

PORTION OF SPEECH BY SENATOR OWEN BREWSTER
BEFORE THE HARVARD LAW SCHOOL FORUM,
RINDGE HIGH SCHOOL AUDITORIUM, CAMBRIDGE,
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at 7:45 P.M.

BIPARTISAN FOREIGN POLICY

Bipartisan foreign policy is a misnomer. In China, South America and Palestine we have had a Democratic foreign policy with disastrous results.

Senator Vandenberg was not consulted by the administration on our relations with South America or China while conditions drifted steadily from bad to worse. Circumstances finally compelled him to voice publicly his views on these two fields of foreign policy one year ago at Cleveland in the absence of consultation by the administration.

Only yesterday Senator Vandenberg stated on the floor of the Senate that he had not been consulted on Palestine either last fall nor in the last few weeks concerning the complete reversal of our position on partition, "although the Senator from Michigan was clearly known to favor viable partition as the best basis of settlement."

In these three fields, excluded from bipartisan cooperation, American foreign policy is most conspicuously failing. Not a hand was clapped at Bogota when General Marshall announced the Presidential proposal of a \$500,000,000. grant for South American rehabilitation. What a commentary on our relationships and the failure to prepare the ground!

In China we were insisting Chiang should take the Communists to his bosom at the very time we were denouncing Communists as vipers elsewhere in the world.

Palestine stands today as a pitiful spectacle of American indecision and vacillation.

For each of these tragic situations the Democratic administration must bear full responsibility in the absence of any adequate consultation with those responsible for the formulation of policy in the Republican Congress.

President Truman yesterday proclaimed his rights to use American troops anywhere in the world that he desired for such purpose as he deemed best and based his declaration on the use of American troops in the past by other Presidents.

Senator Vandenberg meanwhile, on the floor of the Senate, was making quite clear the twilight zone in which American troops had been used for protection of American life and property by other Presidents in many instances but carefully pointing out that under the United Nations Participation Act careful provision was made for implementing any agreement in the Security Council on armed forces by Congressional action.

The specification in the Congressional Act as to legislative implementation would clearly exclude any implication of Presidential authority to use troops under the United Nations Charter without Congressional authority.

The authority of the President to use American troops "to protect American lives or property" is clear as pointed out by Senator Vandenberg. Beyond that field we enter a twilight zone where all should tread with care in the present unsettled state of world affairs.

For many months I have urged the modification of the embargo to permit arms and munitions and American volunteers to go to those who are upholding the decision of the United Nations.

American foreign policy has been conspicuously successful in the fields where bipartisanship has prevailed.

The United Nations Charter -- the greatest step forward in American foreign policy in this century -- evolved by Cordell Hull with the full cooperation and constant consultation of Senator Vandenberg and his Republican colleagues on the Committee on Foreign Relations -- was approved by the Senate by a vote of 89 to 2 -- by the very Senate that was supposed to be "the graveyard of treaties."

The European Peace treaties and the Marshall Plan are bearing fruit already with full and speedy Congressional cooperation and approval.

The Republican record is clear. The Republican party can be counted upon to extend bipartisan cooperation to every field of foreign policy as a Republican administration takes over next January. Politics must cease at the water's edge. Only in this way can America come to command the respect and confidence of the nations of the world by reason of the consistency and continuity of its position in world affairs.