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St. Patrick's in Scranton, Pennsylvania

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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It is a privilege to talk with you this evening about a subject and a land dear to every son of St. Patrick. Our country has been built upon the ideals of justice, tolerance, and equality and because of these is loved by every Irish American.

It has been my good fortune to visit Ireland, the land of my ancestors, but it has been my privilege to see Ireland. On convoy duty in the American Navy during the World War I, our ship on one occasion made the passage between Wales and Ireland, and I, happening to be on the morning watch, saw with the coming of the dawn, a bit of Erin. I cannot describe the thrill it gave me. I can only say that this glimpse of a white lighthouse set in an emerald green background brought a catch to my throat and tears to my eyes. That was where my father and mother came from, and there was the place where our families had lived and struggled to maintain themselves honorably and to love God.

As I looked at the island of saints and scholars, there flashed through my mind a kaleidoscopic view of its great history. I saw from the sixth through the eighth centuries the Irish nation as the cultural center of the western world and the Irish Church as the pioneer in European progress, with her scholars going to all parts of Europe to teach. Then when the darker days came upon the island, when the hand of the tyrant closed the gates of knowledge to her, I saw her inextinguishable love of learning burn steadily although at times faintly through the years. The next view was that of the long and agonizing fight for freedom, the procession of Irish heroes - Daniel O'Connell, Robert Emmett, Parnell - the names are legion -- who made the Irish love of democracy and liberty the very foundation of their lives. With years of famine and the most painful of material plights, the deeds of that bravest
of nations seem like miracles to me. Ireland's love of music, her genial wit, her tolerance, and her unshakable faith in and love of God are brighter and more to be admired against her sombre physical and political history. Sadder probably than any other picture is the emigration of her sons and daughters in the nineteenth century. There Ireland stands like the ancient Greek Niobe, sorrowing for her departed children. All this is past, and now with gratitude in our hearts, we can think of Ireland as being more prosperous, more peaceful and happy in the success of her children in their new found homes in America. Let us hope and pray that this prosperity, happiness and peace will remain hers for many decades to come.

Here tonight among you friendly people, I see Ireland in another setting. Washington - and the District of Columbia - is favored in having many public spirited citizens who assist each year in this very fine celebration in honor of St. Patrick. For many years someone has stood in this place to say what this day means to us and to ours. Not only here in Washington but throughout the world as well there is the sound of Irish music and the wearing of the green. St. Patrick's day is celebrated with good will in almost every country in the world. We of the Irish race know that there have been Irishmen who have become prominent in every land. We look with pride at the first head of the Republic of Chile, Bernardo O'Higgins; at Admiral Brown who helped to bring about the independence of Argentina; at Lord Cochrane who can be considered the godfather of the present day independent republics of Peru, and Brazil; at Duffy, prime minister of the state of Victoria in Australia; at O'Donnell, premier of Spain; at O'Donohue, viceroy of Mexico; and at McMahon, president of the Third French Republic. We think with pride of the Irish legion which fought with Simon Bolivar in northern South American. We know
that on more than one occasion the only thing that stood between defeat and victory for the cause of independence in northern South America was the valor and courage of the Irish Legion. They fought in the jungles, the swamps and deserts, and in the high Andes and, although at times their losses were tremendous, they never wavered in their determination to fight for democracy and justice. The northern South American republics of Venezuela, Columbia, and Equador owe much to these gallant Irishmen for their modern-day independent status. In America we have had Commodore Barry, the father of the American Navy; Phil Sheridan, Commander-in-Chief of the American Army; Tom Meagher, our first Territorial Governor in Montana, and the late great Thomas Walsh, U. S. Senator from Montana. Here in Washington we have the Sullivans, the Gallaghers, the Connors, the Kellys and all the other Irish, all heroes in their own right.

If I have neglected to mention the Irish women I assure you that it is unintentional. They are the unsung but not unhonored heroines of the Irish race. Their counsel and sympathy and courage have made us what we are today and to them we owe a debt of gratitude we can never repay. I know I speak for all of us when I say to these fine women "May God bless you and keep you".

There are some of you here this evening who are not of Irish descent; but all of us regardless of origin are united in the knowledge that we are first and foremost Americans. Your coming is a tribute to us of Irish blood, and we are proud of and grateful to you for your friendship. Your coming is also indicative of how well the races have mingled in this American melting-pot. The fact that descendents of various countries can meet to help celebrate the patron saint of another country shows a unity and a tolerance which speaks well for this nation of ours. It is our fervent wish that our neighbors from other lands will meet with us again next year, and that between now and then
we all will continue to grow in one another's esteem. Our one concern now is the welfare of our country; and unity, patriotism, loyalty, love of justice, and equality -- all characteristic of our forbears -- are essential to this welfare.

Love and loyalty for America on the part of the Irish has never been questioned. During the American Revolution when our small Army was suffering at Valley Forge, 34 members of the Sons of St. Patrick of Philadelphia came to its rescue and helped to save the day by a contribution of over half a million dollars to the government's treasury. Little wonder that George Washington, the father of our country, on becoming an honorary member of the society, said, "I accept with singular pleasure the engin of so worthy a fraternity as that of the Sons of St. Patrick, a society distinguished for the firm adherence of its members to the cause in which we are all embarked."

Because our country has held out the ideals of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness to the oppressed of the world, the Irish have found this a land which answered their innermost wants; their gratitude and loyalty accordingly have been given whole-heartedly and spontaneously. America has been the land of promise to the sons and daughters of Ireland. Here they have been able to exercise their talents, to contribute to the literature, to teach in the schools, to take an active part in law-making, and to achieve for themselves and their children a livelihood. Probably because Ireland's heritage has been a struggle for representative government, love of democracy is a vital part of an Irishman's make-up, and the Irishman loves America because of this democracy.

What do we mean by democracy? It is so often glibly defined, yet no type of government is so elusive of definition. When the authors of the
Declaration of Independence, and many of them were Irish, declared that the government derived its just power from the consent of the governed they laid down what may be held to be the chief principle of democracy. But in their view this principle was in itself based on something yet more fundamental; namely, on certain truths declared to be self-evident. What were these truths:

First, that "all men were created equal". And, second, that these people were "endowed with certain inalienable rights" among which were "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness". The justification of government, therefore, resided in the necessity of protecting the liberty and equality of man. The form of government best calculated to assure this protection was a kind which derived its authority from the consent of the governed. To this democracy, this form of government under which we live, we owe and give our deepest loyalty. In our loyalty to democracy we believe that the mass of humanity is the best judge and keeper of its own welfare. We believe that ordinary men and women, farmers, workers, businessmen, and housewives can and should rule themselves. We believe in free speech, free press, free organization, free assembly, and freedom in religion. That one class is superior and another inferior, that one man or one group of men have as it were, a divine right to rule, are political and social views abhorrent to us. We have no sympathy with the idea that the individual amounts to nothing and that the state amounts to all. Finally, we believe with that great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. This is not just an expression with us, but an actuality to which we fervently cling. It is democracy in its essence and as long as we maintain our faith in it we will keep our trust with those who fought, suffered, and died that this country of ours might come into existence.
Mr. Chairman:

It is a real pleasure to appear before you this evening and to talk with you about some of the problems which confront our country in this hour. I am especially delighted to be in the home town of the Honorable Frank Walker, former Postmaster General and former Chairman of the Democratic National Committee. You know, we in Montana, look upon Frank as one of our own, because, after leaving Notre Dame, he came out to our State and spent some of the best years of his life among us. We consider him just as much a citizen of Montana as you, folks, here look upon him as a citizen of Pennsylvania. Frank Walker is held in the highest esteem in Montana and we always look forward with a great deal of anticipation to his yearly visits to us.

Another thing which makes me extremely glad to be with you this evening, is seeing the similarity between Scranton, a coal mining town, and Butte, my home town, a copper mining town. I feel that I am among friends because, like many of you here, I, too, have worked in the mines, and in doing so, I believe I have come to understand the needs of my fellow men and to appreciate the virtues which one finds in contact with the underground.

I should like to talk to you tonight about some of the domestic policies of this present Republican-controlled Congress and I should like to also bring to your attention the situation as it exists in Europe and the need for assistance on our part to our brethren across the sea.

In the consideration of our domestic policies, which, of course, are closely woven with our foreign policies, I should like to make a few
observations. If we have a collapse and depression here in the United States within the next few years, it will affect our foreign policies to a great degree. Already domestic fears of shrinking markets, surpluses, and depression have threatened our whole foreign policy of promoting world trade. The health or sickness of our domestic economy and our political and social standards will either build up or break down the health of much of the rest of the world. Therefore, domestic conditions are of extreme importance and the question arises, what has the 80th Congress done to strengthen or weaken our policy at home.

I should like to make it very clear that the credits or blame for what has been done, left undone or badly done, belongs to the Republican Party because that Party has a clear working majority in both Houses of Congress. Legislation is impossible to consider unless it is given the green light by the Republican leadership and the Republican leadership in the Congress is able to pass any legislation it wants to pass or to block any legislation it does not desire.

On many occasions President Truman and the spokesmen for the Democrats in Congress have warned that we are rushing down a steep road into the sea. We, Democrats, have proposed a comprehensive, carefully thought out and related legislative program to balance the human budget for prosperity and peace, as provided for in the Employment Act of 1946. The Democratic Party has opposed the raid on the Federal Treasury for the benefit of the nation's biggest taxpayers, and contended that tax reductions should wait until a substantial payment has been made towards reduction of our national debt.
You all remember in the early days of the late war, there was considerable opposition to President Roosevelt's seven point antiflation program. You remember this opposition resulted in the defeat of some of its features and weakening of others, but in spite of this, in general, President Roosevelt's recommendations did prevail and we did have the Economic Stabilization Act. Under this Act wages were stabilized and prices were stabilized to a substantial degree although not as firmly as wages. Why were we, in spite of many handicaps, even as successful as we were in this measure? The reasons were that we had a great goal and we had vision and determination and a high degree of unity. We had a war to win and we believed wholeheartedly that the winning of that war was the first stage in the making of a lasting peace. We felt we were going forward and we were fighting, working, and planning together. We were blessed with a leader, chosen and elected, who set the goals and who was responsible for the achieving of those goals.

We turned out the planes, the tanks, the shipping and all the other kinds of material but we did not do it on a timid or business as usual basis.

Following President Roosevelt's great leadership, President Truman has tried again and again to assert such leadership in the two years since the end of the war with Japan. President Truman's task has been made difficult first by beliefs of business as usual in the various war agencies who started a reckless, irresponsible decontrol
stampede the day after the war ended. These individuals ignored the fact that effective controls should be continued until the transaction to present production had been made, and supply and demand had been met. These men also appeared to ignore the tremendous task of aiding the war-stricken world to get back to economic, political, and social health. Despite all this weakness of the stabilization program, it was not until a year ago when the Congress gave the President a very unworkable price control bill that the stabilization program really weakened.

You will recall that we were told that once controls were taken off, prices would go up a little and then a leveling off would take place. You know that no leveling off has taken place, but as a matter of fact, the price spiral is still continuing upward and prices in many commodities are far in excess of what the black market charged during the period of controls. There are too many people in and out of Congress who have forgotten nothing and learned nothing over the last twenty-eight year period.

The Republican Party asked in the last election if we had "had enough". The American people evidently had "had enough" then because the majority of them answered yes to the Republican question. Now, the Republican Party, having won the victory and with a majority in both Houses of Congress, has to answer to you on its performance to date. That performance, in my opinion, has been a shoddy and ill-considered one. Of course the real estate lobby, the railroad lobby, the private power lobby,
and the coalition of special interests comprising an anti-labor lobby, have received much in the way of benefits for which they should be grateful to the Party now in power.

It is true that wages have gone up, that prices have increased very much in comparison and that profits have increased still more in relation to wages and prices. What is the Republican Party doing about decent wages, high prices, and exorbitant monopolistic profits? The answer is nothing because labor is being made the goat for some really bad legislation. No attempts are being made to correct the price situation and nothing is being done to curb monopoly. Not only are they doing nothing in respect to these items but they are likewise doing nothing in looking forward to the future.

The Republican program does not include provisions for the vast program of public works which should be authorized, planned, and blue-printed now to be held in reserve for the time when they will be needed to maintain full employment and increase our production, resources, and markets.

In contrast to what the Republicans have not done, the Democratic Administration in the Executive branch has balanced the budget for 1947 and has on hand a surplus of $750 million for the present year. It is estimated that we will again not only be able to balance the budget but have a surplus of around 5 to 6 billion dollars. This surplus in the eyes of the Democratic Party should be used to trim down the national debt so that the burden of it can be eased and the soundness of
our money maintained. We would assume that the Republican Party, which
talks about reducing the national debt, would have been the first to agree
with President Truman on the wisdom of applying the surplus to a reduction
of that debt. But no. The Republicans, who said we were on the way to
ruination when the national debt in 1939 was 40 billion dollars, are
today wanting to turn a blind eye to our debt of 253 billion dollars
and are proposing instead of debt reduction, a tax reduction that would
give 1 billion 200 million dollars to 682,000 taxpayers with incomes
above $10,000 and divide 2 billion 900 million dollars among 49 million
taxpayers with incomes below $10,000. Why have they changed their views?
Do they think that by proposing tax reductions now in the face of an
enormous debt, they will be able to retain their control of the Congress
and elect their candidate for the Presidency in 1948? How can they
reconcile their horror and fear of 40 billion dollar debt in 1939 with
their apparent disregard of a 253 billion dollar debt today?

The Republicans have a sad record in the present Congress
because they have done nothing in behalf of veterans; housing program;
because they have stalled on federal aid to education; because they
refuse to do anything about the post-war housing program; because they
have cut down on reclamation, irrigation, and power development in the
Western part of the United States; because they have cut down the
appropriations for rural electrification even though four out of ten
of our farms still lack electricity. These items are only a partial
list of the major achievements of the first Republican Congress in
sixteen years, and I am quite sure that the American people are well
These questions which the Reps. can avoid to face are the very ones the Democratic Party wants to do something about. We will, when we return, give the Democrats a majority at the next election, handle these problems and carry forward a social and economic program which will be in the interests of all the people all the time.
aware of this sad record of performance, and I am quite certain in their own minds they realize now that they have had enough of this Republican–controlled Congress. The Republicans have promised too many things but their performances and record to date indicate a lack of knowledge of the wants and desires of the American people, and their efforts in behalf of the few as opposed to the welfare of the many will, I am quite certain, react against them disastrously in the election next year.

I mentioned in the beginning of this talk I would like to say a few words about our foreign policy. When the resolution for adjournment of Congress was passed last July, it stated specifically that the Republican leadership of the House and Senate could, at any time, call the Congress back into session. President Truman put this matter of a special session up to the Republican leadership a little over a month ago at which time the Republican leadership refused to take the responsibility and said that if any session was called, it would be up to the President to make the decision. The President on last Thursday did make the decision to issue a call for a special session of Congress. He did so on his own responsibility and after calling the Republican leaders to the White House to inform them of his decision. He knew that as far as the Republican leadership was concerned it intended to do nothing about high prices or the European aid program but he felt, and I believe rightly, that the time was at hand for a decision on the two questions which are paramount importance in the thinking of the American people today — high prices and European aid. Just two weeks ago I returned from Europe where I was
These people are our brothers. Many of us have ancestors from these countries who came from Europe. Some have come to America; others cannot come, but all look to us for relief and assistance.
a Member of the Joint House-Senate Congressional investigating Committee.

We visited every country in Europe except Russia, Yugoslavia, and Albania.

We had a chance to observe at first hand the political and economic conditions. When I saw the ruins of Warsaw -- the worst in Europe -- in Berlin, in Vienna, in Budapest, in Italy and elsewhere, I knew the feeling of despair, but when I saw the hungry and ill-clothed men, women, and especially the children, I felt a greater despair, a sickening feeling in my stomach and in my mind. These people were our brethren. These people were God's children. Many of us in this room have relatives in all these European countries, for it is the hope and the mercy which drew many of us and our forefathers to these shores and which, in turn, should make us recognize that there are others in other parts of the world who cannot come here but who look to us for relief and assistance. We are indeed fortunate people in many respects and I think it would be wrong to allow that in this time of crisis when so many people are suffering all over the world, we should return to isolationism and just keep our good fortune to ourselves. I do not think that we could do it.

But even if we so desired, because of the present time, it appears to me that the world is dividing itself not only along lines of power but perhaps more important and more dangerous along lines of different ideologies in certain parts of Europe. At the present time Communism is quite strongly entrenched. It is a doctrine which in my opinion does not have the slightest chance of alleviating the ills and difficulties which affect the countries under its control as well as the countries outside of its orbit, at the present time. Nevertheless it is a
doctrine which is being peddled by active groups in every European
country and it is hard to pick out a particular nation which does not
have its adherents to the cause of Lenin and Stalin.

Europe during this past summer has been beset by a devastating
drought which has affected the crop production to an alarming degree.
That drought has hardly touched the satellite countries behind the
Iron Curtain or Russia itself, but it has touched every country outside
of the Iron Curtain extending from Sweden to Greece and Turkey.
That drought has created conditions which have made it very difficult
for the democratic anti-communist governments to keep their countries
on an even economic keel, because of the fact that the crops have
been short they have been forced to cut their bread ration in many
instances to an alarming degree. Premier Ramadier of France told me
that it would be necessary to cut the French ration to 200 grams a day
or 7 ounces beginning on November 1st. In Italy many people at this
time are subsisting on a bread ration of 75 to 125 grams a day; that
is roughly from $2$ to 4 ounces of bread a day. I know that people
do not live by bread alone, but many of you in this audience from
actual experience know that the main form of food on which most
Europeans live is bread with some little addition of other kinds of
food. This means that wheat must be imported to Europe to keep these
people from getting any nearer to starvation. This means that America
which again had a fairly bounteous crop, must give its surplus to take
care of its brothers overseas, because if we do not give these people
Democracy in Western Europe is stronger today than it was a year ago. But temporary assistance is needed to tide these countries over as hard winter. I frankly believe that in any plan of assistance agreed to by the Congress, procedure as to its application and distribution should be so outlined as to make sure that any assistance we give will go toward the rehabilitation of the people's economy and none of the funds allowed to go to waste for useless, immaterial, or personal purposes.

You might ask: why should we help Europe? My answer is that it is the decent and humanitarian thing to do; that it is necessary to stop the movement of an ideology which feeds on destitution and despair; and because it is in our own national interest to do so.

Either America will help the Europeans to rule themselves or other forces will capture their weakened government, and rule them with a view to dominating the world. If we aid Europe, we aid ourselves, for other free countries will strengthen our freedom. The world looks to us for leadership.
enough to live on, we will lay the ground work for the empty promises of Communism to take over when want, chaos, hunger and dissatisfaction come. At the present time, it appears to me Europe is dividing itself not only along lines of power but perhaps more important and more dangerous along lines of different ideologies. At the moment Communism is quite strongly entrenched in Southern Europe. It is a doctrine which in my opinion does not have the slightest chance of alleviating the ills and difficulties which beset the countries under its control or the countries outside its orbit.

Another thing Europe needs is coal to keep its industries going, to furnish jobs and employment to its people, to create goods marked for distribution in the world market, to create security which all men everywhere seek. In my opinion the nations of Europe cannot continue to buy coal from America at prices ranging from $17 to $23 a ton because of the fact that (1) they do not have the dollars to continue to buy and (2) because the European coal mines should be revived to make their own economy more self-sustaining. I feel that one of the keys, if not the key, to Europe's economic revival is to increase coal and steel production in the Ruhr so that these much needed necessities can be used to bring about the rehabilitation and revival of Western Europe's economy.

Europe does not use her own resources to help rehabilitate itself, the burden will continue to fall on us indefinitely with the result that will be unpleasant both at home and abroad.

In every country I visited there were evidences of malnutrition, tuberculosis, and disease. Germany and Rumania presented the biggest starvation areas; Poland the most devastated; and Switzerland, Sweden, Belgium, and Denmark the best off economically. The products most lacking this winter will, I repeat, be wheat and coal, one to give
subsistence to the human body; the other to give subsistence to the

material body, to create jobs, to increase purchasing power, to establish

security and both to give subsistence to mind and soul that these

people may once again resume their rightful place in the family of

nations and contribute their knowledge and ability to the welfare of

all mankind.

The President, I believe, has performed a special service in calling the special session of Congress to consider the problems which I have outlined. I can assure you that as far as the Democratic Members are concerned we will do everything possibly can to help lower the cost of living and to furnish assistance to the nations of Europe in such a manner that the European people will receive the benefits desired so that they can become once again self-supporting, free and independent, dominated by no foreign ideology and living under the type of governments which they, themselves, choose freely, openly and by the majority vote of the people.
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What do we mean by democracy? It is so often glibly defined, yet no type of government is so elusive of definition. When the authors of the Declaration of Independence, and many of them were Irish, declared that the government derived its just power from the consent of the governed they laid down what may be held to be the chief principle of democracy. But in their
view this principle was in itself based on something yet more fundamental; namely, on certain truths declared to be self-evident. What were these truths:

First, that "all men were created equal". And, second, that these people were "endowed with certain inalienable rights" among which were "life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness". The justification of government, therefore, resided in the necessity of protecting the liberty and equality of man. The form of government best calculated to assure this protection was a kind which derived its authority from the consent of the governed. To this democracy, this form of government under which we live, we owe and give our deepest loyalty. In our loyalty to democracy we believe that the mass of humanity is the best judge and keeper of its own welfare. We believe that ordinary men and women, farmers, workers, businessmen, and housewives can and should rule themselves. We believe in free speech, free press, free organization, free assemblage, and freedom in religion. That one class is superior and another inferior, that one man or one group of men have as it were, a divine right to rule, are political and social views abhorrent to us. We have no sympathy with the idea that the individual amounts to nothing and that the state amounts to all. Finally, we believe with that great emancipator, Abraham Lincoln, in a government of the people, by the people, and for the people. This is not just an expression with us, but an actuality to which we fervently cling. It is democracy in its essence and as long as we maintain our faith in it we will keep our trust with those who fought, suffered, and died that this country of ours might come into existence.

The present danger to ourselves and other freedom loving peoples arises from the fusion of the insatiable territorial ambitions of Russia with her
intolerant concept of life that is avowedly hostile to everything which we hold dear and in which we believe.

It is indeed a new era that confronts us today. But how different it is from that which we contemplated a few years ago! The peace for which we yearned has not materialized.

In the Far East we are confronted with a situation of continuing crisis. We could not have prevented that situation from developing. We can turn our backs on it now only at our own peril.

The great threat to the independence of the Asian nations lies in the glacier-like advance of Communist imperialism. The struggle in Korea has been more involved, more costly than most of us anticipated when it was joined. In recent weeks, some Americans have urged that we abandon it. But think back for a moment to that last week in June, 1950. Hardly an American could be found who disagreed with the decision to support the United Nations in its attempt to halt aggression in Korea. Some of the more prominent advocates of withdrawal now were among the most stalwart defenders of the action then.

The reason for the almost unprecedented agreement among Americans at that time is understandable. All of us sensed that the issue was larger than the fate of one small remote nation called Korea. At stake was the concept of collective security, the general peace of the world, and, ultimately, the safety of our own nation. It was clear, too, that Korea was only one link in an aggressive chain which, if allowed to go unbroken, would eventually shackle all Asia in the interests of Soviet imperialism.

The issue in Korea would have been successfully resolved months ago, if the Communist masters of China had not driven their people into the
conflict. Even now nothing stands in the way of an immediate end to the
fighting—to the bloodshed and the terrible suffering of soldiers and civilians
alike—except the unwillingness of a handful of men in Peking to explore with
the United Nations means for a peaceful settlement. If the Chinese people compel
their leaders to take this step, it could be the prelude to the solution, not
only of the Korean problem but of the many complex questions which make for the
continuing crisis in Asia.

In many respects, the problem of Korea parallels that of Eire. As a matter
of fact, the Koreans have sometimes been called the "Irish of the East." The
Irish have fought 700 years for national independence and unification. The Korean
people, too, have been denied their freedom. They shall some day gain it as has
Eire; and they shall some day unify their country as shall Eire. I don't think
it is news to you here in Scranton that quite a few of us in Congress have been
very much interested in what happens to the old island. In numerous resolutions
and other actions we have given vent to very strong feelings on the subject. I
hope that when I come again to talk to you on another St. Patrick's Day, I can
report that the British have finally evacuated North Ireland.

Despite our abhorrence of the military conflict in Korea, it is a type of
struggle in which our proficiency in arms gives us confidence. But in other
parts of the world there is a corroding and corrupting contest whose methods are
new to us. Propaganda barrages have replaced artillery duels; subversion has
been substituted for infiltration. In the topsy-turvy world of today even the
word "peace" instead of "war" is used to rally the masses into a fighting spirit.

To insure peace we inaugurated the Marshall Plan. I am able to report
to you that financial stability for Europe has been largely accomplished. Prices
are relatively stable. National budgets, if not balanced, are manageable. Black
markets and rationing have all but disappeared as consumer goods have become more
plentiful. These internal economic improvements are reflected in improved international economic conditions. Prewar sources of raw materials and markets for Europe's finished products have been revived and expanded. Today Europe exports about 20 percent more than she did in 1939.

The steady recovery of Europe did not pass unnoticed by the Soviets. Incident after incident betrayed their truculence and belligerency. The communist coup in Czechoslovakia, the Berlin blockade, opposition to German unification, obstruction to the successful functioning of the United Nations—all were symptomatic of Soviet desperation to stem the growing strength of the Western World in order that it could more easily fall victim to the Kremlin rulers. As the principal partner and participant in the recovery effort, the United States became the principal target of Soviet vituperation.

Even before we appreciated the full import of Soviet actions, those nations that share the European continent with the Soviets had begun to look to their defenses. In March, 1948, five of them—the United Kingdom, France, the Netherlands, Belgium and Luxembourg—signed the Brussels treaty and set up an organization known as Western Union. We applauded their efforts toward collective defense and explored the ways by which we would add our strength to theirs in the common cause of maintaining freedom. One year later we joined with them and other nations in the Atlantic community in signing the North Atlantic Treaty. All of us agreed that an attack on any one of us would be considered an attack on all; each party to the treaty has further agreed to go to the assistance of the victim by "such action as it deems necessary, including the use of armed force."

This treaty is not a declaration of war; it is not a threat to any nation. It clearly and simply serves notice on those who may harbor aggressive designs that freedom loving peoples will join forces in defense of their national security.

The treaty stated what the Atlantic powers would do if attacked. There
still remained the question how these powers would meet such an attack. It was logical, therefore, that they should explore the military strength of each to determine what each was best able to contribute in arms. Thus there came into being the Mutual Defense Assistance Program.

This is a many pronged program to assist our allies. It includes the shipment of arms and munitions, money to assist them in increasing their military production, and the strengthening of our forces in Europe. The arguments of some individuals in recent weeks would lead the public to believe that sending our troops to Europe is a new venture for us. But I must remind you that since the end of the war, we have maintained forces in Germany, Austria and Trieste. A portion of our fleet has operated in the Mediterranean and some of our Air Force has been based in and around Europe. What the Administration proposes now is to augment these units so that General Eisenhower will have a sizable American contingent under his command.

If one seeks solace in sorrow, it may be some small comfort to note that the communist attack on Korea has spurred the North Atlantic nations to move more quickly to strengthen their defenses and thus to discourage future Koreans.

In the last analysis Asia is extremely important but the focal point of our effort is, and must be, Europe. Why? In any struggle, "hot" or "cold", between the United States and the Soviet Union, Europe's geographical position is such that she cannot be by-passed or neutralized. While our own material resources and productive capacity exceed those either of Europe or of Soviet Russia and her satellites, they are equalled or approximated by the combined potential of these two areas. In the case of manpower, of course, either exceeds that of the United States.

Thus Europe, aligned with the United States or dominated by the Soviets, will be a decisive factor in the outcome of any conflict. In a very real sense
she holds the balance of power.

I would like to pass on to you a few observations on this point. The United States plus Western Europe plus their associated countries now have an annual production of steel and pig iron more than four times that of the Soviet world; they produce three times as much coal and ten times as much petroleum. They generate five times as much electric power as the Soviet area. How different these comparisons would be if it were the United States versus Western Europe and the Soviet Union!

President Truman, in his message to Congress, last January, stressed the link between our national security and that of the other free nations. After pointing out what the fall of Western Europe to the Soviets would mean to us, he added this significant thought:

"If the free countries of Asia and Africa should fall to Soviet Russia, we would lose the sources of many of our most vital raw materials, including uranium, which is the basis of our atomic power. And Soviet command of the manpower of the free nations of Europe and Asia would confront us with military forces which we could never hope to equal.

"In such a situation the Soviet Union could impose its demands on the world, without resort to conflict, simply through the preponderance of its economic and military power. The Soviet Union does not have to attack the United States to secure domination of the world. It can achieve its ends by isolating us and swallowing up all our allies. . . . It would be disastrous for us to withdraw from the community of free nations."

I have been talking to you about Europe as a quantity in a mathematical formula—what its addition or subtraction means to us and to the Soviets. But Europe is something other than tons of coal, barrels of oil, and numbers of men. It is the ancestral home of a civilization; a wellspring of creative
genius and talent from which we have freely drawn. It has borrowed from many and shared with all. No part of the world has escaped the touch of its laws, its art, its literature and its scale of values.

The materialism of modern times has been tempered by the qualities of mercy and self-sacrifice, justice and tolerance, that Europe has cultivated and imparted over the centuries. Its philosophers and its religious leaders have heightened the dignity of the individual as no other civilization has ever done.

These are not trivial and ephemeral achievements. That men at times have departed from them is tragic. But that they cherish them, share them, defend them, and having tried other paths to human happiness, return to them, is a quiet but eloquent testimony to their worth. Pope Pius XII, in his Christmas Eve allocution of 1943, beautifully expressed this concept, when he said:

"Do not demand from any member of the family of nations, however small or weak, that it should forego fundamental rights and vital necessities which you yourself judge impossible to renounce, should your own people be asked to do so."

As a young and virile member of the family of nations, we have a special responsibility enjoined upon us to assist those from whom we have drawn so much of our own strength. Over the long course of time, after all, our aspirations are the same as those of our European friends—to promote the brotherhood of man under the fatherhood of God. That is the most noble purpose to which we can dedicate our international policy.

On this Feast Day of our Patron Saint let us give thanks to God Almighty that we are citizens of a country such as this, and let us pray in the spirit of true Americans for peace — peace to all people — for all time.
But while we are enjoying democratic principles and practices in our country we must also realize that democracy as we know it, love it, and understand it is today facing a challenge. We must be prepared in this troubled state of affairs the world is in at present to guard more jealously that which we prize so highly and love so dearly. We find ourselves engaged in a quest for peace that is of world-wide dimensions. We are finding the road difficult and the obstacles enormous. However, we must continue to bend all our efforts toward maintaining our own way of life, and toward giving security to our people to the end that the words of the "Prince of Peace" will have real meaning and a brotherhood of nations -- and of man -- can be brought into being.

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