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Foreign Policy and National Defense, 1940

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FOREIGN POLICY AND NATIONAL DEFENSE.

The fundamental aim and unalterable policy of the United States is to safeguard the peace and security and to promote the welfare of the nation. On this all political parties worthy to exist in this country, and all Americans worthy of citizenship, are agreed. This is the basic aim of both domestic and foreign policy. All acts of government and other policies are subsidiary to the paramount policy of ^{promoting} national security and welfare. They are to be weighed and judged as instruments of that policy.

The Republican Party takes sharp issue with the philosophy, the spirit, and the measures brought by the New Deal to the attempted solution of our very grave domestic problems. We have observed a lack of candor, consistency, and skill in the conduct of international relations and in giving information to the public upon them. We condemn the appalling waste and inefficiency shown by the Roosevelt Administration in the urgent matter of preparedness for national defense. But the Republican Party demands that politics stop short of the outermost lines that enclose what directly affects the security, the vital interests, and the honor of the nation, now threatened by external menace. Here we seek no issue. We call for unity and unanimity.

The Republican Party foresees no circumstances whatever in which an American expeditionary force should again be sent to fight on European soil. We are for peace, subject only to what may be required to safeguard the nation's future security, its honor, and its vital interests.

Events abroad bring danger to the United States nearer day by day. Mankind everywhere is confronted by the most far-flung crisis in all history. The issue is joined between the forces of bad faith, deceit, and ruthless aggression and those of international law and order, reason, and humanity. The question emerges whether the world can endure half lawless and half law-abiding. The horrible scene changes with

lightening-like rapidity. The world is in flux.

War is not a policy. It is an instrument of policy, and the last one to which the American people wish to resort. But no man can truthfully affirm today that circumstances may not arise in which we may find unhappily, that war shall have become the only effective instrument for the defense of our security and welfare. This fact is well understood by the American people, as is clear from their approval of the measures for rapid rearmament now being taken by the Congress.

Inasmuch as the British Empire and its allies are at grips with the Power whose triumph would so gravely menace us, it is self-evident that we should give them all possible aid. Moreover, we face the possibility of a shift in the balance of sea-power highly dangerous to the United States. We have to consider, in this fast changing situation, whether repeal of our neutrality laws, and other measures, at the proper time, may not be necessary in order to save us from far greater dangers and heavier tasks later on.

The Republican Party, like the American people, ^{desire peace} ~~peace~~ with security and honor. But neither the Republican Party nor any other party will represent the American people unless it faces, without flinching, the realities of the present situation and its implications for the future.

We approve of Pan-American solidarity as a bulwark against foreign aggression; but we recognize the distinct cultural, racial and governmental characteristics of the various Southern Republics, and their own primary obligations to defend themselves against enemies within or from without. We approve the "Good Neighbor Policy", with the proviso that there should be reciprocity in fair dealing and friendship. We approve of reciprocity tariff agreements, with a reservation as to the unconditional favored nation clause, under which favors we extend in return for favors received are given to third nations without equivalent favors to us.
