

Maureen and Mike

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TRANSCRIPT OF RADIO TAPE OF SENATOR MIKE MANSFIELD

Final Speeches in Senatorial Campaign  
November 3, 1952

My fellow Montanans, this is Mike Mansfield speaking. I want to take this opportunity to thank you, the decent, hard-working people of Montana, for their unfailing support over the years. I want to especially thank my wife, Maureen, who is with me tonight, for her courage, strength, and devotion over our entire married life of twenty-one years. Without her, the going would have been far more difficult than it has been. With her, the road has been made far easier. I owe to her and to the people of Montana a debt I could never even begin to repay, no matter how hard I tried.

While I have felt the effects of the campaign, and I know Maureen has too, I know the people will be fair in their evaluation of my opponent and my record. I have never lied to you. I have run my own campaign and I have fought clean. I have felt responsibilities you gave me, and I have tried to be the kind of a Congressman you deserve and to repay you in some measure for your faith and trust in me.

I was going to answer the open letter which appeared in last Friday's daily paper under the name of a former Republican representative from Ravalli County, but, due to the fact that on yesterday my opponent finally made his first statewide broadcast in person, I will answer him and the people of Montana directly. My opponent refers to my vote in 1947 against H. R. 3813, the Federal Employees Loyalty Bill. This bill, despite its final title, was so bad that it never became a law. Senator Pat McCarren's Judiciary Committee in the Senate wouldn't even consider it. It never reached the Senate

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floor. This bill lacked all of the elements of a decent respect for Democratic rights and fair play. It created a board which was prosecutor, judge and jury and, under it, the accused could not face his accuser or see the evidence against him. It was a bill which would have provided a field day for Communists to plant information against innocent people. Why didn't my opponent tell you what this bill contained and that almost half of the sixty-one who voted against it were Republicans? Speaking of the Unamerican Activities Committee, why didn't my opponent tell the people of Montana about its Republican chairman, J. Parnell Collins, who was shaking down his employees, who was sent to prison for this and forced to resign from the House and who, as chairman, didn't bring one piece of legislation out of that committee to the floor. When he was removed, I did vote for the committee's appropriation and, as he well knows, I voted for every piece of legislation and every citation reported out by that committee in my ten years in the House. Again, on H.R. 4009, a bill which provided that employees of the Federal Housing Agency only, repeat, only, were required to sign affidavits of loyalty. My position was and is that every Federal employee should take a loyalty oath just as I do. My opponent seems to approve of a plan to apply to a few, while I believe it should apply to all. These are the answers to the three questions raised by my opponent last night. You have not been hearing campaign talk from me nor have I been playing on the heart strings and the heartbreak of Montana's fathers and mothers. I have one weapon, the truth, and one organization,

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the people on my side. I have conducted my affairs honestly and in the open, and I will continue to do so down to the end because the factor which concerns me most of all is the welfare and security of our country and the future of our children. I want to talk to you tonight, not only as your Congressman, but also as one who knows what war is. As you know, I enlisted in the First World War at 14 and served as an enlisted G.I. in the Navy, Army, and Marines. At the age of 15, I saw combat service for ten months. I do not speak second hand. What happens to me is unimportant, but what happens to our country and the free world is all important. If I win this election, I want to win it honestly and on the record. I can look every man and woman in Montana in the eye because I have done nothing I am ashamed of nor have I spoken evil of my fellow man. I have exercised restraint in this campaign until the sixteen outside Republican senators sent into this state to defeat me had been heard; until the man who admitted he was a Communist had been brought into Montana by my opponent and his group and had attacked my patriotism, my character, my religious faith, my integrity; and, until my opponent, who, himself, and his friends had made all of his charges and made all the falsehoods known. What in heavens name has happened to us as Americans? What have we done that a public servant should be so defiled and so defaced? Is it not intolerable that a man seeking high office with its agonizing burdens would have to suffer the indignity of having to defend, not his political beliefs, but the very honor of his soul. How in these perilous times can we get decent men and women to run for public office if they are going to be

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subject to these vilifications?

Now, I want to talk to you about Korea. Why are we fighting in Korea, and, since this is a political campaign, and it is perhaps inevitable that sly and ugly distortions of the truth are being made in an attempt to turn this serious problem into an orgy of vote-getting, I want to talk about Mike Mansfield and the China report of 1945. My opponent has tried to create an impression that my China report somehow, sometime, has had something to do with Korea. This is a contemptible effort to capitalize for political purposes on the anxiety of all Americans over events in Korea and the risks to which our young men are being subjected there. Korea is not mentioned once in my report. In 1944 President Roosevelt, not the State Department, called me to the White House and requested that I go to China on a special confidential mission. I returned to Washington in January, 1945, made my report to President Roosevelt and the Congress, not to the State Department. The Great Falls Tribune, although every newspaper in Montana received a copy, was the only paper to publish this report and it did so in full. It seems that my previous Republican opponents and now my present opponent have in these campaigns have tried to tell you that somewhere in that report I said the Chinese Communists were agrarian reformers. Let's look at the record, in this case the report itself. In it I stated that interest in the Chinese Communists seemed to focus on agrarian reform. Why doesn't my opponent tell you, if he has read the report---and I doubt it---that what I do say in that report is that General Frank Merrill, a military hero of Merrill's Marauders in Burma, told me "that in his opinion, the Chinese Communists

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were primarily a Chinese agrarian group interested in land and tax reform." That's what General Merrill said, not Mike Mansfield. In my report I stated that Chiang Kai-shek, the Nationalist leader and bitter anti-Communist then, as well as now, was the best man to head the Chinese government. I stated that he should have our full support and we would assist him to the limit. There has been no change in my opinion of Chiang or the Nationalist government, and in every measure before Congress this government has received my full support. Incidentally, as late as July 31, this year, General Chenault of the Old Flying Tigers and now military adviser to Chiang Kai-shek wrote me in reference to my aid in getting his vast airplane transport fleet away from the Chinese Reds. He said, and I quote, "I know this victory will give you deep personal satisfaction since your tenacious help and interest has contributed greatly to the results. May I add my personal thanks for your invaluable aid and encouragement. Sincerely, Chenault." Speaking of Communists being forced into the Nationalist government of China, it might be interesting to the people of Montana, and I will bet it is a great surprise to my opponent that General Pat Hurley, the Republican Secretary of War in the Hoover cabinet, Ambassador to China at the time of my report, and now Republican candidate for senator from New Mexico said, "Before the Yalta Conference, I suggested to President Roosevelt a plan to force the Nationalist government, that is of China, to make more political concessions in order to make possible a settlement with the Communists. The President did not approve the suggestion." About me, as my opponent has charged wanting to take Communists into Chiang's



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government, my opponent is entirely mistaken, and he knows it. I have a letter from General Whittlemeyer, who, incidentally, complimented me on my report, dated July 12, 45, which may be of interest in answering my opponent's false statements. "Dear Mike, I think, therefore, the three great powers should collaborate in a document to the Central Government and the Communists indicating unanimity in a vote and adding that, unless these two factors make appropriate compromises and get together, all Allied support will be withdrawn." That was Whittlemeyer, not Mike Mansfield, who said that. December, '45, Whittlemeyer, Douglas MacArthur, Admiral Stewen, sent the following message to Washington, "It is suggested that U. S. assistance to China be made available as a basis for negotiations by the American Ambassador to bring together and effect a compromise between the major opposing groups in order to promote a unified, democratic China." They sent that message and wanted Chiang to take in the Communists. Mike Mansfield did not.

Now, let's talk about Korea. June, 1948, was the proposed plan to withdraw American observation troops then in Korea. I was the one man who objected to this move. I warned the committee and the Congress of the grave consequences which could follow if that hapened, and that, in fact, did follow. Did my opponent say anything at the time on the Senate floor. No, he went right along with withdrawal of our troops, but my protest was not listened to. When the North Koreans invaded South Korea over two years ago, did my opponent say anything then? No, he did not. He stayed completely silent. Now, what we are fighting

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in Korea is Communist aggression, ordered, planned, and supervised by Moscow. Make no mistake about it. If you ask why we are fighting there, the best answer I can give you is the one given by Captain John Gibar at the first stage of the war. When asked such a question by reporters in his hometown of Wichita, Kansas, Gibar said, "So we won't have to fight in Wichita." And in place of Wichita you can put any town or city in Montana or in your country. We have three choices in Korea: 1) get out; if we do this, the next question is where the next Communist move will be and what we will do about it. It would come soon. Make no mistake about that. Do we then give in to Communist aggression again and again and let them take the whole world piece by piece until they reach the United States and Montana? Even my opponent doesn't advocate this course, or does he, now?

2) Stay where we are. We must try to work out an honorable truce and keep building our military strength and the strength of the Republic of Korea troops as we have been doing for over two years and the strength of Chinese Nationalist troops so that they can, when ready, go to Korea and the strength of our allies so that, if and when, a showdown comes, we will be ready. The Communists understand and listen to only one thing---superior force. 3) Go ahead to the Yellow and beyond into Red China. If we do we place Stalin's game right down the middle---get involved in a general war with China. We will win and then occupy China but we will lose western Europe in the meantime. We will really pay taxes there, and we will have regimentation, dictatorship and a garrison state at home. Eventually, after we have been bled twice, we will have to face the final showdown with the real enemy,



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the Soviet Union, and face it alone. Now, let me make this unmistakably clear. Both Presidential candidates, Eisenhower and Stevenson, are against the third course of action and both of them have said so for two years. Is my opponent against Eisenhower as well as Mike Mansfield? I would like to hear his answer. There is hard fighting in Korea now, but there will be World War III if the third course is followed. This is a time in American history when we must think long, hard and carefully. The man who offers you an easy way, a quick and a cheap way out, is making a fool out of himself and he will make one of you is you follow him. The only way to win World War III is to prevent it. Now, where does my opponent stand on Korea? He has made no speeches of any kind in the Senate to tell his constituents. I find, however, according to the Great Falls Tribune of May 19, 1951, that in Bozeman, "Senator Zales Ecton last night advocated carrying the war to China with all our might." And he talks about blood and casualties. So you have your choice. Eisenhower, Stevenson, and Mansfield on one side and my opponent, who advocated all out war, on the other. Why haven't you told the mothers and fathers that in this campaign, Senator Ecton.

Both my opponent and I are sharing our past records with the people of Montana. Yours is the final decision as to who will be your next senator. I can ask that you look the voting records of both over carefully and honestly and judge us by what we have done or failed to do. I am proud of the record of your and my accomplishments in developing and building Montana. I have answered every charge made against me. I now again ask my opponent to say one piece of legislation he has introduced or even approved for the welfare of Montana and its

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people, for the security of our country and the stopping of Communism at home and Communism abroad. I ask him also to answer my ten indictments appearing in the press this last week. Tell the people why you voted against the REA, the Bonneville lines, the Havre-Shelby lines, the Japanese peace treaty, the speeding up of Hungry Horse, against soil conservation funds, Social Security, tax adjustments for families, and sixteen of the eighteen Hoover proposals, and tell them also why you voted for Acheson as Secretary of State.

Now, I would like to end the campaign by saying I have fought a good fight. I have left faith in you, the people of Montana. I hope, sincerely, that you will keep the faith with me. This is Mike Mansfield saying, good-night, and God bless you, everyone.