the objective of the Communist organizations throughout the world is to overthrow free governments, destroy liberties, and bring the countries under the domination of the Kremlin?
- 3. Do you agree that Communist organizations throughout the world are a menace to future peace?
- 4. Do you agree that because of this menace to world peace it is necessary that we require American young men to serve in our armed forces and to take training?

To make my position very clear, I say very definitely that it does not add up to me to say that loyal, patriotic, young Americans must of necessity be drafted, that their liberties must be taken away in order to make America strong in the face of the menace to peace caused by the Communist organizations of the Soviet Union, but that none of the privileges and blessings of legality should be taken away from the Communist organizations themselves, which in fact are causing the menace that makes the drafting necessary.

A young man entering our armed forces takes this oath:

"I do solemnly swear that I will support and defend the Constitution of the United States against all enemies, foreign and domestic; that I will bear true faith and allegiance to the same; that I take this obligation freely, without any mental reservation or purpose of evasion and that I will well and faithfully discharge the duties on which I am about to enter; so help me God."

This is in accord with the Constitution of the United States.

I am certain that it would not be un-Constitutional to safeguard through direct legal provisions that same Constitution against a world wide fifth column movement directed from the Kremlin.

The fundamental principles of human liberty upon which this nation is founded are drawn from our basic religious concepts. Our

founding fathers did believe that man has a spiritual value, that he is endowed by his Creator with certain inalienable rights, that he should have a human dignity, a respect for the welfare of others, that there is a brotherhood of man.

The Constitutional rights in America are based on that concept. When one speaks of the constitutional right of organizations that are seeking to destroy freedom there is a misconception of the deep basis of Constitutional rights. There is no such thing as a Constitutional right to destroy all Constitutional rights. There is no such thing as a freedom to destroy freedom. The right of man to liberty is inherent in the nature of man. To win it and to maintain it requires courage and sacrifice, and it also requires intelligence and realism and determination in the establishment of the laws and the systems of justice to serve mankind.

I submit the Communist organization in America and the freedom loving countries of the world should be outlawed.

Openy Statement of Harris E Staron in Rodin Debrt with Grown Thomas &. David over networks from
May 17, 1948

Poolsond. Ongon on

Julyon, "Almes Commonion outlawes 2"

EC,

' Chairman Van Boskirk, Your Excellency Governor Dewey, My fellow citizens:

During the recent war I saw many young Americans killed. I watched ships explode and burn, planes crash in flames, men, -- our men, -- my friends; fall. I met thousands of prisoners of war as they were liberated from indescribable conditions of imprisonment and suffering. I viewed the devastation of cities and of farms.

In the midst of these experiences, I thought more deeply than ever before of the way in which men should live, of the preciousness of freedom, of the future of America. I made a quiet resolve to do everything within my power after V-J Day to keep America free and to prevent a third World War.

to maintain a sound and humanitarian free American economy, which would include avoiding inflation booms, with their out-of-reach prices, preventing depression crashes with unemployment, with developing the superb natural resources of water forces and minerals centinually improving housing and establishing a fair balance between capital and labor, assuring to agriculture a fair share of the national inteme, advancing in civil rights, decreasing discrimination and bigotry, and constantly endeavoring to win happier homes throughout Americal and, second, to keep America and other free countries strong in a military sense, especially in the air and third, to safeguard against the undermining and overthrow of free governments, and to defend the freedom of men and fourth to establish a strong organization of United Nations for peace and

persond,

the Marshall Plan, leadership to ward amending and strenghening the United Nations Charter, the stopping of shipment of machine tools and electrical equipment to Russia, the direct outlawing of the Communist organizations in America and in the free countries and positive action in ideals and moral standards and justice on a worldwide basis

accounts progress without a veto, and with a real apatem of justice. With a firm conviction that an open and frank discussion would lead to better enswers of the manner in which to make progress toward these objectives, I have talked directly to the people of my views and invited their questions and welcomed any opportunity to meet with others in a joint discussion. This is the background for my Oregon campaign. I have submitted to the people of Oregon my position on the building of the resources, and the rapid development of the Columbia River Basin and the Willamette Valley, the need for long-range programs in agriculture and forestry, the importance of that fair balance between management and labor, and the progress in housing and health. I presented my view for a strong foreign policy for America with alert and trained military personnel, the Marshall Plan leadership toward a lend lease

I have presented my optimism and my hope that such policies would lead to a future of peace and of progress for ourselves and for others without the tragedy of a third world war. One part of my proposed program for America has been directly challenged. It has been challenged by a man for whom I have great respect, a man who is a fellow Republican and who has joined in campaigns in Wisconsin and Nebraska and now in Oregon. Tonight we meet in a joint radio discussion of that one point. I will give you my position on this one point in detail and give the reasons why I have reached this conclusion.

When World War II ended, I felt that the key question as to the future peace would arise if bad policies were followed by the Soviet Union of Russia and by the world Communists to be directed from Moscow. I, therefore, gave special study to t heir actions, and their methods and their apparent intentions. I journeyed to many of the European countries and to Russia, questioned leaders of many nations, having a first long look and listen trip. I followed closely the results of the peace conferences of Potsdam and Yalta and the developments in country after country. I have reached the conclusion that the Communist organizations in the world are absolutely directed by the rulers of Russia in the Kremlin. I have reached the conclusion that the objectives of these Communist organizations in the world are to overthrow free governments, to destroy the liberties of men, and to bring other countries under the domination of the dictators of Russia. HI have watched country after country in which these Communist organizations have taken every legal advantage, but have recognized none of the corresponding obligations and moralities. The most recent and extreme instance was Gzechoslovakia. The Communists never had the support of a majority of the people of Czechoslovakia but they were given full legal standing and Communists were appointed to some of the ministries of government. The people of the country were free they were rebuilding from the war, there was no tyranny, there was no threat to Russia, there was a politeness and a friendliness toward the Communists, but the Communist organizations directed from Moscow took all of these legal blessings, Communist action committees in all the departments of government, in the big labor unions, in key industries, and in the universities and colleges. Then a few weeks ago the overground and underground moved together. Czechoslovakia was betrayed, the liberties of the people were wiped out, and another country was brought under the domination of the Kremlin.

These developments do give rise to a danger of war. Analyzing what they mean it seems clear to me that the free countries, including America, do not now have adequate laws to safeguard themselves in the face of this menace. I consider it to be clear that these Communist organizations are not really political parties. They are actually Fifth Columns. They are Quisling cliques. If we are to have the best chance of winning through for freedom without the horror of a third World War, the free countries must take action to protect themselves against this Fifth Column in this unstable period which has been called a cold war. HI do not think it is generally realized in America, that we do not now have any law to effectively oppose the actions of these Communist organizations, either overground or underground. There is now no law in America to prevent these Communist organizations from secretly developing organizations of hidden members from carrying on secret conspiracies, to promote strikes, to stir up hatred between races and religions in America, and from following their directions from Moscow. Neither is there Communicast any present law to prevent the organizations from maintaining large offices with telephone switchboards, a network of communication to

be used in reaching and coordinating these underground activities and in recruiting new members. In facing up to the problem we must maintain complete constitutional rights and liberties in America, the right of free speech, of free press, of freedom of conscience, and freedom of religion must be kept inviolate. It must always be open for any individual in this country to protest, to object, to dissent, but there is no constitutional right to carry on organizations aboveground or belowground directed by the rulers of a foreign power for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the United States and taking away the liberties of its people.

I, therefore, have urged for some months that we need a new law to directly outlaw. these Communist organizations. Governor Dewey has insisted that our present laws are adequate. I submit that a new law is needed. It should directly make it illegal, after its passage to carry on any organization, either aboveground or belowground, which is directed by the rulers of a foreign power for the purpose of overthrowing the government of the United States, destroying the liberties of its people, and bringing this country under the domination of the rulers of a foreign power.

Such a law would not outlaw ideas. It would not outlaw thoughts. It would make illegal most conspiracies of Fifth Columns. Such a law is constitutional under Article IV, Section 4 of the United States Constitution. A very eminent lawyer, the Honorable William L. Ransom, past president of the American Bar Association, agrees on its constitutionality in an able article in the American Law Journal this month, and the language of the Supreme Court of

2814 8 Agents 81,

the United States in the case of Ohio versus Akron Indicates that the Supreme Court would uphold its constitutionality. In fact, the national Congress is right now moving to do this very thing. A law has been introduced, known as the Mundt-Nixon Bill, which provides that it shall be unlawful to attempt in any manner to establish in the United States a totalitarian dictatorship, the direction and control of which is to be vested in or exercised by or under the domination or direction of a foreign government, a foreign organization or foreign individual; or to attempt to perform anyact toward those ends . The report of the committee who had investigated the Communist activities before preparing that bill specifically found that the Communist organization was an organization whose basic aim, whether open or concealed, is the abolition of our present economic system and democtratic form of government and the establishment of a Soviet dictatorship in its place. Now, the Chairman and Secretary of the Communist party of America have protested that this bill would outlaw their organization. I agree that it would, and I say that it should. The United States Congress indicated in a preliminary way their approval of the bill when they voted last Friday, by a vote of 296 to 40 to bring it up for action on Tuesday. It might well be amended to some extent before it is finally passed, by both houses, because in some clauses directed against individuals it goes even beyond what I have urged, but I do believe that it will pass in the near future in a form that will

definitely outlaw these Communist organizations in both their underground and overground activities. If further believe that this will be a precedent for similar action by the other free countries of the world, and that e ffective means will be developed to safeguard against the Fifth Column infiltration of the Communists.

nearly New. I recognize full well that there are some who very sincerely oppose my views in this matter. I am not certain of the reasons for Mr. Henry Wallace's opposition to my position, but I am confident that Governor Dewey's opposition is completely sincere. But I respectfully ask him to reconsider his position as I believe he is mistaken. His position in effect, means a soft policy toward Communism, and all the evidence around the world shows that a soft policy wins neither peace nor respect, nor improvement, from the Communists. We must not coddle Convictor Communism with legality. They grasp every concession made, and continue their undermining actions. | Consider these facts There are now eleven countries of the world under the domination of the Communist leaders in Moscow. They are Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Yugoslavia, Rumania, Bulgaria, Albania, Estonia. Latvia, and Lithuania. In none of these eleven did the Communists ever receive a majority support of the people in a free election. The last three were taken over by force during the war and held ever since.

In every one of the remaining eight, the Communists used the legal recognition of Communist organizations as an overground nerve center and recruiting station for their underground movements, until they had seized power and brought the nation under the dictation of the Communist political bureau.

Russia was the first Communist dominated nation. It came under this dictatorship through a combination of two main reasons. First, the bad government of the Czar; second, the organization developed by the legalized Bolshevik party, which formed throughout Russia and elected six members of the Russian Parliament in the last election held in that country before the Communists came to power.

There seems to have been some mistaken idea that the Communists were outlawed in Russia. This is not correct. The Bolshevik party was active in Russia right up to the first war with Germany. The Communists carried on a nation-wide campaign in Russia in 1912, and or Dayronners elected six members to the Parliament. They used this means of developing their revolutionary organization, and when they were caught various Sabatage in the attempted revolution in 1905 and in violence and train wreckings and mobilings, they were severely punished, but they were not again arganization Il outlawed as an organization. When this Communist party did come into power in Russia, they promptly wiped out all other parties and and dictatorial grips took the people under a firm dictatorship. In each of the other gugularia bhingary countries -- Poland, Bulgaria, Rumania, Albania, and finally Czechoslovakia, the Communists used the blessing of legality as an aid to organizing an underground movement, and finally betrayed the

efforts of the people and brought them under the domination of the Kremlin in Moscow.

These are the facts which today cause a menace to Scandinavia and Western Europe.

These are the facts which today present a danger of future world war.

Another mistaken impression is the claim that we have outlawed a Communist organization, that we therefore endangered the
liberties and civil rights of other people. This is not true. In
Canada today the party was outlawed for years, and the people lost
none of their liberties. In fact, the Communists were permitted to
operate legally again under the name of the Labor Progressive Party in
1943, and soon afterwards, in less than three years, it was found
that the Communists were working directly with the Russian Embassy
at Ottawa in a spy ring.

In order that we might held down our discussion and find out just exactly what the differences are in our positions, I should like to ask Governor Dewey specifically these questions:

- (1) Do you agree that the Communist organizations throughout the world are directed from Moscow?
- (2) Do you agree that the objective of the Communist organizations throughout the world is to overthrow free governments, destroy liberties, and bring the countries under the domination of the Kremlin?
- (3) Do you agree that Communist organizations throughout the world are a menace to future peace?



Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.

