

The Economic Club of New York

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United States Senator from California

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The Issues Before the voters in 1952

Regardless of who eventually is selected as the Republican candidate for President, it is essential that he put on a fighting campaign on the great issues which confront the nation. This is necessary not only because such a campaign is the best guaranty for victory but because the national interest requires that the people be given a choice between the program of the present Administration and that which the Republicans would adopt if they are returned to power.

The major issue confronting the country is the very survival of the nation. Great concern has been expressed that the Party in power cannot be defeated during a period of prosperity. But this is true only if the people are not made to realize that there is an issue which is even more important to their welfare than temporary material prosperity. Consequently, the Republican candidate must drive home the fact that high wage scales and attractive social programs will mean nothing at all unless we can develop a more effective policy for resisting forces which would destroy the nation at home and abroad.

There are those who say that all the Republicans have to do in 1952 is to point up the failures of the present Administration. While there is a chance that this might be true I do not believe that such a program is good enough for the nation and, for that reason, I do not believe that it is good

enough for the Republican Party. The nation is in danger – it needs leadership. The Republican Party will win and will deserve to win if it convinces the country that it can furnish the leadership and the program which the country needs.

The inadequacy of the Administration's foreign policy is best demonstrated by the stark fact that the free nations have lost six hundred million people to the Communists during the first six years of the Truman Administration – one hundred million a year. It is this record which has destroyed the confidence of the people in the policies of the Administration and that confidence, I submit, will not be restored until we get new leaders who will develop a new policy.

For our policy to be successful, it must be geared to meet our major potential enemy – the world Communist conspiracy – on all fronts. What the Republican Party must do is to convince the people that it can do a more effective job than the Administration is attaining these major objectives:

1. The United States, at home, and her allies abroad, must remain militarily stronger than Russia and her satellites.
2. The economy of the United States must be kept strong, sound, productive and free.
3. The development of a fair, sane and effective program of internal security.
4. The reestablishment of high standards of morality and integrity in Washington so that the United States can effectively lead the fight in the ideological struggle which is going on all over the world.

The administration's failure to build up the military strength of the United States is pointed up by

the fact that we have appropriated over one hundred billion dollars for the armed forces since World War II and yet had only one and one-half divisions ready for combat when the Korean War broke out. Its failure in gaining the support of allies abroad is demonstrated by the fact that after spending thirty billion dollars over the past six years aiding our allies in Europe, when we needed their help in Korea they furnished only one combat soldier for every ten Americans. This was one of the greatest diplomatic failures in the history of the world.

There has been too much of a tendency to beg and bribe our allies to support the policies which we believe are in our best interests as well as theirs, rather than to develop the courageous, consistent, firm leadership which will command the confidence of our allies and the respect of our enemies rather than their contempt which is too often the case at the present time. The \$120,000 ransom paid to Hungary to gain the freedom of the four American flyers is a case in point. This is a far cry from the type of leadership which we had in the early days of the Republic when we told the Barbary pirates “Millions for defense but not one cent for tribute.”

The Republican Party has this great advantage over the present Administration. We can develop a policy which will not have in it the seeds of the error which curses our present policy; the error which led to the fall of China. We have consistently recognized the importance of Asia as well as Europe. We have consistently been true one-worlders insofar as military and diplomatic policy is concerned, and not half-worlders, and for that reason we can and will develop a policy and a program which will have the best chance of keeping both Asia and Europe on our side in the

struggle in which we are engaged.

The Truman Administration has consistently failed to recognize that the United States can be destroyed just as effectively and completely by forces within as by enemies abroad. The President has constantly deprecated all suggestions that there might be a limit to what the economy of the United States can stand in supporting military expenditures at home and our aid programs abroad. It is in this field that the Republican Party has a clear-cut and definite responsibility to drive home to the people the necessity for maintaining a sound, strong, productive and free economy in this country. We must tell the people frankly that we cannot have our cake and eat it too.

At a time when military expenditures are necessarily high, we must have the courage to cut all non-defense expenditures right down to the bone. This means postponing even desirable social programs and local projects which are not proved to be absolutely essential.

We should attack inflation at its source, recognizing that during an emergency period it is necessary to have some controls, but recognizing also that in the final analysis a balanced budget and high production are the only effective answers to inflation. As Republicans, we should pledge ourselves to force the Government to live within its income and thereby protect the value of the people's dollars.

As Republicans, we shall not allow this emergency to be used to socialize any basic American institution. We have only to look at what has happened to England, to France, to Italy, and all the other countries of the world which have tried a little socialism to know what the tragic results would be if we were to do likewise.

The failure of this Administration to develop an effective program to meet the activities of the Communist fifth column in the United States is one of its most vulnerable points. There is no greater service that a Republican Administration can render to this country than to restore the confidence of the people in the integrity and loyalty of our Government officials in Washington.

What we must recognize is that the question in all cases where Government employees are involved is, and should be, not one of loyalty or disloyalty but solely one of security and national interest. The case of Philip Jessup is exactly in point. The President's action in sending him to Paris to represent us in negotiations with the Communists is a deliberate slap in the face to the majority of the members of the Senate who did not and will not vote for his confirmation and to the great majority of the American people who lack confidence in his ability to deal effectively with the Communist negotiators. The question is not one of his loyalty but of his judgment. And on that score, he strikes out on three points: (1) He was one of the architects of our policy in the Far East which has proved to be such a disastrous failure. (2) He was a character witness for Alger Hiss. (3) For whatever reason, he showed the poor judgment to allow his name to be used by organizations which were dominated by Communists.

Certainly in this period, when the fate of our nation is at stake, the least the American people can ask is to be represented by individuals who have proved by their records that they have consistently had a clear understanding of the operations of the Communist conspiracy and an appreciation of its dangers.

During the period when the world is looking to the United States to furnish the moral and spiritual leadership which the free nations must have if they are to defeat the forces of slavery and totalitarianism, it is essential that we reestablish in Washington the high standards of Government service which have been responsible for our success as a nation in the past and which are so sadly lacking today.

This issue, properly exploited, can by itself defeat the Party in power. It will be remembered that for four consecutive elections the Democratic candidates have campaigned against the so-called “vested interests.” Now the shoe is on the other foot. The Republican candidate must bring home to the people that there is an entirely new class of vested interests in this country – the racketeers who get concessions on their income tax cases, the insiders who get favored treatment on government contracts, the influence peddlers with keys to the back door of the White House, the Government employee who uses his position to feather his nest, the favored few who do not have to pay for their mink coats, their deep freezes on their vacations in Florida.

The Republican candidate must constantly drive home the fact that when a Government contract

is granted in an excessive amount because of influence exerted upon a Government official, the people pay the bill; when an R.F.C. loan is made for purposes other than the public interest, the people pay the bill; when a gangster or racketeer chisels on his income tax with the help of a crooked collector of Internal Revenue, the people pay the bill.

President Truman's appointment of Attorney General McGrath to conduct the investigation of corruption in Government is in effect a bald faced declaration that there will be no clean up. The Justice Department itself is under fire and the question which millions of Americans will ask is how can McGrath investigate McGrath?

The President's action can prove to be a political windfall for the Republicans. But as yet, the Republicans have failed to convince the people that they would do a better job of house cleaning in Washington than the Party in power. I have noted in my travels through the country and in speaking before non-political audiences that the great majority of the people are fast losing confidence in all politicians, Republicans and Democrats alike. A recent Gallop Poll bore out this conclusion when it indicated that a substantial majority of all people contacted did not feel there would be any improvement in moral standards in Washington if a Republican Administration were elected.

This distrust for politicians accounts without question for the great popularity of men like General Eisenhower and General MacArthur who are not considered to be politicians.

What we must do is to convince the people that they will not be exchanging one group of thieves for another if they elect a Republican Administration.

It is essential that the people be convinced that if they elect a Republican Administration there will be at least some improvement. That is why I have consistently stated that as a starting point, the Republican Party should announce a policy now that no representative or employee of the Republican National Committee in Washington will be allowed to hold a position where he can profit, either directly or indirectly, from any dealings with the Federal Government. Unless we Republicans take constructive action of this type there is grave danger that a Democratic candidate other than President Truman might steal the corruption issue right from under our noses.

End of Remarks