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Statement at Senate Campaign Meeting. Marshall Plan

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The American people are gravely concerned with the troubled state of world affairs today. Not long after hostilities ended and we thought that peace would follow in due time, Communist Russia embarked on a course of international dealing which not only menaced the freedom of other nations in the world but also constituted a threat to our own institutions. We saw the Iron Curtain come into being, and many of our allies in the war became prisoners behind it.

We soon realized that we were locked in a struggle with political and economic forces having the avowed purpose and determination of fighting a war of survival with democracy and our economic way of life, while the Red Army did not demobilize, but proceeded to build its military might instead.

For a time it seemed that all of Europe would succumb to the grim pressure of Red expansion, and that in the end we would find our freedom as surely endangered by Communist totalitarianism as it had been by Nazi totalitarianism. Were the nations of Europe to fall under the domination of the aggressor, we in the western hemisphere would be left to meet the threat alone.
Against this background, we determined as a nation to employ our economic strength to stem the tide of Communist conquest, and the Marshall plan was born. Sponsored by the great General George C. Marshall, who as chief of staff had stood at the helm in our war effort, the Marshall plan and other measures taken by us became known as the cold war, because our dollars instead of our children were being sent to fight for our national security. Earlier we had passed the British loan to make it possible for England, drained of its economic resources by the fighting and destruction of two wars, to gain the strength needed to enable it to start the long and rugged road back to economic health.

When the Marshall plan was put into effect, Italy hung in the balance, with a critical election pending. If Italy fell, it was a foregone conclusion that Communist aggression would engulf France and carry the hammer and sickle to the shores of the Atlantic Ocean nearest us. Russia would have swept in behind our occupation forces in Germany, and we would have had no choice except to withdraw them, because their lines of supply would have been cut and their rear menaced.

With the fall of Europe's western nations, Russia would have come into control of the European industrial production centers, and particularly the steel production of France and Germany in the Rhur and Lorraine areas. The United States would no longer have enjoyed the vast superiority in production,
especially of steel, which had turned the tide in World War II, and made it possible for us to fight that war both in Europe and the Pacific at the same time. Our production potential is our greatest weapon for defense in the modern world of today, and the greatest single deterrent to militant aggression. We would have lost the greatest single force for peace in the world today.

The Italian elections, under the hope re-kindled by the Marshall plan, resulted in a Communist defeat; Greece and Turkey were saved; Yugoslavia, emboldened by the course of events, defied Moscow, and the onslaught was halted. The cold war is still being waged today, and those having charge of our foreign affairs seem unable to tell us from day to day whether we are winning or losing it, but the employment of our economic resources in the fight has accomplished to date what otherwise would have entailed 25 times as much money and thousands of American lives on the field of battle to do otherwise.

We have seen Communist intrigue and infiltration appear in our own country in the midst of unexampled prosperity, and we can easily visualize what headway the Communists would have made in the shattered economy of the nations of western Europe who are our bulwark against Communist aggression.

Today we can look back and see what the Marshall plan did for America, and we can also realize very clearly that without it we would have faced the alternative of letting Communism overrun
the whole continent of Europe or of opposing its drive with military force, which would have brought on us a shooting war, with all its horrors.

But we kept the steel and other production areas of Europe out of the Communist grasp. We preserved large areas of the world as export markets for products of American industry. 52% of the Marshall plan expenditures in 1949 went to buy American farm products, much of which went for cotton and tobacco. We bolstered free enterprise and democratic institutions throughout the world.

Small wonder that the Marshall plan and other steps which we have taken in the cold war have been viciously condemned by the Russians, for it halted the progress of their program of world domination. The sad thing is that it also met with the condemnation and opposition of a hard core of isolationist Republican Senators who seem to think that our foreign policy should be like an ostrich sticking its neck into the sand and ignoring what is happening around it. These Republican isolationists in the Senate have had valiant help in their opposition to the Marshall plan and the cold war from one Democratic Senator, my opponent in this race.

My opponent was one of four Democratic Senators who joined with 13 Republicans in voting against the original Marshall plan appropriation in 1948. My opponent was the only Democratic Senator to join with 6 Republicans in voting against continuing
the Marshall plan in 1949. My opponent was the only Democratic senator to join with 7 Republicans in voting against continuing the Marshall plan in 1950. Not only this, but in 1946 he voted against the British loan, although it was recommended to the Congress by James F. Byrnes, who was then Secretary of State; he voted against the Foreign Military Assistance Act of 1949, and he voted against the Korea Aid Act of 1949. If the United States of America had had to depend on my opponent's votes, the cold war could never have been fought, it certainly would not have succeeded, and we might even now either stand alone in a communist world or be engaged in military conflict to save our nation.

The Kremlin makes progress in its world conspiracy not only from the work of those who carry party cards or the work of fellow travelers; they make progress as well through the stupidity of those who are so blind that they cannot see. You can depend upon it that every vote which my opponent cast against the cold war caused great satisfaction in the Kremlin.