THE KEYNOTER WAVING TO THE CROWD

<del>\_\_\_\_\_</del>\_ - ... Following is the text of General of the Army Douglas MacArthur's keynote address last night to the twenty-fifth Republican National Convention as recorded by THE NEW YORK TIMES:

Mr. CHAIRMAN, LADIES AND GEN-TLEMEN:

Possibly never before has a soldier been called to a rostrum such as this to participate in the deliberations of a great political party. I approach the task in a spirit of humility born of full understanding of my own marked limitations, but fortified by so solemn an obligation.

In this unusual assignment, 1 feel a deep consciousness of the nature and gravity of the crusade upon which we now embark-a crusade to which all sound and patriotic Americans, irrespective of party, may well dedicate their hearts and minds and fullest effort. Only thus can our beloved country restore its spiritual and temporal strength and regain once again the universal respect.

I speak with a sense of pride that all of my long life I have been a member of the Republican party, as before me was my father, an ardent supporter of Abraham Lincoln. I have an abiding faith that this party, if it remains true to its great traditions, can provide the country with a leadership which, as in, the days of Lincoln, will bring

us back to peace and tranquil-Perhaps it is unnecessary here to indict the present Administration for all of its tragic blunders. For that indictment has already found full expression in the resentments which have poured from the hearts of the American people from North to South, East to West, with no distinction of race, creed, color or political affiliation.

Cites 'Insatiate' Ambitions

I know. From the four corners of the land, I have seen; I have heard. It has been a spontaneous expression reflecting a deep sense of fear that our leaders in their insatiate demand for ever more personal power might destroy the Republic and erase from the earth those mighty principles of government which brought to this land a liberty, a dignity and a prosperity never before known. It has been an expression of faith in our ultimate destiny as a free people; an acknowledgment of individual responsibility in the achievement of that destiny; a vibrant testimonial that the love of liberty still burns unquenchable in the American heart.

Many of the people who thus register the depth of their resentments do not fully comprehend the nature and degree of the policy misdirection which has brought us to fiscal instability, political insecurity and military weakness.

But, they view with dismay the failures of our leaders in the short aftermath of victory which causes us, the once proud and mighty victor, unceasingly to call upon every American mother to yield her sons in a fight for national survival; which causes us to submit to extortion and blackmail for the release of our citizens unlawfully detained by nations with which we are at peace; which causes us to deprive our beloved divisions committed to battle in Korea of the power and the means and the will to achieve victory-our country's traditional military goal.

They view with dismay the alarming change in the balance of world power, arising from the tragic decisions taken by willful or guileless men representing us at Teheran, Yalta, Potsdam and elzewhere. Those reckless men who, yielding to international intrique, set the stage for Seviet ascondency as a world power and our own relative deciine.

'Weakness' Laid to Leaders

They view with dismay the tragic weakness of our leaders reflected in their inability to rebuild our strength and restore our prestige, even after our commitment to war in Korea more than two long years ago dramatically emphasized the inadequacy of our security preparation; reflected in their inability to conserve our resources even while they warn of national peril; reflected in their tolerance of corruption or worse in the higher positions of the pub-

lic service. They view with dismay the rising burden of our fiscal commitments, the deprivation of the opportunity to accumulate resources for future security and family obligations, the growing tendency of Government to control personal life and suppress individual freedom.

Our people are desperate for a plan which will revive hope and restore faith as they feel the oppressive burden of the tax levy upon every source of revenue and unon every property transaction; as they see the astronomically rising public debt heavily mortgaging the industry, the well-being and the opportunity of our children and our children's children; as they observe the rising costs of the necessities of life impairing the effectiveness of pensions, insurance and other fixed incomes and reducing the aged and infirm to appalling circum-

stances. They look to their leaders, but their protests are silenced by the grim warnings of the disaster of a possible total war. They see no sign of concern, hear no words of encouragement, find no basis for easing fear. Their every expression of hope for reduction in the tax burden is met by the angry rejoinder that taxes must go even

There is no plan to transform extravagance into frugality, no desire to regain economic and fiscal stability, no prospect of return to the rugged idealism and collective tranquility of our

fathers. Washington's Word Recalled They yearn to regain the religious faith and spiritual rectitude of the past. They remember the counsel of General Washington when he said in his farewell

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would that man claim the tribute of patriotism who should labor to subvert these great pillars of human happiness, these firmest props of the duties of

men and citizens." But the people detect no heed given this wise counsel. They with ness instead only a ceaseless ef-

fort to spend and spend, to tax and tax, only a callous indifference to mounting disclosures of graft and corruption and waste in the public administration. The religious devotion of the American people which has produced the universally reflected

dominates the National Administration. Public policy na longer is geared to the simple determination of that which is right and that

spirituality of the American home

has been outraged by the mate-

rialism and selfishness which

which is wrong, The objective has been to build political strength even at the expense of the public interest. This is incomprehensible to our people who understand fully the influence religion and morality have always exerted upon political stability. They know from the lessons of history that national strength and greatness inevitably find their true measure in existing moral and ethical standards.

But, one asks, how can it be that the party of Jefferson and Jackson, which once contributed so magnificently to the building of the Republic, would now sponsor and support so tragic a cleavage from our great traditions? How could it despoil these very concepts of humanity and government upon which rested our past spiritual and temporal strength?

Sees 'Totalitarian' Trend The answer is as clear as it is distressing. That party of noble heritage has become captive to the schemers and planners who have infiltrated its ranks of leadership to set the national course unerringly toward the socialistic

regimentation of a totalitarian

To such end they have sought to circumvent the safeguards to our liberties wisely written into the Constitution of the United States. At one stage there was even the attempt to subvert the independence of our Supreme Court by adding new members pliable to the will of the Executive-at another, the claim of extraordinary "inherent" power without the slightest sanction in

They have too frequently regarded that immutable charter as an instrument of political expediency. In the hyprocisy of selfrighteousness, they hail their course as true liberalism. Yet every move they make to circumvent the spirit of the Constitution, every move they make to centralize political power, every move they make to curtail and suppress individual liberty is reaction in its most extreme form. For the framers of the Constitution were the most liberal thinkers of all the ages and the charter they produced out of the liberal revolution of their time

has never been and is not now surpassed in liberal thought. Our forefathers associated together into a sovereign state for the sole and only purpose of protecting their common liberties, not of yielding them again to a centralized Federal authority. Their concept held to the primacy of the individual's interest; that of our present leadership to the

predominance of the state. They who trample upon constitutional liberty by the undue centralization and imposition of political power are turning back the pages of history and gradually reinstituting those very excesses and abuses for which the British Crown was indicted in 1776 by our Declaration of Independence. They are the dangerous reactionaries in contemporary American politics.

Cites 'Arbitrary Controls' They have trifled with that great American institution-free, private, competitive enterprise, keystone to the arch of our economic strength as a nation and prosperity as a people. By the imposition of oppressive and arbitrary controls upon business and production; by exhaustive taxation which withers initiative, reduces energy and, in the end, destroys the spirit of enterprise; by spendthrift policies which stagger the imagination; by discouraging adherence to the principle of private ownership of property, they have established the prerequisites to a socialistic or even later a communistic state. And, as they thus chart a course with such reckless abandon leading toward ultimate national bankruptcy, they endeavor to mislead and control the public mind by a patronage of money, by devices calculated to create an artificial appearance of prosperity and by a continuous flow of irresponsible and deceptive

propaganda. But the people in their innate wisdom are not misled by such tactics of deception. Alert to reality, they know that the value of the dollar has diminished about 50 per cent and is still going down. They find insufficient compensation in nominally higher income, however skillfully propagandized as a mark of pros-

perity. They entertain a growing fear that the same policy misdirection which has debased the dollar will in time so impair our economy as to imperil the nation's solvency and thus destroy our living standard. With the dollar down, prices up and taxes increased, a higher wage buys less today than yesterday. Tomorrow may be even worse. Let me read you this letter

illustrating how millions of Amer-

ican wage earners are losing their living standard:

"In 1941, I was working as a railroad telegrapher, as I am today. My weekly wage was \$38.88. Subtracting \$1.17 for railroad retirement, I had \$37.71 take-home pay-no income tax. My weekly wage now is \$71.32, But from that comes \$4.46 retirement and \$10.50 incomes tax. Net: \$56.36. Also, the cost of living has gone up 189 per cent in the meantime. My old take-home pay was equivalent to \$71.27 today. But my take-home pay today actually is that \$56.36. My loss in income is \$14.91. In other words, after eleven years, and with no compensation for added experience or increased productivity due to technological developments, I have actually suffered a pay cut of about \$15 per week.'

And so it is with all of us. In this march away from our traditional American standards, few of our former liberties have been left unimpaired. Rights and powers specifically reserved to state, community and individual by constitutional mandate have been ruthlessly suppressed by a creeping Federal authority. Reckless abuse has been made of that most dangerous of all sovereign powers-the power to tax. We find ourselves already past the point where higher taxes might be expected to produce higher revenue.

The propaganda of fear is replacing our once dynamic initiative, well-tested vision and unparalleled energy in a frantic effort to whip-lash the country into a maximum of production.

Attacks "Alien Philosophy"

This misdirection of public policy, which so endangers survival of our traditional American way of life, finds its genesis in an alien and foreign philosophy, its application in American politics designed to further entrench a twenty-year hold upon the political power.

It emphasizes with startling clarity the sage warning of a wise and farseeing Democratic leader of many years ago, Senator Benjamin Hill of the State of Georgia, who foresaw something of what has happened, but I dare say expected the responsibility would be chargeable to a Republican Administration. He cautioned on the floor of the Senate of the United States:

dustrial) corporations as instruments of power to destroy this country, because there are a thousand agencies which can regulate, restrain and control them; but there is a corporation we may all well dread. That corporation is the Federal Government. "From the aggressions of this corporation, there can be no safety if it is allowed to go beyond

the well-defined limits of its pow-

er. I dread nothing so much as

the exercise of ungranted and

"I have said I do not dread (in-

doubtful powers by this Govern-"It is, in my opinion, the danger of dangers to the future of this country. Let us be sure to keep it always within its limits. If this great, ambitious, evergrowing corporation become onpressive, who shall check it? If it hecome wayward, who shall control it? If it become unjust, who

Begs for Vigilance

shall trust it?

"As sentinels on the country's watchtower, Senators, I beseech you—watch and guard with sleepless dread that corporation which can make all property and rights, all states and people, and all liberty and hope its playthings in an

hour, and its victims forever." How prophetic this warning! How far our institutions have been yielded to these very excesses of power which he so deeply feared—and this, ironically enough, under the stewardship of his own party! Let none say this is but a partisan conclusion. For North or South, East or West, men and women of thatever political faith recognize the tragic truth of this circumstance.

But our failures in domestic policy can be overcome, for government takes its tone, its character, even its general efficiency from its leadership.

Sound leadership can restore integrity to the public service; can economize in the public administration; can eliminate disloyal elements from public authority; can purge our educational system of subversive and immoral influence; can restore to youth its rightful heritage; can strengthen the fabric of our free economy; can raise the dollar to its true value; can reduce the tax burden on individual and industry; can regain the course of constitutional direction; can recapture personal liberties now impaired; can correct social inequities; can strengthen the position of both worker and owner in private industry, even while protecting the public interest; can fortify the initiative, energy and enterprise of the farmer so as to insure the adequacy of the production of food in lean years and its distribution in those of plenty without being crippled by the unwarranted interference and domination of government; and can rearm the nation without undue burden upon the people.

Turns to Foreign Policy

The correction of domestic evils and lapses would not be too difficult provided the will to do so firmly exists. Foreign policy has been as tragically in error as has domes-

tic policy. We practically invited Soviet dominance over the free peoples of Eastern Europe through strategic dispositions of Soviet force at the close of the European war: we deliberately withdrew our armies from thousands of square miles of hard-won territory, permitting the advance of Soviet forces to the West to plant the

General of the Army Douglas MacArthur acknowledging the cheers of the delegates before he made his address last night.

red flag of communism on the ramparts of Berlin, Vienna and Prague, capitais of Western civilization; we recklessly yielded effective control over areas of vast uranium deposits without which the Soviet might never have developed the threat of atomic power; we foolishly permitted the encirclement of Berlin by Soviet forces, rendering almost inevitable the tragically high cost we have had to pay to secure open lines of supply and communication between our zones of occupation there and in West Germany; we authored, sponsored or approved policies under which the German industrial plant was subjected to major post-war dismantling and destruction; we turned over to the Soviet for slave labor hundreds of thousands of German prisoners of war in violation of every humanitarian concept and tradition; we failed to protest the murder by the Soviet of the flower of the Polish nation; and even after victory had been achieved, we continued to supply the Soviet with quantities of war material, despite the clear and inescapable warnings of the Soviet threat to future

Sees Blunders in East

In the East, we gave over to Soviet control the industrial resources of Manchuria, the area of North Korea and the Kuriles pointed at the heart of the Japanese home islands. We condemned our faithful war-time ally, the Chinese people, to the subjugation of Communist tyranny. And, in the course of these moves, we proceeded with precipitate haste to divest ourselves of our own military strength.

Despite the threat to our security then clearly apparent, our Executive flouted and ignored the judgment and will of the Congress which appropriated funds for the expansion of our air arm which he arbitrarily re-

fused to expend for such pur-Small wonder indeed that from the combination of these tragic decisions and events, there occurred a reversal of the balance of world power such as history

has never before recorded. Then, suddenly, with our milltary strength standing at possibly the lowest relativity in history-our divisions in Japan reduced from three to two regiments, our regiments from three to two battalions, our battalions from three to two companies with our protection withdrawn from South Korea as a militarily indefensible peninsula, we there and then plunged our forces into

war to defend it. Few would take exception to the impulse, however idealistic, to support the preservation of freedom where we had done so much to implant the principles and spirit of freedom, but it is fatal to enter any war without the will to win it. I criticize not the morality of the decision, but its irresponsibility and reckless-

We defeated the North Korean armies; but, when the Communist armies of China struck, our leaders lacked the courage to fight to a military decision, even though victory was then readily within our grasp—a victory which would not only have discharged our commitment to the Korean people, but which in the long run might well have saved continental Asia from Red domination.

And, after discarding victory as the military objective and thereby condemning our forces to a stalemated struggle of attrition and the Korean nation and people to progressive obliteration, we again yielded to Communist intrigue and entered into protracted armistice negotiations even though every lesson of experience had clearly shown such negotiations to be but the means whereby such

an enemy gains time to reinforce his military capabilities. While I have not been consulted with reference to Korea since my retirement from active assignment fifteen months ago, I can unhesitatingly say that a leadership which by weakness and indecision has brought about such a military dilemma lacks the soundness of vision, the moral courage and the resolute will to resolve it.

But resolved it must be, for we cannot long carry so intolerable a burden. We must have a leadership capable of decision, as indecision in war is but the prelude to disaster.

No military problem is unsolvable. Korea stands today as the hallowed graveyard for countless American dead. We must not let it become as well a graveyard for American hope, American faith and American honor.

In Europe, and indeed throughout the world, our foreign policy approach has been equally as vacillating and negative and, for the most part, sad indeed to relate, under the domination of others.

We have yielded to selfish pressures both at home and abroad and, in so doing, have unduly directed the distribution of our wealth into\_privileged channels, have taken sides in international disputes which were fundamentally none of our affair, and have endeavored to impose our will on other nations' purely domestic problems in imperialistic manner.

Says Friends Are Neglected We have ignored traditional friends while showering our favors on others, and we have lost that sense of judicial fairness which formerly characterized our relations abroad. In our preoccupation with Europe, we have tended to discard from our concern those great peoples of Asia and the Middle East who historically have sought not our wealth, but our friendship and understanding.

Our "Good Neighbor" policy with respect to the peoples of Central and South America-of greater strategic concern than all others-has been largely subordinated. Through the paternalistic attitude which has dominated our material assistance abroad, we have promoted as much weakness as strength, as much resent-

ment as friendship. Animated by the doubtful belief that with money alone we could <mark>er</mark>ect internal bulwarks again<mark>st</mark> communism's growth, our leaders have expended much of our resource on the area of Western Europe.

Events have largely established the fallacy of this reasoning. Indeed, the history of mankind shows clearly that the love of liberty is a spiritual resource of the human heart which, if nonexistent, does not spring from

money alone. None will quarrel with the impulse to do all reasonably within our power to assist the best effort of the peoples of Western Europe to prepare their bastions for self-defense, but communism with its recently acquired strategic frontiers in Asia and Europe and its penetration elsewhere by internal minority influences, presents a world-wide problem, the solution of which involves consideration of every point of possible Communist

pressure. One would be foolhardy indeed

to quench a fire in the kitchen while leaving another room aflame. The problem is global, not sectional. Nor would the free world be the gainer, if our own nation which from its own conception in liberty has ever stood as a beacon of hope and inspiration should so exhaust itself of spiritual and material resource as to render its own survival subject to the will of others.

Fears Death of Liberty

Such a tragedy would return civilization to the darkness of the Middle Ages and the ideal of human liberty might perish from the earth.

But the present Administration ignores the lessons of history, however clear and unmistakable. It ignores the practical aspect that there is a limit even to our own vast' resources. It ignores the fact that our po-

tential strength rests not so much upon any natural advantages which we have and others have not, but upon the initiative and vision the enterprise and courage, the sweat and toil which alone spring from the incentive of freedom. Destroy such incentive and our

nation can go the way of many others toward a universal level of mediocrity—a standard of life measured by the lowest common denominator which is communism's ultimate goal. The Administration is obsessed

by the idea that we can spend ourselves into a position of leadership abroad, just as it believes we can spend ourselves into prosperity at home. Both are based upon illusory premises. Both challenge economic and social truths, deeply rooted in the experience of mankind. World leadership can only rest

upon world respect. Such respect is one of those spiritual ideals which do not result from gifts, propaganda, salesmanship or any artificial means. It is not for barter to the high-

orbit of international trade. It is influenced solely by the soundness of the ideas by which we better our own civilization, elevate to higher standards our own way of life, and strengthen the dignity of our own citizenry. Only through the exemplification of sound ideas which in the crucible of experience have produced for us a better and more serene life may we contribute in fullest measure to the well-being of others.

est bidder. It is not within the

Bespeaks High Standard

The higher our own standard and more stable we become, the greater our appeal to less fortunate peoples and the more they will look to us and our ways for guidance and leadership. This applies equally to those, behind the Iron Curtain and those still blessed by the concept of human freedom. For the whole record of civilization proves that the tyranny has not as yet been devised which can long resist a sound idea.

Spiritually and physically we possess the resource, properly conserved and realistically applied, to lead toward a world freed from the exhausting wars which have so plagued the past. This is a practical purpose, not visionary. For the destructiveness of modern war has now in the atomic age become too frightful to contemplate by even a potential victor.

This then must be the direction of our foreign policy. We must, upon restoration of our military strength and spiritual balance recklessly dissipated in our headlong retreat from victory, chart from that strength a true and unequivocal course to peace and tranquillity—a peace and tranquillity which will be real, not fictitious; deep-rooted,

not superficial. Our ideal must be eventually the abolition of war. Such is the longing hope of all of the masses of mankind of whatever race or tribe. Indeed, so well is this understood that even the despot in order to assure a following cloaks the threat or application of force with the hyprocritical pretense that his purpose is to secure the peace.

But rarely has the present Administration made a major move calculated to strengthen the fabric of world peace.

To the contrary, it has done much to advance the danger of global strife by its indecisive conduct of the campaign in Korea with its shameful implication that we dare not strike back at those who strike at us, by its bellicose attitude toward all who oppose i in international diplomacy, and by its pattern of collective security agreements which, without as yet having mounted either the will or the physical power to successfully meet aggression, have divided the world into armed camps and rendered us dependent, not alone upon the wisdom of our own foreign policy to keep us out of war, but upon the foreign policies and diplomatic

moves of other nations as well. Sees Move Toward War

We must fully understand that. once we commit ourselves to the defense of others, the issue of war or peace is no longer in our exclusive hands, for we become but another pawn in the game of international power politics—a dangerous game-in which the present Administration has demonstrated no peculiar adeptness. It has talked and pledged peace while moving toward war. Indeed, none can deny what history so clearly records—that the Democratic party has well earned the doubtful distinction of being the war party of modern American politics. The dead of World War I, of World War II and of

the youth of America. Despite stresses and strains, the fine basic character of the American people remains unimpaired. It offers hope that under the inspiration of a strong, moral leadership the people-all the peoplewill hurl back insidious efforts to sow the seeds of suspicion, distrust and hatred calculated not only to stir up racial or religious strife between the several segments of our society, but to destroy the unity and common understanding which has been the

the disease of power as to betray

nation. The very survival of our liberties and indeed, our civilization is dependent upon our citizenry of all races, creeds and colors standing firmly and invincibly together with a singleness of purpose, a mutuality of faith and a common prayer—God Bless America.

cornerstone to our growth as a

Quotes Washington Again

It is this spiritual unity which offers assurance that the coming crusade to rechart the nation's course toward peace and security and prosperity will find an aroused countryside ready and eager to march. That crusade rests upon the

humanitarian aspirations of mankind, its Constitutional rights, and the moral necessity for human happiness. It demands a purification of the nation's conscience and a refortification of its will and faith. Therein lies the Republican party's challenge to leadership. At the close of the Constitutional Convention, George Wash-

ington remarked to Benjamin Franklin that he believed the Constitution as finally evolved was a great and noble charter of liberty upon which the several states could rally, unite and prosper. "Yes, general," Franklin responded, "if we can make it

We have made it work in the days of our great past. And come November, we will make it work again—so help us God!

the Korean war render mute testimony.

We must remain faithful to the commitments we have made to others, so long as they remain faithful to theirs made to us, but failure of the principle of collective security in Korea, where we have found ourselves holding responsibility without corresponding authority, plainly warns that too much must not be expected from collective security elsewhere.

Indeed, in Western Europe as in Korea, experience has shown a reluctance by many of the Allies to assume a fair and rightful share of the military burden, even though in the case of Western Europe the basic purpose would be the defense of its own

This hesitancy does not spring from any insufficiency of manpower, nor the exhaustion of other needed resource, but rather from a seeming confident assurance that this nation's blood and treasure will be committed to the fullest extent needed to accomplish the military objective. The free peoples of Asia and the Middle East do not ask for American garrisons to defend their soil. All they seek is the necessary military equipment beyond their own capacity of production. They have both the will and adequate men, if properly equipped, themselves to conduct their defense and to turn the tide decisively against commu-

Favors Withdrawal

There is no logical reason why the same solution should not anply with respect to all others. In such circumstance, it should be our unalterable purpose to effect in due time withdrawal of our ground garrisons from service abroad.

By far our nation's greatest resource is our youth. In twenty bitter campaigns, I have witnessed its magnificence in the most trying experience of allthat of the battlefield. It has never failed our faith, never failed an invincible courage, and a patriotism which subordinated life itself to duty.

Yet, as it now approaches the responsibility of civic leadership, it is confronted with a situation made almost desperate by the loss of such opportunity and resource as was our own heritage from the past. This is the greatest tragedy of all—that a national Administration could have so yielded to