

Maureen and Mike

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Transcript of Radio Tape of Senator Mike Mansfield

Political speech on behalf of Senator Murray and other  
Democratic candidates, Finlen Hotel, Butte, Montana  
October 30, 1954

Tonight we are honored to have with us again a townsman whose record of accomplishments has not only endeared him to the people of Montana but has brought him National and international recognition. The distinguished individual which I am about to introduce needs no introduction to the people of Montana and Butte. His private life is above reproach, and his public career, both as a member of the House of Representatives and the Senate, has brought him recognition as a great and valuable member of the Congress of the United States. Senator Mansfield came up the hard way and may truly be described as a self-made man. We are proud to claim him as a Butte product. Mike worked in the mines of Butte for many years and, for a time, he studied at night and at such other times as were available until he reached his goal of becoming an instructor. He taught for some years at the University of Montana, where he endeared himself to his pupils and attained eminence as a professor. He enlisted and served in World War I in the Army, Navy and Marine Corps. He has for many years been a serious student of the Far East which qualified him to become an authority on foreign affairs. Senator Mansfield's political history is one of repeated success. As a member of the House of Representatives, he was honored by appointment to many important committees, and as a senator, he has become a most valuable member of the important Committee on Foreign Relations. He is Nationally recognized both in the press and by commentators as one of the most industrious and able members of the

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Senate. I believe one of his greatest honors---and a most effective answer to the Republican claim that only Republicans will support the President---was Mike's appointment by Republican Secretary of State Dulles as advisor to the American delegation of the collective Security Councils which recently convened at Manila. His praise for the efficient services rendered in that capacity came not only from Secretary Dulles but also from every member of the Congress. Ladies and gentlemen, it is an honor and privilege to present to you our fellow townsman and distinguished senator, Honorable Mike Mansfield.

Mr. Chairman, Senator Murray, Congressman Metcalf, distinguished guests, my fellow Democrats and my fellow Americans. It is a great honor for me to appear before a group of Butte and Anaconda people tonight in behalf of the candidacy of our distinguished senior senator, the Honorable James Murray of Montana, and to also try to do everything I possibly can in behalf of the candidacy of that outstanding Congressman from the western district, Lee Metcalf, and our next Congressman-to-be from the eastern Montana district, Leroy Anderson. I also want to do everything I can in behalf of my old time friends, Austin Middleton and Paul Smith of the Railroad Commission, and Horace Casey for State Treasurer. Furthermore, I want to do everything I can for every county Democratic ticket throughout the entire state of Montana. When I come back to Montana lately and I find that there is a changed atmosphere, I find that the advertising hucksters from the East have been at work. I find that a campaign of vilification and slander has been carried on, not

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only against Senator James Murray but against the Democratic Party as a whole. I don't like it because I went through the same thing two years ago myself. I know how it affected me, and I know how it affected my family because my wife went to the hospital as a result. I feel that we can win this campaign on the basis of the record and the issues, and I certainly do not approve and I'm sure the people of Montana do not approve the idea of a carpetbagger lawyer from Wyoming coming into our state and telling us how we should vote in this coming election. Don't think that this man is just after Jim Murray and the Democrats of Montana alone. He is doing the very same thing against that distinguished American, Senator Joseph O. Mahoney, in his own state. This carpetbagging lawyer has been in Wyoming four or five years. He's an immigrant from New York where he left a very lucrative criminal law practice. I would suggest that you look into the Kefauver committee hearings and find out just who this man's clients are and then you'll get an idea of the kind of an individual he is. Not only do we have this lawyer from Cody, Wyoming, but we had ten to twenty-five Republican senators in the state as well, three of them in the state at this moment trying to make a last desperate attempt because they know their backs are to the wall to defeat Jim Murray. You know the big prize that this administration wants. The big prize they wanted two years ago is the control of the Senate of the United States. That's why they are spending this money. That's why they are refusing to discuss the issues. That's why in the dead of night they are passing out these pamphlets of vilification and character assassination, and I only hope they keep on doing it

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because I have every faith, every faith, in the decency and intelligence of the good people of the state of Montana and America as a whole. As far as we are concerned, I want to tell the people of Montana that the state of the Democratic Party is good. It was never better, and, while one man may leave us, we can get along without him and we are going to win without him. This man who has received all of the honors that this state could give to him would do well to remember his early political career and what happened to him when he travelled up and down the state of Montana. He should have a little charity and a little understanding and he should recognize the fact that Senator Murray's family is not running for the Senate but that Senator Jim Murray is and on his record. I want to say to you that in my twelve years in the Congress of the United States, both of the House and the Senate, Jim Murray has been very diligent in getting everything he possibly could which would benefit and develop Montana, which would diversify our economy, which would give jobs and employment and security to our people, and I say to you that, when you reel off the names of these projects---Hungry Horse, Yellowtail, Tiber---all of these and many others than Jim Murray was in there all of the time fighting for all of us. I know that the Chairman of the Republican State Committee, Mr. Mackey, made a statement in the Billings Gazette the other day to the effect that "he feared that the state Democrats were planning a last minute, irresponsible smear campaign too late to be answered." I wish to assure Mr. Mackey that we do not intend to go down into the gutter in an attempt to win this election. We have always played fair and

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square. We have always told the people of Montana the truth, and that's the only way we are going to campaign and that's the way we're going to win and let's face it. If I may, I would like to talk to you about the important things in this campaign, the issues and the promises made by this Republican administration, how they have been kept and what has happened to the things they said to the people of Montana and this Nation in 1952. I hope you'll not forget those promises because they were very definite and clear cut, and I think that is the basis on which you should cast your vote when you go to the polls on November 2. Mr. Eisenhower, when he was a candidate, had a number of things to say. He said that, if you elected him and the Republican candidates followed suit, he would balance the budget; that he would reduce the cost of living; that he would give you a sound, hard currency and that he would reduce the debt limit. Let's take a look at the record. The budget was out of balance last year. The budget is out of balance this year to the extent of 3.5 to 4 billion dollars. The budget will be out of balance next year. Let's see about the cost of living. I have some interesting figures in hand which I think the people of Montana ought to be aware of. They promised that they would reduce the cost of living, and I think they did issue a statement on Monday of this week to the effect that the cost of living had been reduced by one-fortieth of one per cent. Let's look at the record. According to the reliable National Industrial Conference Board, which is the research arm of the National Association of Manufacturers, not a left wing or radical organization, the consumer price index for



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thirty-nine cities surveyed in May was more than five per cent higher in May, 1954, than it had been in May, 1953. What do you think of that---a five per cent increase in the cost of living in a one-year period. Now we come to the third comment. They said they would give you a sound, hard currency. This is from the same board, and I quote exactly, "The purchasing value of the dollar in May, 1954, five months ago, was 52.9 cents, reaching its lowest point in a forty year history of the conference board index and representing a decrease of 2.9 per cent over the year. In May, 1953, the dollar---and remember the Truman Dollar, folks---was valued at 55.5 cents. One year later, five months ago, in May, 1954, the Eisenhower dollar was valued at 52.9 cents." So, they didn't keep their promise there either. They told you that they would reduce the debt limit. Let's see what they did. Last year Secretary of the Treasury George Humphrey appeared before the appropriate House and Senate committees. Do you know what he asked for?---an increase in the National debt limit of 15 billion dollars, from 275 to 290 billion dollars. Well, the House gave it to him. Lee voted against it. It came to the Senate and, there, a good Democrat, Senator Byrd, of Virginia, stood like a stone wall and the rest of us, Jim Murray and I and all of the other Democrats, stood behind him. We refused to give him that 15 billion dollars increase. This year he came back again. This time he asked for a 6 billion dollar increase on a temporary basis. Unfortunately, this was allowed, but today you have a National debt ceiling of 281 billion dollars compared to a 275 billion ceiling when the Democrats left office. They didn't keep their promise there either,

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and I'm going to, in the course of this talk tonight, give due credit to the Republicans when that credit is due. The next thing they promised was---and they kept this one---if you elected the Republicans to office, they said, "we will turn the tidelands back to the states," and they did. But who paid for it? The school children and the school teachers of this country and, because of the fact that this Federal resource is going to go to three states instead of forty-eight, as it should, you're not going to get the needed school facilities you must have for your children. And then, of course, they promised us a new look in defense. Don't get it mixed up with a Dior look, although it's almost as flat. They use slogans. These advertising hucksters from New York, you know, turn them out by the dozens. They had another slogan. They said a bigger bang for a buck. Remember? Well, let's look at this bigger bang for a buck and see just what it is. And we'll take it from the record. It means that last year this Republican Administration cut down the Army from twenty-one to nineteen divisions. This year, they're cutting it down from nineteen to seventeen divisions, in spite of the efforts of men like Jim Murray, John Kennedy of Massachusetts, Mike Mansfield of Montana. As far as the Air Force is concerned, what about the new look there. Well, we were trying to achieve a goal of 136 air groups, under the Democrats. Last year the Republicans knocked it down to 121 air groups. This year, they saw a little light and raised it to 131 air groups, still short of the Democratic goal. What about the Navy? 50 ships have been taken out of the Navy and put into mothballs, and 75,000 men have been taken from the fleet. The Marine Corps? Well, it's just barely within the statutory



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requirements of three combat divisions and it doesn't have the three combat wings, only two. That's the new look. That's the bigger bang for a buck. In this age, when we need to put security above everything else, and in the field in which we should not practice economy because we'll pay for the lack of monies expended there many times over.

Then, the Republicans---and the Democrats---promised Alaska and Hawaii statehood. What happened there? Again, let's look at the record. The Republicans did pass a bill through the House allowing statehood for Hawaii. It came to the Senate and there, because of Democratic support, unanimously, with one exception, an amendment was passed which added Alaska to the Hawaii statehood bill. It went back to the House. The Republican-dominated Rules Committee wouldn't touch it. Republican Speaker Joe Martin wouldn't lift a finger, and both Alaska and Hawaii are still territories and their citizens are still second class citizens. Well, Secretary McKay, who supposedly represents the West, went to Alaska about four months ago and there he had the gall to bawl out the Alaskans because they put pressure on the administration and the Congress in behalf of statehood. Well, the Alaskans, being second class citizens, just had to take it. They took it only two weeks ago last Tuesday, and you know what happened then? Well, as Alaska this year has seventeen Republicans and two Democrats and one vacancy in the Alaskan Senate, next year they are going to have twenty Democrats and no Republicans. The Republicans said that they were against Alaska coming in because it might furnish two

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Democratic senators. They were for Hawaii because it would furnish two Republican senators. As far as the Democrats are concerned, we wouldn't care if they furnished four Republican senators, we think these territories are entitled in admittance into the Union.

Now, we come to a famous subject. This is known as parity, and don't think that you folks in Butte and Anaconda and this part of Montana aren't interested in the farm question. Candidate Eisenhower at Minnesota, at South Dakota, at Fargo, North Dakota, at Columbia, South Carolina, said with no ifs, ands, or buts, "we stand for at least 90 per cent parity and, essentially, full parity." What happened? The farmers have been Bensonized to a fare-you-well because the Republicans, who are good at number games,---Mr. Nixon who made a speech at Butte here a week ago, tells you about subversives in the government. Did he name them? Not at all. He said they are one, two, three and four. Then, he subdivided them into A, B, C, D. We want to know who those subversives are. We want them out of the government. We want them named and we want to know how many have been given employment by this administration. We don't want numbers. We want facts. But Mr. Benson has been playing a numbers game. He has been talking to the farmers about 60, 70, 75, once in awhile, 90, 80, 82.5. What does this Republican administration end up with? With the dairy farmers, 75 per cent of parity. What has happened to the price of milk? Has your milk gone down as a result? Of course, it hasn't and it won't go down either. As far as the basics are concerned, what happened to the golden promises in the Dakota's and South Carolina of at least 90 per cent? Well, the new formula is

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82.5 per cent. Wheat is one of the basics. Has the price of bread gone down in Montana? Not at all. But the farmer has suffered a 20 per cent decline in his income. His cost has gone up and the cost of living for him has gone up, but Benson and the Republicans are trying to bury the farmer, and they're telling you folks to live in the towns and the cities that the farmer is greedy; that he shouldn't be given this consideration; that there's too much in the way of storage; and that it's costing the government too much money. Do you know how much it has cost the government in the United States over the past twenty-one years? Not one year, but twenty-one years, to maintain parity. Exactly thirty-five cents for each man, woman, and child in this country. And I say that's a very cheap price to pay for a good sound agricultural economy. But, oh, Mr. Benson and his boys are travelling up and down Montana because they want Jim Murray's seat. They want a Republican back there who will do their bidding and not the bidding of the people he is supposed to represent.

Then, of course, the Republicans have talked about these subsidies, and there are many magazines, newspapers, etc., which have taken up the call, but these magazines like Time, Life, Fortune and the Saturday Evening Post, who are all against the parity program, don't tell you that they have been receiving subsidies for many years longer. They don't tell you that the airlines, the steamship companies, and the railroads receive subsidies too. They don't tell you that, as far as business is concerned, the tariff is the form of subsidy which has been in operation for over 150 years. That's the truth. Let's just tell the people the truth and let's try to get these Republican

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candidates, if it isn't too late, to discuss the issues and to tell the American people just what has happened to the promises they made in the campaign of 1952.

Now, we come to this promise about the development of natural resources. This is a very important thing for the state of Montana because we like Hungry Horse out here and we would like to see more Hungry Horses, the kind that Jim Murray and I have worked for down through the years, the kind we need to develop our state and to give some security to our people, and the kind we need to bring in new industry so that our economy can become diversified. What has happened to these people? Have they followed in the footsteps of those great Republicans, Theodore Roosevelt and Clifford Pinchot? Of course not. Senator Murray's opponent even introduced a bill to take away the grazing lands, to take away the conservation and the recreation facilities, to make it so that anybody who has a lease could bypass the Forest Service and could pass down that lease in perpetuity to anyone he desires, anyone, anywhere. Land which belongs to the people of the United States and land in which all of us, regardless of our party, have a vested interest. But the people of Montana spoke, which was responsible for the defeat of this bill which was introduced, primarily due to the efforts of Jim Murray in the Senate and Lee Metcalf in the House. What have these people done for Montana? I can tell you in one word. Nothing. Nothing, at all. President Truman on October 1, 1952, made a speech at the Flathead County auditorium in Kalispell at the dedication of the Hungry Horse Dam. He said to the folks there, "Take a good long look at the Hungry Horse Dam because, if the Republicans get in, it's going to

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be a long time before you see another one." Truer words were never spoken. There hasn't been one new start under this Republican administration, and if you don't believe me, check the record because the document always tells the truth. They have gone further. The Republican chairman of the House and Senate Public Works committees have actually introduced bills to de-authorize Libby Dam in western Montana and Yellowtail Dam in southeastern Montana, dams which have been authorized under previous Democratic administrations. Do you think these people are in favor of developing the natural resources of the Treasure State? I tell you they are not because, while they pay lip service when it comes down to the possibility of doing something, they always back off. Because of that, we are being retarded. Oh, yes, they're great on promises, but when it comes to putting the cards on the table where you can see them, you just can't find them. We believe in what we tell you, and we expect you to believe the candidates of both parties during the course of campaign years.

Well, we have also heard about the Tennessee Valley Authority. President Eisenhower, when a candidate, visited the TVA and he told those people in that great valley they had nothing to fear; that TVA was going to go ahead. About six months later a press conference referred to the TVA as creeping socialism. Well, those southern governors and the folks in those six TVA states just don't like Mr. Eisenhower any more because he went back on his word, and he is trying, and this administration is trying, to put through a contract which will bear very close scrutiny, the so-called Dixon-Yates



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Contract. Talk about a built-in profit system. Boy, this is it. This outfit is guaranteed a nine per cent profit, guaranteed, and this outfit will have its Federal, state, local and county....taxes paid for a period of twenty-five years by the Federal government. This contract was not let out on a competitive basis. This was awarded to a combination of companies in the middle South. No one, even yet, not even if they are members of this great committee on Atomic Energy, know what that contract contains, but I can tell the people of Montana that, regardless of the outcome of this election, you haven't heard the last of the Dixon-Yates contract because we're going to get to the bottom of it.

We Democrats believe in competitive, free enterprise, but we do not believe in monopolistic free enterprise. Now, I would like to talk about something else if I may, and that is the talks being made by Mr. Dick Nixon as he goes up and down the country. I think we ought to call Mr. Nixon "Slick Dick" because he doesn't talk about the issues but he tries to pin the Communist label on the Democratic Party. Let me tell you the story of the Democratic sponsored bill to outlaw Communists. I know because I have had a bill for three years which would just do that because we don't believe you can be a Communist and an American at the same time. But some of us Democrats, Jim Murray and myself included, offered this amendment in the Senate. You should have seen the look on the faces of the Republican senators. They raised technical questions and legal questions, but, not being a lawyer, I had no difficulty overcoming those objections. They had to join with us in passing



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that amendment outlawing the Communist Party. It went to the House. The House changed it, and it came back to the Senate and, there, once again, we offered the original Humphrey, Democrat amendment, and we carried it at that time. We carried it by two votes. What happened? The Vice President, you know who, left his chair, went down to the back of the room and put his arm around the junior senator from California, Tommy Keuchel. All Tommy Keuchel was doing was to shake his head like this. The vote was close. He didn't change his vote, and, when it came time for final passage, every Republican joined every Democrat and that's how you got the bill outlawing the Communist Party, and I think it was long overdue.

Folks, my time is drawing to a close, but I do want to make this appeal. I sincerely hope that every Democrat, every Democrat in the state of Montana, and every decent thinking person, every individual who believes in fair play, every individual who believes in the American system of government and the rights we have under our Constitution to go to the polls on next Tuesday and that you will cast your ballot for Jim Murray for reelection into the Senate and Lee Metcalf for reelection to the House, for Leroy Anderson for election to Congress from the eastern district and for Austin Middleton, Paul Smith, Horace Casey and for your candidates in your counties. Go Democratic and give Montana a Democratic backfield composed of Murray, Mansfield, Metcalf and Anderson.

Thank you very much and good night.