

Stewart L. Udall, Speech to Young Democrats of Tucson, October 20, 1954.

We have heard a great deal during this campaign from my opponent and his quarterback, Sen. Goldwater, and our Governor, about how the Republican party stands ~~for~~ moral decency. I had always thought that morality was largely a personal problem and that certainly no political party has, or ever had, a monopoly ~~of~~ this priceless quality. Perhaps I am old-fashioned, but I have always felt that a man's morals are best exemplified by the way he conducts himself in his relations with his fellow men. I must admit that I do not understand this new "morality" our Republican friends are talking about. Indeed, I have wondered lately if the Republican candidates (prompted, I am sure, by Sen. McCarthy's good friend, Sen. Goldwater) are not operating under some new code of decency which they have specially drafted for this campaign.

If you will permit me, I would like to list some of the principles which must surely be in their new code:

1) Politics (as Gov. Pyle suggested at Safford Monday night) are inherently "dirty", and people who are "thin-skinned" and resent dirty tactics should therefore stay out of politics.

2) Fight to win, even if you do make accusations which harm your personal friends, or friends of your friends.

3) Do not hesitate to infer that your opponents lack good character or loyalty or patriotism, if such allegations will possibly make votes.

4) If you are running behind, call your opponent names which will tend to undermine the public confidence he enjoys.

5) Never slander your opponent outright--by good choice of words and proper finesse, you can achieve the same results indirectly.

6) If all else fails, suggest that facts are being concealed which, if brought to light, would publicly result in the indictment of some of your opponents.

7) Above all, remember, in politics the end ~~will~~ always justifies the means.

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My opponent has said repeatedly that he wants to be elected to Congress so that he can go to Washington and help President Eisenhower and Sen. Barry Goldwater. I assume, as former administrative assistant of the senator, that he really means he will support the President like Sen. Goldwater does--part of the time, when it suits his convenience and special philosophy. I have made a special study of Sen. Goldwater's voting record and have compared this record with the messages sent to Congress by the President, and the President's pledges during the 1952 campaign, and I find that on more than 1/3 of the key votes during the 83rd session of Congress our junior senator actually voted against the President. I can think of no issue in this campaign that should interest the people of Arizona more than this voting record and I present it here today for your consideration

EISENHOWER WANTED

...BUT GOLDWATER VOTED...

1) To Build a Strong National Defense

"America must be militarily and productively strong. We must have security forces of mobility...whose destructive and retaliatory power is so great that it causes nightmares in the Kremlin whenever they think of attacking us." New York, 8/25/52.

"There is, I believe, only one honest workable formula...a defense strong enough both to discourage aggression and beyond this to protect the nation..

"With all this in mind, we are putting major emphasis on air power, which daily becomes a more important factor in modern war." Radio report to the Nation. 5/19/53.

To Cripple Our National Defense

Voted against increasing Air Force funds by \$400 million to buy 200 more heavy bombers 7/23/53.

Voted against maintaining our ground forces at the present level of 19 divisions instead of reducing them to 17. 6/17/54.

2) To Encourage Imports, Promote Trade

"...we should seek out opportunities to increase imports of commodities, goods and services which will improve our own economy and help make our allies self-supporting." New York, 10/21/52.

"If we fail in our trade policy, we may fail in all." Washington, D. C. 3/30/54.

To Cripple Reciprocal Trade Act

Voted against the amendment by Senator Gore (D Tenn) embodying Eisenhower's Randall Commission proposals for foreign trade expansion. 6/24/54.

3) To Give Full Support to our Atlantic Allies

"There must be no wavering in our support for the North Atlantic Alliance

To Desert our Allies

Voted to cut Eisenhower mutual aid program by \$1 billion. 7/1/53.

LIPP MANN - do away w/  
foreign aid

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which was founded within the limits of the Charter of the United Nations." Denver, Colo. 6/23/52.

"This program and these appropriations directly involve the security of our nation." Letter to Chairman, Senate Appropriations Committee. 7/23/53.

4) Defeat of the Bricker Amendment

"I am unalterably opposed to the Bricker Amendment as reported by the Senate Judiciary Committee." Letter to Senate Majority Leader Knowland 1/26/54.

5) Charles Bohlen as Ambassador to Russia

"IKE APPOINTS BOHLEN ENVOY TO MOSCOW." Washington Post 2/23/53

6) To Encourage Use of Agricultural Surpluses

"In the administration of the Mutual Security Program, agricultural surpluses will be used to strengthen the economies of friendly countries." Message to Congress. 6/23/54.

7) National Standards for Unemployment Insurance

"...the Secretary of Labor is making available to the states studies and recommendations in the fields of weekly benefit periods and extension of coverage...I shall forward to the Congress suggestions for changes designed to reinforce the objectives of the Act." State of the Union Message 1/8/54

8) To Expand Hospital Construction

"The present Hospital and Construction Act should be broadened in order to assist in the development of adequate (medical facilities)." State of the Union Message 1/8/54.

9) To Promote Rural Electrification

"...our administration is pledged to foster..rural electrification." Chicago 10/31/52.

"I want to make this clear: the Administration considers these REA programs great advances for rural America. They have made our farms more productive; they have greatly enriched the lives of our rural families, and they have served as a powerful stimulus to meet next year's financing needs for these programs." Letter to Ancher Nelsen, REA Administrator 9/28/54.

Voted against passage of the Eisenhower mutual security appropriation bill 7/29/53.

Voted against passage of Eisenhower mutual security bill, 8/3/54.

To Pass the Bricker Amendment

Sponsored introduction of, and voted for, the Bricker Amendment.

*Geo. Amend. - HAYDEN*

Not to Confirm the Bohlen Nomination

Voted against Bohlen's confirmation 3/27/53.

Against Use of Agricultural Surpluses

Voted Against encouraging disposal of surplus agricultural commodities 7/30/54.

To Let States Keep Own Standards

Voted against bill which would establish nationwide standards for the amount and duration of unemployment compensation benefits 7/13/54.

To Prevent Building of More Hospitals

Voted against adding \$15 million for hospital construction under the Hill-Burton Act 7/7/53.

To Curb Rural Electrification

Voted against increasing REA loan Funds 6/2/54.

EISENHOWER WANTED

...BUT GOLDWATER VOTED...

10) To Revise Taft Hartley Act

Scuttled Revision

Requested in State of Union Message  
1/8/54

Sponsored and introduced amendments  
which caused bill to be sent back to  
committee.

11) Indian Hospital Facilities

For Transfer

Opposed transfer of Indian Hospital  
Facilities from Indian Bureau to  
Dept. of Health and Welfare

Voted to make the transfer 6/29/54

*DISMANTLE*

12) REA Access to Atomic Power

Against Right of REA

"...our administration is pledged to  
foster...rural electrification."  
Chicago 10/31/52.

Voted against giving REA's access or  
preference rights to atomic power  
generated by AEC 7/22/54.

"I want to make this clear: the  
Administration considers these REA  
programs great advances for rural  
America. They have made our farms  
more productive; they have greatly  
enriched the lives of our rural  
families, and they have served as a  
powerful stimulus to meet next year's  
financing needs for these programs."  
Letter to Ancher Nelsen, REA Admin-  
istrator 9/28/54.

13) Wants McCarthy Censure

Against Censure

Has supported move to censure Sen.  
McCarthy, and to restrict his  
invasion of the executive  
department of government.

Will vote next month against censure  
recommendation of Watkins committee--  
Tucson Sunday Evening Forum 10/10/54.

I have stated publically on many occasions during this campaign that if  
I am elected I intend to counsel and advise with Sen. Carl Hayden, and I  
have said that there will be few times that I do not vote as he votes. I was  
very interest in examining his voting record covering the same period of  
time to note that on the votal issues of national policy which came before  
the last session of the Congress, he voted more often with the President than  
did our junior senator.