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Jefferson - Jackson Day Dinner - Denver, Colorado

Mike Mansfield 1903-2001

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REMARKS OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD (D., MONTANA)
at the
Jefferson-Jackson Day Dinner
The Shirley-Savoy Hotel, Denver, Colorado
Saturday, March 24, 1962

Mr. Chairman:

I understand that your state has been the scene of repeated invasions in recent months. If my information is correct, you have been attacked by various spokesmen of the Republican party. They have come from the north, south, east and the 19th Century. From the looks of this meeting, tonight, it seems to me that the democratic ramparts of Colorado still stand.

I certainly would not want my visit to be construed as getting into this political fight. As a matter of fact, politics was the last thing I had in mind in coming here tonight. I just happened to be passing through on this Jefferson-Jackson Day. I just happened to be passing through when the dinner bell rang for the re-election of John Carroll. I just happened to be passing through Colorado en route from Washington, D.C. to Boston, Massachusetts. The railroads are getting rid of so much passenger service these days, it was the only way I could make it. Now that I am here, quite by accident, I want to thank you for your welcome and your hospitality.
In all seriousness, may I say that I think it is inevitable that election campaigns are becoming more national in scope. That is because the issues are also becoming more national in scope. More and more, what affects Colorado has a similar meaning for Montana and the West and for the entire nation. Senators are Senators from their own states and Senators of the United States. Presidential Administrations are not only for the urban areas or the rural areas but for all areas. They are not only for big business or small business but for all business. They are not only for doctors but for patients as well. They are not only for managers but for labor as well.

I don't think anyone planned it that way. It is part of the growth and the changing nature of our society and the world.

As a democrat, I have no fear for the future of our party in this transition. We have in the Kennedy Administration, an administration for the people of Colorado and for the people of all the 50 states. You have in John Carroll, not only a Senator from Colorado but, in the finest sense of the phrase, a Senator of all the United States.

It is obvious that this group, tonight, does not have to be persuaded to give a vote of confidence to President Kennedy and his Administration. And I don't think you need any convincing that John Carroll is one of the great Senators to come out of Colorado.
But I like to believe and I do believe that Democrats are consumed not merely with a passion for their party. I like to believe and I do believe that this Administration and the Democratic Party have something more to offer the people of the States than a party label. I believe we offer to the people a more realistic comprehension of the world at this point in time and a more realistic comprehension of where this nation stands in it. I believe we offer to the people of the United States a greater alertness to the problems of a changing nation in a changing world. I believe we offer to them a vision of a finer future for all our citizens and we offer the energy and leadership to bring that vision to fruition. We believe that men can master man-made forces and channel them to the benefit of all our people. We believe in looking at today and towards tomorrow, not backward to another time and world that is no more. We believe we have an administration that has begun to move this nation ahead again and we are determined to keep moving.

In two sentences, this democratic administration believes that security and peace can be achieved for this nation. And we believe that while we are pursuing these goals abroad we can also act to diffuse the benefits and the sacrifices of human progress among all the people of the United States.
We are democrats, not because we like the sound of the name. We are democrats not because our fathers were democrats, although we loved our fathers. We are democrats because we have the realism to see the world and the nation as it is. We are democrats because we have the vision to see our nation growing in the strength, in the unity, in the equality and in the vigour of all its people in the years and decades to come. We are democrats because we are not prepared to stand pat. We are not prepared to turn back the clock.

Even in a partisan meeting of this kind, I would not claim that only Democrats hold these beliefs. It takes all kinds to make a party, a nation and a world and I mean that in all sincerity. But I do say that there is a significant difference between a Republican Administration and a Democratic Administration. I do say that there is a difference in a Republican-controlled and a Democratic-controlled Congress. I do say that any dispassionate examination of the record of the 8 years of the previous Administration and the one year of this Administration will reveal that difference. I do say that the principal difference lies in the area of seeing today as it is and tomorrow as it will be, of looking ahead rather than behind, or discerning what we have gained instead of bewailing what we have not really lost. I do say that on a whole range of domestic questions we have moved forward prudently
and rapidly in scarcely one year of the Kennedy Administration. I do say that there has been a redoubled effort to strengthen both our security and the prospects for peace in the world. I do say that your Senator, John Carroll, has been in the forefront of this advance. I do say that as Americans, even more than as Democrats, we have a responsibility to keep this advance moving by inviting all Americans of whatever inclination to vote their confidence in this advance by their choices in the November election.

You are entitled to know, the people of this state and the nation are entitled to know, some of the principal facts about this advance. Let's start with unemployment. We have had a persistent problem of several million unemployed for a number of years. Now, Republicans, no less than Democrats, know that it is not good for a man to be out of work and without resources. It is not good for the man, his family or the nation. Where, then, is the difference? The difference is that this Administration believes there is a public responsibility to do something about this difficulty. The difference is that this Administration recognizes that no man will ever be really secure in his own work unless all men who are able and willing to work can find work. The difference is that this Administration does not hide its concern behind glowing statistics of progress which have no meaning for the man without a job or the man whose job doesn't pay enough for a minimum
livelihood or the man about to lose his job in the very process of progress. This Administration does not take refuge in the hope that vague so-called natural economic forces will act to overcome these difficulties. It asks what becomes of the man in the meantime? A question like that can only be answered by action and this Administration and a Democratic Congress have acted. We have acted to extend unemployment compensation insurance. We have provided aid to the dependents of the unemployed. We have increased minimum wages.

Yet, this Administration recognizes that these measures are largely in the nature of a stop-gap. These measures relieve the adverse effects of unemployment but they do not get at the heart of the problem. And it is at the heart of the problem of unemployment that we are aiming. We aspire to an America in which all Americans of all ages who want to work will never again know the fear of being out of work through no fault of their own.

And to that end, we have also begun to move. We have had action and there will be more action in depressed regions of this nation which have been left to stagnate with the changing patterns of economic organization in this country. We are now moving with the Manpower Training Act to the aid of the men and women who have been left to stagnate with the patterns of rapid change in the industrial processes, with the increasing bypass of the unskilled or surplus skilled by the spread of
automation. And, finally, this administration has begun to probe in
depth, for the first time, the full implication of that word automation
which is as full of promise in the long run as it is ominous in the short
run. We are determined that the benefits of this great advance—and it
is a great advance—will be spread throughout the population and not to
just a few. We are determined that the sacrifices, the human price of
this advance, and, there is a heavy human price—will be borne by all
and not just the man who labors for his livelihood.

There are other fields in which this Administration is trying
and will continue to try to move the nation forward. In housing, we have
acted and we will continue to act to the end that decent shelter will be
within the reach of all. In the extension and improvement of the high-
ways and airways we have acted and will continue to act to meet today’s
urgencies and to anticipate the needs of tomorrow. In encouraging small
business and helping to improve its competitive position we have acted
and will continue to act because we believe small business is the leaven
which keeps the economy of the nation flexible, creative and growing. In
developing the great natural resources of this country, in improving the
supplies of water through pollution control, in assisting the hard-hit
mining industries, in setting aside large areas of our natural heritage
of forest, river and coast for the recreation of the people we have acted
to meet the needs of today and tomorrow and we will continue to act.
Still ahead of us is the challenge to improve the educational structure of this nation from top to bottom. We will not rest content until every boy and girl has an opportunity to be schooled, in excellence, to the limits of their natural capacity and ambition, regardless of where they may happen to be born and regardless of their financial condition of the families. And may I say a Republican assist in the House of Representatives in trying to turn this American ideal into reality would be most welcome.

Ahead of us, too, is the battle for decent hospitalization and related care for the older citizens of this nation. It is not that the other party does not recognize that people get old and get sick and frequently need expensive care which millions cannot afford. I do not know of anyone in public life who does not recognize the facts. The difference is that this Administration and this party is determined to do what must be done to see to it that all older citizens get that care as a matter of right and not as a matter of charity, that they get it by insurance, by social security and not by chance. We are determined that they get it with the dignity befitting Americans and not as a reluctant handout. And we are running into a familiar resistance in trying to get it. We are in the same old battle of the 1930's, with the same arguments advanced by those who sympathized with the old people but then voted against the social security retirement insurance program. Yet, who would change
social security now? Who would stop the flow of those hard-earned
monthly retirement cheques? Who would want to force millions of older
citizens to go back to the good old days before Social Security? I can
tell you that this Administration has no intention of going back to those
days. This Administration is determined to move further away from them.
It is determined to extend social security to cover hospitalization and
other care to all retired Americans. And, again, may I say that we would
welcome an assist from Republicans in Congress.

These are some of the facts that the voters of this state and
the nation are entitled to have. These are the domestic issues—the
common sense issues—which we have got to face as a nation. Republicans
in general stand on one side of them. Democrats in general stand on the
other. And you know which is which.

Clearly, each issue does not affect every citizen in the same
way. Obviously a man out of work worries more about unemployment than a
bank president. Families whose income may permit them to pay for a first-
class education for their children on up through medical school or law
school or whatever may not be so directly concerned with the condition
of the educational establishment of the nation. Coloradans may not think
too much about employment in West Virginia or New Yorkers about the develop-
ment of irrigation in Colorado.
But we are one nation. And what strengthens any part of this nation in the long run strengthens the whole. What hurts any part of the nation eventually hurts us all, if it is ignored by the rest. We will either stand together for the advance of all, for the common benefit and in common sacrifice or we will, sooner or later, pay separately the price of selfishness, drift and neglect.

In no other place will the price of selfishness, drift and neglect be higher than in its impact on this nation’s place in the world. I wish I could report to you that we have made advances in foreign relations in this first year of the Administration which are as tangible as those on the domestic front. I cannot, in all honesty, do so. The arena of these relations is the entire globe, even now, it is an arena which is expanding to encompass the moon and the planets. In this vast arena, the struggle for peace and for national security is a far more complex affair than all of the domestic challenges put together. What is involved is not only the 180,000,000 people of the United States but the 2,271,800,000 people of the planet. What is involved is not a unified, stable nation able to act with a sense of purpose but a world in disunity and ever on the edge of the chaos of war, a war, moreover, which could spell the doom of civilized existence as the human race has evolved it over the centuries and millenia. May I say that this great arena of world affairs is no place for an advance on a White Charger or an ostrich retreat into the
bomb-shelters. This is no place for the fast gun or the delusions of
grandeur. This is no place for the loud words and the braggarts. This
is no place for quick and quack solutions. This is the place for sobriety,
for caution, and for a sober respect for the immensity of the difficulties.
This is the place for a steadfast courage and a calm wisdom. This is a
place for recognition of the tremendous necessity for a more stable peace,
if it is within the capacity of humanity to achieve it. This is the place
for the glint of a deep knowledge and a deep compassion as well as for the
lint of steel. We have that kind of man in John F. Kennedy. We have the
kind of President who stands and talks as though he belongs in that place.
This Administration has acted to strengthen the defenses of the nation
and cut the waste in the Defense Department through the outstanding work
of the brilliant and courageous Secretary of Defense, Robert S. McNamara.
This Administration has acted, too, with vigour to overhaul the diplomacy
of the nation, to begin to intensify the search for the strengthening of
both and freedom and peace in the world. And may I say that in establish-
ing a Disarmament Agency, this Administration has taken an essential step
to see to it that when and if that day comes when the world can begin to
beat the swords into ploughshares, our industry and manpower which has
been diverted to arms production will be able to shift to the constructive
work of peace without disastrous personal dislocation and suffering. This
Administration is not building from scratch in foreign policy but on what
has gone before because foreign policy does not stop when one administration ends and another begins. In this matter, former President Eisenhower and other Republicans deserve full credit for their contribution because when it comes to foreign policy, we are not and ought not to be either Democrats first or Republicans first but Americans first and foremost.

It will take time before the effects of the changes in foreign relations are felt under this Administration. It will not be easy to bring these changes about. It will not be cheap. Foreign aid will have to go on. Tens of billions of dollars will continue to be spent each year for the armed forces. Billions more will go into space exploration. The President does not enjoy spending this money, as we have been doing for years, anymore than you like to have it come out of your earnings. But that is the price of cold war, of the world's fears and anxieties. It is the price of the survival of freedom and the integrity of this nation in a time of world-wide upheaval, uncertainty, aggression and hostility. I can assure you that if any man can lead in the modification of this situation, if any man has the wit to lead in the creation of a more stable world situation, a more durable peace it is the President of the United States, John F. Kennedy. If he is going to do it, he will need the understanding, patience and support of the American people. If I know the people of this nation, he is going to get it.
And he is going to get understanding and support in Congress, support on both the domestic and international fronts from men like John Carroll who has fought the good fight to open up the maximum of equal opportunity for every American child, every businessman, worker and farmer for many years.

John Carroll is famous in Washington as a servant of three great special interests: the American public, the ideal of equal rights for all men; and the people of the Western states. If there are three special interests that are more in your general interest, I don't know what they are. He is three Senators in one: a Senator from Colorado, a Senator of the West and a Senator of all the people of the United States.

Now there are many other men in Congress who share these interests, but John Carroll has accumulated the experience, stature and position which permit him to serve these interests with great effectiveness. He serves the consumer as ranking Democrat on the Senate Antitrust Subcommittee, where he was a leader in the recent price fixing investigations into the electrical industry. He serves the cause of equal rights for all men on the Judiciary Committee, and--because, as he will tell you, it is an uphill battle there--he is a principal leader in the floor fights for civil rights. And John Carroll serves the people of the Western States as a member of the Senate Interior Committee--so frequently the make-or-break committee for all of us in the West--and as Chairman of the Subcommittee on Mining and Minerals.
What this adds up to is an outstanding record of service to expanding opportunity: opportunity for the independent businessman to compete with the giants of industry; opportunity for the consumer to buy at a fair price; opportunity for all Americans to live without the encumbrance of prejudice; and opportunity for Coloradans and Montanans and all Westerners to share in the abundance of America's growth. You have in the Senate today, representing you in a position of power and responsibility, a pragmatist, an idealist, a determined man who understands the possibilities of effective government action. You will serve the best interests of Colorado and the United States if you keep him there. As Majority Leader of the Senate, as a Westerner and, most of all, as an American, I urge you to keep John Carroll in the Senate.