

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 GENTLEMEN:

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, I feel a deep consciousness of the nature and gravity of the crusade upon which we now embark—a crusade for which all 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 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 tranquility.

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 the Republic 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, to be again a nation 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; 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—the country's traditional 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 elsewhere. Those reckless men who, yielding to international intrigue, set the stage for Soviet ascendancy as a world power and our own relative decline.

'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 the British Empire, the dominant power of the world, reflected in their tolerance of corruption or worse in the higher positions of the public service.

They view with dismay the rising burden of our fiscal commitments, the desperate search for 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 upon 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 increasing the effectiveness of pensions, insurance and other fixed incomes and reducing the aged and infirm to appalling circumstances.

They look to their leaders, but they protest in silence 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 higher.

There is no plan to transform extravagance into frugality, no desire to regulate 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 address:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political prosperity, religion and morality are indispensable supports. In vain would we make men of paper; our country could never be supported by the false fabric of patriotism which 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 to this wise counsel. They witness instead only a ceaseless of-

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 income tax. Net: \$56.36. Also, the cost of living has gone up 139 per cent in the meantime. My old take-home pay was equivalent to \$71.27 today. But my take-home pay today actually 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 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 Republican Administration. He cautioned on the floor of the Senate of the United States:

"I have said I do not dread (industrial) corporations as instruments of power to destroy the 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 power. I dread nothing so much as the exercise of ungranted and doubtful powers by this Government."

"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, ever-growing corporation becomes a despotic power, who shall check it? If it becomes a tyrant, who shall control it? If it becomes unjust, who shall trust it?"

Begs for Vigilance

"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, irrevocably, 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 whatever 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 conviction 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 domestic 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

THE KEYNOTER WAVING TO THE CROWD



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, capitals 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 authorized, 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 Government 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 peace.

Stice 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, an 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 greatest 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 resentment as friendship.

Animated by the doubtful belief that with money alone we could erect internal bulwarks against 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 non-existent, 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 potential strength rests not so much upon our natural advantages which we have and others have not, but upon the initiative and vision, the enterprise and courage, the sweat and tears which are springing 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 better to the highest bidder. It is not within the 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 a better and more serene life may we contribute in fullest measure to the well-being of others.

Respects 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 tyrant 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 of freedom and spiritual values which have so plagued the past. This is a practical purpose, not the 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 dissipate in our headlong retreat from victory, chart from that strength a true and unequivocal course to peace and tranquility—a peace and tranquility 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 hypocritical 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 it 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.

the Korean war render mute testimony.

We must remain faithful to the commitments we have made to those 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 soil.

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 communism.

Favors Withdrawal

There is no logical reason why the same solution should not apply 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 all—that 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

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 disease of power as to betray 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 people—will 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 have been the cornerstones to our growth as a 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.

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 citizenry 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 reformation of its will and faith. Therein lies the Republican party's challenge to leadership.

At the close of the Constitutional Convention, George Washington 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 work."

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!