

A "BETTER DEAL"  
for the  
AMERICAN PEOPLE

*An Address*

By HAROLD E. STASSEN

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The Dinner was chairmanned by Mr. Thomas S. Gates, Jr., of Philadelphia and Governor Stassen was introduced by Mr. Bernard M. Shanley of Newark, N. J., National Chairman of the Stassen for President Volunteer Committee.

*Mr. Shanley, Chairman Gates, my friends and my fellow citizens:—*

We meet tonight in the historic city of Philadelphia where nearly two centuries ago our forefathers made decisions of tremendous significance.

We meet tonight at the threshold of the new year—1952. This is the year during which the American people will make the far-reaching decisions of their national leadership and of the policies and program of our country.

The world tragedies of recent years, the cruel Communist oppression today of over one-third of the people of the earth, and the apparent dangers now before our nation indicate that the decisions of America in 1952 may well be as significant as those taken in this city at our nation's birth.

Thus it has been with a deep sense of humility that I have considered long and prayerfully what answer I should give to the question of what part I will take in this year of decision of 1952.

Many of the men and women now gathered in this room, and others in the nation, have urged that I give my approval to the presentation of my name in the various Republican primaries and conventions as a candidate for President.

I have promised an answer before the first of the year. It is not an easy answer to give.

With humility I have searched for the guidance, the information, and the understanding of what we as a nation should do, and what I as an individual should do.

The answer now seems clear. I will present to the people the policies and program which I fervently believe that America should adopt in 1952, and I will give my approval, on that platform, for the presentation of my name as a candidate for President.

I do so because of my sincere belief in the soundness and the urgency of the program for the country which I will present, and because of my conclusion that there is no other way to give the people an opportunity to decide upon that program.

It is a humanitarian and liberal program. It is different from the Republican programs of recent years. It is large in its implications. But from extended study, and the advice of many outstanding men and women, and the counsel of leading authorities, I am convinced it is sound, it is desirable, it is urgently needed for your best future and that of your children in America.

It is the program which, with the cooperation of Congress, and the help of the people, I would carry out if elected as your President.

**Let me first give the broad background of my platform and then fill in specific details.**

I love America. I cherish its way of life as established by our forefathers, who gave emphasis to freedom and happiness and trust in God. I have deep affection for its farms and for its cities. I have reverence for its traditions and its form of government.

I am an enthusiastic believer in the American way of life and in the economic and social, religious and cultural, freedom on which that way of life is built.

I have a deep and abiding faith that the underlying beliefs of America which make man believe in man and revere God are right and eternal.

Thus, as President, I would devote myself above all to the future happiness and the well-being of the American people under that way of life.

As I see it, there are today four principal threats to that future American happiness and well-being.

First: The dangers that always flow from a low moral standard in a nation's capital, from corruption in high places, from venal conniving among leaders, and from crass cupidity among administrators.

Second: The menace that our money will be inflated, that it will be debased until our dollar is so cheap that the people will lose confidence in its future worth and value.

Third: The threat of internal strife, that groups within America may become so bitter toward each other that by their clashes they pull down and injure each other and destroy our American heritage for all of us.

Fourth: The peril from abroad that a combination of powerful Communist enemies, with attacks from without, and infiltration of saboteurs within, will so weaken America that the future of our way of life would be dark and grim.

I am very optimistic about America's future if we but rise to meet these four perils and intelligently fulfill the part as world leaders which it is our responsibility to assume.

I now present the definite steps which I believe our government should take and which I, as President, working with Congress, would intend that it take. They are measures through which, as I see it, the American people, under God,

can enjoy a world at peace and take a happy part in the progress of all mankind toward better living and greater freedom and a deeper respect for one another.

**As President I would absolutely insist upon plain, old-fashioned honesty in the officials of the nation, from the highest to the lowest.** Anyone guilty of dishonesty or bad ethics would be promptly removed, and high moral standards would be set in the nation's capital.

The churches of the nation, of all faiths, would be encouraged in their great work. The clergy—priests and pastors, rabbis and lay leaders—would be looked upon with favor by my administration. They would be separate from government in jurisdiction and in law, but church and state would have the common objective of high moral standards. They would be together in their reverence for the dignity of human life and in the belief in the fatherhood of God.

The schools and colleges, both public and private, would be encouraged and strengthened. And the teachers and educators in those schools and colleges would be supported in their efforts to instill high concepts of ethics in the youth of the land and in their contribution to the cultural development of the nation.

It would, in short, be my aim to establish one of the most honest, one of the most high-principled administrations since our nation's beginning.

The lessons of history tell us that next to the decay that comes through weakening moral standards of the people, the most serious threat to a leading nation is the deterioration of its money. The currency of a nation is the medium by which goods and services change hands freely, production is stimulated, families are sustained. It is the basis on which plans are made and agreements are carried out. The more highly developed a country becomes, the greater is the importance of a sound and stable money.

Everyone knows that our country has experienced serious inflation in recent years. The debasing of our money shows



itself in the climbing prices in your neighborhood stores. It is felt in the difficulty of balancing your family budget. This is especially true if you are a white collar worker or pensioner or on a fixed income. Your personal insurance plans made ten years ago will no longer carry out the original intention for the care of your family. Your savings have lost a large portion of their value. This is a serious matter. And if this inflation continues for another six years it will be disastrous. This administration, with its careless, blundering financial policies, has been just like a clumsy visitor playing with matches in a hay barn.

**Thorough study and the advice of many of the best authorities, convince me that there is only one real way to insure a "solid dollar" for the long-term in America. That way is to place the American dollar on a modern gold standard.** That is what I would intend to do as President with the support of Congress. A modern gold standard would not be easy to establish. But it can be done, and in my judgment it must be done.

To do so will require firm financial policies in Washington. **Waste in government must be cut out.** The 200,000 loafers now included among the Federal employees must be dropped from the payrolls. **Production must be kept at very high levels and full employment must be maintained, with jobs for all. The budget must be balanced,** but without taxing incomes so heavily that incentives are lost. This means that lower-bracket incomes and wages should not be taxed more than 10 per cent and higher-bracket incomes never more than 50 percent; and, if, additional taxes are needed to balance the budget, these are to be raised by other means which are less repressive of incentive and production.

With able financial policies in the nation's capital, a modern gold standard for the American dollar can be established and maintained, and people can then be confident that in future years their dollars saved and their dollars earned will purchase at least as much as they do now—or even more—

of food, shelter, clothing and the other necessities and good things of life.

As I have indicated, a **third peril arises in any free country if groups within it quarrel bitterly and persistently.**

I know full well that many men have won and held public office in our country by a demagogic stirring up of group against group—of labor against capital, of minorities against other minorities—and by endeavoring to make each group feel that its special interest would be served in the extreme.

I reject that approach as unsound and even dangerous in modern America. It is a vicious appeal to self-interest, and sometimes it is a play upon base animosities. My policy would be just the opposite.

**As President I would constantly endeavor to have all citizens recognize that their own best future, even from their own selfish standpoints, rests in the welfare and success of the nation as a whole and that it therefore rests in cooperation and in respect for one another without regard to religion or race or riches.**

Let me be specific.

The greatest threat to the long-term welfare of our unrivalled economic system is found in the bitterness and the antagonism between labor and capital. I believe in the American economic system and I feel that if this clash continues it will in time bring down on us nationalization and socialization and rigid controls, just as it has in England. This would mean the end of the American system, and it would be a tragedy for labor as well as for capital.

The major key to the operation of the American economic system is the profit and loss factor. For that is the regulator and adjuster of the competitive free system.

**In my judgment our American economic system of people's capitalism will best be served by the development throughout American business of voluntary profit-sharing plans by corporations with their employees.**

Therefore, as President, I would actively encourage the development of voluntary profit-sharing plans with employees throughout the country.

The principal method of doing this would be through giving more favorable treatment in the tax laws to a business corporation that shared its profits with its employees, including its skilled and unskilled, managerial, professional and clerical personnel.

In other words, less tax-paying to the Federal government and more profit-sharing with employees would be our objective for American business.

The efficient production and distribution of goods or services at a price that will compete successfully in the market place and be within reach of prospective customers is the tradition of American business. If America is to continue that tradition, business must be able to pay good wages to employees who are free to organize, to maintain their unions, and to bargain collectively and effectively. It should also be able to offer good salaries or other payments to the managers and to scientists and engineers who make the business operate successfully. And it should be permitted to pay a good return in interest or dividends to the owners of the money invested in the pools and factories, in plants and equipment.

Finally, it should be possible for corporations to establish reserves for modernization, future expansion and the research that means new products and a rising standard of living.

Then, if profits climb beyond these requirements, the additional profits should be shared with the employees as well as with the managers and the owners.

If the profits are shared, much can be accomplished in increasing the understanding and therefore the support of the American economic system by the employees. And if the employees of the corporations across America understand and support the American economic system, that system will be as firmly grounded as the Bill of Rights itself, with both political parties actively championing and defending it.



The profit-sharing plans will, of course, need to be worked out very carefully; they must be fair and at the same time must protect the rights of management. But hundreds of companies are now operating under such plans and from their experience, with proper encouragement from government, profit-sharing can spread across the nation in a few years' time.

It would also be the policy of my administration to see to it that each major economic group received a good and just share of a high over-all national income.

This policy is especially important to the farmers. In return for producing a bountiful supply of good food, they should have an excellent income, received without governmental control of their lands, or their crops, or their marketing. This would be my administration's policy and it can be carried out without great difficulty along with the programs for a modern gold standard and full employment with profit-sharing.

If the relations between groups within America are improved and the currency is kept sound, rapid progress can be made towards better housing, better health, and better schools. We can have full employment, with conservation of natural resources, and without socialization.

While working out these important domestic policies very carefully, as President, I would never lose sight of the fact that a consistent and successful foreign policy is essential to the well-being of our American people at home.

The most serious failures of the present national administration have been failures of foreign policy.

These failures are the chief reason why the Communists have become the cruel masters of more than 800 millions of people who were our friends, and today these Communists are a threat to America and to the rest of the world. And their encroachments, encouraged by fumbling and ineptitude, are in turn the principal reason why taxes are so high, prices are climbing, millions of young Americans are in uniform, and other millions will be called.

**It is my view that the foreign policy of our country should have these clear-cut, outspoken objectives:**

To help all peoples make progress towards better living and become our friends;

**To defeat Communism without a World War;**

To turn all nations away from Socialism towards economic freedom;

To strengthen the United Nations and rewrite the Charter.

The terrible errors of these past six and one-half years have come about through being soft towards Communism, sympathetic towards Socialism, confused in policy, and blundering in program.

A new American foreign policy—definitely stated, forthrightly explained, and clearly understood which would oppose Communism everywhere as an enemy of freedom and human decency, and would refuse to aid Socialism as a mistaken blind alley leading towards stagnating bureaucracy and totalitarianism, would give dynamic strength to our leadership in the world.

The vast majority of men and women everywhere would welcome such a foreign policy. We would seek to dominate no other nation. We would move consistently towards more freedom and better living for people everywhere.

As we did so, we would maintain a strong and alert military position so that if the Communists made a desperate military attack we would defeat them. Meanwhile with ingenuity and persistence we would send the truth through the Iron Curtain to the enslaved peoples on the other side. At home we would insist upon unwavering loyalty to America on the part of every employee of the Federal Government and would redouble our efforts against spies and saboteurs.

I have great confidence that such a new foreign policy, consistent and resolute, would lead to a stable peace. The resistance of the prisoner peoples within the Iron Curtain is already a major deterrent to a Communist aggressive war. If

Russia began a shooting war, we would defeat her. And on the economic and social front we can defeat Communism and its fraudulent ideology all around the world, if we but set our policy to do it.

**The dynamic policy I advocate rejects the negative and soft internationalist-containment policy which the administration has followed. It also rejects the timid, semi-isolationist-defensive policy which some others advocate.**

**The policy I urge on America recognizes the challenge and responsibility of world leadership and it steps forward to exercise that leadership for the sake of the future freedom and civilization of mankind.**

These inter-related policies at home and abroad would be worthy of the great traditions of America and would be in keeping with its high principles.

**They would result in a higher real income for American people of all walks of life, in a better deal than any narrow or reactionary or socialistic program could offer.**

And to put the program into effect, I would create an administration composed of the most alert men and women of high integrity in America. And I would seek the advice and counsel of experienced men, regardless of party, who place the future of their country above all other considerations.

For example, in acting on problems of the Western Pacific and in devising military plans for that area, I would confer with that soldier-statesman, General Douglas MacArthur.

On questions of financial and economic policy, domestic and foreign, I would seek the views of that sage of the past half century, the Honorable Bernard Baruch.

Similarly on the problems of Western Europe and of our military policy I would ask the recommendations of General Dwight D. Eisenhower. I have just returned from talking with him. His views are very sound and his ability is remarkable.

In reorganizing and streamlining the over-grown, corrupt, and inefficient Federal bureaucracy, I would consult that remarkable administrator, the Honorable Herbert Hoover.

And on matters related to the United Nations and the dependent and struggling peoples of Asia, Africa, and the Near East, I would call upon the Honorable Ralph Bunche.

I would also seek support and cooperation of the Democrats of the nation for all measures of broad public concern. Here my key contacts for guidance would be the Honorable James A. Farley, and Senator Harry F. Byrd.

I would take full responsibility for the decisions which I made, but in all humility I frankly state the need which I or anyone should feel for the best of suggestions and advice before making decisions which are of such grave consequence to America and to mankind.

I wish to make it clear that I do not expect any of these men to become active in any way in my campaign. Some of them may in fact take a part in the campaign of some other candidate. But regardless of that, if I am elected I intend to seek their counsel and advice because of their pre-eminent qualifications in their special fields and their unquestioned and superlative loyalty to our country.

These, then, are the high-lights of the policies and methods I would follow as your President. I have great confidence that under such policies our nation would make great progress in a world at peace, that the United Nations could be strengthened, that gradually all mankind would climb to better living and a richer culture.

I believe deeply that these are the right policies. I will present them frankly and fully in the weeks ahead to the voters of America in the Republican primaries and conventions across the nation, and if I am nominated and elected, they are the policies I pledge to carry out as your President, God willing, in the next four years.

And now may I restate in a quick summary my program for the future happiness and well-being of my fellow citizens?

**This is that program:**

A higher moral standard in the nation's capital with plain honesty in public employees.

A modern gold standard to anchor the American dollar, to make it a "solid dollar," and prevent the disaster of runaway inflation; and with this full employment, excellent farm income, conservation of natural resources, and a balanced budget.

Greater harmony between groups in our country, with less tax-paying and more profit-sharing plans with employees throughout American business.

A new American foreign policy, dynamic and clear-cut, to win the peace and gain expanding freedom for ourselves and for others.

An administration that is not a "one man band" but uses experienced counsel and advice, and an exceptionally able, high-caliber, and unquestionably loyal administration serving the people as a whole.

On the basis of this program and these policies I invite and will welcome the support of all forward-looking men and women, Republicans and Democrats, Independents and Non-Partisans.

I particularly urge the young men and young women who believe in this program and in this approach to America's problems to join with us in this movement.

We will need candidates for Republican delegates throughout the states of the Union. We will need workers of every kind. We will need campaign funds from thousands of contributors. Above all we need a million volunteers to speak to their neighbors, their friends, their relatives.

We also urge young people to run for seats in Congress, for offices in court houses, for positions in party leadership, for delegates to county and district and state and national Republican conventions.



Whoever you may be and wherever you may be, if you believe in the program I have outlined for the future of America, we need, we invite, we welcome your support.

Together we can meet the threats.

We can stop the price spirals, clear up the danger of war, let young people plan for their own futures, and lift the moral standards of our country.

I have great faith in the glorious future of our country. I pledge my devoted efforts in the service of America, and through America to the service of mankind under God.



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