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Mr. Chm - Mayor Holstine -

KEYNOTE ADDRESS
Republican Mock Convention,
Washington and Lee University,
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You are met here today to give your answer to the question which has almost completely captured the attention of millions of American citizens -- "Who should be our next President of the United States?" More specifically you will choose the Republican who in your estimation is the best qualified to win a national election, and, having won the election, is the best qualified to lead the country.

I have never seen a time before when this question commanded so much newspaper space and so much private and public discussion in the early months of an election year.

Here we are at the finish of a blazing basketball season and with our major league teams in spring training, but

We are content to let the young men fight our wars.

I am almost persuaded that we should turn over our election battles also to the young people of America. It is you who have the most at stake. And I, for one, would be willing to abide by the decisions of the young men and women of the United States with the full confidence that they would be the right ones.

The present administration and those preceeding it claimed to have a monopoly of heartfelt concern with the comfort and safety of the so-called common man. I ask you how that concern jibes with the fact that we have suffered over 100,000 casualties in nearly two years of bitter warfare in and around the remote peninsula of Korea?

I have no quarrel with the decision to fight in Korea.

I have the greatest admiration for the gallant and resolute showing our forces have made there. But I do question the road that led to Korea, the halting, fumbling leadership which made possible the tortuous footpath from Yalta to Korea.

And that trail of tears will not be ended unless we elect to office a Republican President and Republican Congress who will establish and maintain a realistic foreign policy.

In all affairs -- foreign and domestic -- the Republican Party must aim toward the goal of national unity. If our programs of action are based on integrity and fair-mindedness they will win the support of all groups and classes of citizens.

I am 100% for progress and I am 100% against the idea that it is possible to turn back the clock. But I think that

we can well afford to look back for a moment into history and find in the person of a great Republican president -- Teddy Roosevelt -- the kind of spirit we need in American government today.

Teddy Roosevelt was the man for the times. He was fearless and fair in his dealings with all groups. His practical good sense, his fighting spirit, and remarkable personal popularity went a long way in pushing progressive legislation through Congress.

By such legislation the farmer, the small businessman and the working people as a whole became equal partners in the free enterprise system. And this progress was made without coddling and without any thoughts of getting votes in

the next election. Teddy Roosevelt acted in the name of justice -- not for any one group -- but for all free citizens.

That is the true progressive spirit of the Republican Party.

It is the spirit which we must call to life again in 1952.

We need another such man today -- a man whose magnetism is such that he can stir the pulse of the people and spark a rebirth of moral and individual responsibility.

The Republican Party can carry out this vital task -- but first it must win the election. It is of the first importance that we gain a victory in November. It is important not only to us but to the course of world history.

I would be stepping out of my role as your keynoter if I advocated the individual cause of any of the fine field of

Republican candidates whose names are before you for your consideration. But I feel that I would be shirking my responsibility if I did not outline the odds against the Republican Party today. We all want to win the election. Here are the odds against us.

The Republican Party is now a minority party. In order to poll as many votes as the Democrat Party, we must draw two-thirds -- or approximately ten million of the ballots cast by Independent voters. And we must do even better than that if we are to be assured of enough electoral votes to elect a Republican President. That is a hard fact of political life which you should face as you go about the serious business for which you are met today.

I know that this consideration will be a major factor in the Republican nominating convention in July. And I am also certain that the Republican Party will be united behind whichever man is chosen there to carry the banner of the party. I can promise you that I, for one, will continue to fight for the Republican Party and for a Republican victory.

As we go into the fall election here are some of the factors on which I hope we can base our campaign to the people of the nation.

We must urge that the government be given back to the people.

We must be prepared to preach and to practice the doctrine that the greatest glory of a public servant is to serve the people well.

We must believe in the great American dream of equal opportunity for all and, at the same time, refute the false belief that paternalism is the be-all and the end-all of the American way of life.

We must oppose war as an instrument of international policy, but never forget that at this time of peril, the hope of the free nations is a defense so strong that none will venture to attack.

We must campaign courageously against all of the evils of the Truman administration.

We must awaken the certain conviction that our Republican nominee will administer this great country wisely and well in the tradition of our founding fathers.

But whoever is selected and however we fare, I would like to say in closing that the future of the resurgent Republican Party, its first best hope of leadership and greatness lies in you and the men and women of your age. The need was never greater; the opportunity was never more golden. And the time is now.

H. G. Wells. The Croquet Players

despite this competition the political news of the day seems to hold the top spot in interest among citizens of all ages.

This unusual degree of interest is symbolic of a strong and nationwide conviction that the 1952 election is one of the most important in our history. It is also evidence that there is an overwhelming demand for a change in administration. If people were satisfied with the conduct of American government in 1952, the political pot would not be boiling at its present furious rate.

The people of America want a change -- and they want that change to be the right change.

The people of America demand that they not be short-changed in 1952. They want an end to shoddy and dishonest

practices at home and to half-hearted, politically-tainted attempts at reform. The people of America want, and will demand, an administration which will have a clear-sighted foreign policy which will bring us peace and honor as we face up to the responsibilities of world leadership.

That is the meaning of the great outpouring of voters *in Presidential preferential primary* on ~~March 11~~ in New Hampshire, ~~breaking all~~ primary balloting records in the Granite State. The people of America are aroused. I tell you today that their voice will be heard in an unprecedented volume next November and that the voice of America will call a Republican nominee to the presidency of the United States.

The backdrop is the present world scene and in this I include the domestic, political scene because in the kind of

world we live in the two are inseparably connected. We are not an island continent any more and even the word isolationist has gone to cover as a word with dated connotations. Don't think for a moment that the isolationist have disappeared. I do not imply that; I merely mean that the word has gone out of fashion for the moment.

The foreign peril is chiefly, overwhelmingly, the warlike and imperial designs of the Soviet state. I am not going to quibble over terms. I don't know whether we are in a cold war that may blow hot at any moment, or a police action, at least in Korea, which we are doing our best to confine and limit.

But I do know this. In any part of the world where the United States shows disinterest or weakness for an instant,

there the Russian pressure will be, ready to fill the vacuum with its special brand of terror and aggression.

One reassuring note here. The fact that we have recognized this peril is a start. The fact that we are putting our wisest and best efforts into rearming Europe is a step in the right direction. But one backward step, any return to the old "isolationist," if I may for a moment use an unfashionable word, two-world concept and the peril grows, the ground gained is lost.)

Domestically, I feel that the scene is more desolate and degrading by far. Here is corruption rampant. Here is a wilderness into which we have been led by the policies, or rather the lack of them, of the Democrats. Here we have the shabbiest of morals in high places, and under the Truman

administration a leadership which alternates between indecision and the type of quick and dangerous decision which is more costly still. Here I see the taxpayer as citizen second class, an object of exploitation, even of mockery.

The only way to clean out the Augean Stables of corruption which the Democrats too long in power have brought into being -- in much the same way as barnacles grown on a ship's bottom, or fungus on stone -- the only way to clean house or scrape ship as it were, is to turn the party out to pasture and elect a new, vigorous, Republican ticket with ideas and ideals and as few political commitments as possible.

So we have the background -- of peril abroad and corruption at home. Before filling in the foreground, I want

to make one more short digression, this time into history.

You are students, most of you here, and it is some time since I have had a chance to study. But I did turn back to James Bryce the other day, knowing I was to speak to you ^{today} tonight. Bryce, as you know, was the author of THE AMERICAN COMMONWEALTH, the Englishman who so brilliantly wrote on the nature of our political structure. Bryce loved and believed in America, and as a foreigner could see our strength and weakness impersonally.

Hear him, writing in the mid 1880's, on the Presidency:

"Although the President has been during the last 60 years . . . a party man, seldom much above the average in character or abilities, the office has attained the main objects for which it was created." And he discussed such duties at

some length:

"The domestic authority of the President is in time of peace very small, because by far the larger part of law and administration belongs to the State Government. In wartime, however . . . it expands with portentous speed."

It seems to me that this is a quotation well worth pondering. Rightly or wrongly, we have lived for so long in a time of crisis that the power and authority of the president has become dangerously swollen.

And I say let's keep in mind one of the requirements of the Republican Party and its nominee: a determination to give the government back to the people, to decentralize as much as possible. -- and a humility that will be such that he will not grasp power for its own sake. I believe that it is

the role of our next President not to lead America to greatness,
for that no man can do. America is already great. Let us
nominate and elect a Republican who will restore that
greatness, out of his own deep faith in the American people.

All of the things which I have said and will say today
are more important to young men and women of your age
than they are to any other group of American citizens. It
is you who must live with the future. It is you who will
have the task of eventually pulling us up if we sink deeper into
shameful senseless depths of corruption and socialism and war.
The battle for decency will be yours and the blood and sweat
of the battlefields will be yours. It is your generation which
will benefit most from a nation which is unified and strong.