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SENATOR ROBERT A. MURPHY
at the
BROTHERHOOD OF RAILROAD TRAINMEN STATE CONVENTION
St. Paul, Minnesota - May 22, 1954

Mr. Chairman, members and delegates of the Brotherhood of Railroad Trainmen, friends of the radio audience. I welcome the opportunity to speak with you today about certain questions of public policy that you and I and our fellow Americans think about and sometimes worry about. I speak to you as your United States Senator. It has been my privilege to serve the people of Minnesota for more than five years in the Congress of the United States. This has been a privilege which I have enjoyed and for which I shall be eternally grateful to the people of Minnesota. I fully appreciate, however, that my service as your representative in Washington is more than a privilege. It is also a responsibility. I am in Minnesota today and I speak to you this afternoon to fulfill that responsibility.

Those of you who know me know that I am an optimist. I was taught in my youth that all of us as human beings were children of God and possessed of the dignity as well as the holiness which that represents. I was also taught to believe with Abraham Lincoln that God loved his children -- the people -- for he made so many of them. This faith and this optimism leads me to the conviction that our government which is a democracy will survive and prosper through all difficulty because our government as a democracy is based on the religious principles of human equality, freedom and justice.

It would, nevertheless, be a serious mistake if we allowed our optimism to blind us to the world realities that face us. Our nation is strong; our cause is just; but our problems are many. I would be failing in my responsibility if I did not come to you frankly and honestly and free from partisanship to discuss those problems.

The Congress has been in session rather continuously since January. With but few exceptions I have been rather steadily in

Washington where I am constantly surrounded by the harsh realities of the world picture today. Our civilization is struggling for survival. The religious values of human brotherhood which we share are threatened by an enemy. It is my firm conviction that democracy today is on the defensive in the world.

In order for us to win this struggle for survival it is necessary that we think of ourselves primarily as Americans and place patriotism above partisanship. The great need of today is to restore that unity of purpose and that freedom from partisanship in the field of our international relations. Let me tell you why.

The American people want peace. In order to accomplish that objective we have followed an international policy since the end of World War II which will be recorded as one of the great marvels in world history. The American people working hand in hand with our government proclaimed to the world that man is indeed his brother's keeper. You and I and our neighbors down the street decided that we

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were indeed fortunate to have escaped the horrors of war and mass destruction which our neighbors across the ocean experienced during the second world war. We decided that we were blessed by the good fortune of having a country rich in natural resources and rich in God-given spiritual and material wealth which allowed us to be the wealthiest nation in the world. We knew that as the most fortunate and wealthy peoples of the world we had a responsibility to care for our less fortunate brethren. We also knew that much of our strength came from the cultural, religious and national treasures which we borrowed from the other nations of the world when our forefathers left those nations and settled here.

For the first time in world history, therefore, we, the American people, said, "We will use our strength, our wealth and our good fortune not to take from the less privileged, but to share with the less privileged." Every other leading nation in world history used its strength in the past in order to conquer, defeat and weaken

other peoples and nations. We repudiated that philosophy of imperialism and brutality. We embraced instead the religious teachings of compassion and human understanding and adopted those teachings as our international policy.

I say "we", my friends, because it is we who did it. You and I. You and I paid the heavy tax load to accomplish that objective. You and I made the decision because no government in the United States can pursue any policy which does not have the support of the American people.

You and I supported UNRRA, the United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration, which cared for the needy, fed the hungry and clothed the naked. You and I flooded the world with CARE packages with gifts of food and clothing to relatives and strangers who were in need. We did this as individuals. We did this as citizens. We did it through our churches. We did it as human beings -- as children of God. We knew that hungry stomachs do not

make good political advisers, and we knew, therefore, that our program of human compassion was one of the most effective things we could do to weaken the forces of Communism and Fascism in Europe.

When the immediate relief problem in Europe was solved, you and I helped support the Marshall Plan which was designed to bring an economic partnership with the countries of Europe so that their economies could once again prosper and help serve the needs of the world. We recalled the teaching that "God helps those who help themselves" and we adopted a policy designed to help the nations of the world help themselves.

For Asia and Africa you and I helped support the Point Four program -- a program of technical assistance to the underdeveloped nations of the world. We sent County Agents from Minnesota, soil conservationists from Iowa, engineers from Nebraska, teachers from South Dakota, to help train the farmers, the children, the mothers and the workers of Asia, Africa and South America. These were our soldiers of peace and with them went wheat and seed and machines

-- our arms of peace.

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We held out the hand of friendship to the world and said our aim is to build a world community which rejects war. That is why we joined and helped form the United Nations.

But while we were doing this, forces of world Communism were also at work. Dictatorship must die when people are equal and prosperous. The dictators of world Communism, therefore, set about to undermine our efforts. They tried military threats in order to frighten the world and capture ^{Countries} ~~places~~ like Turkey and Greece and Iran, but again the American people responded to these new threats and supported the Greek-Turkish Aid Program -- which is known throughout the world as the Truman Doctrine. Greece, Turkey and Iran today remain free.

The Communists dictators then attempted to capture all of Germany and started a blockade of Berlin. Again the American people through their government acted. The Berlin air lift will go down

in history as one of the great industrial and military accomplishments of our times. The spirit of democracy today burns brightly in Germany and the spirit of resistance to Communism is steadily undermining Russian influence in Germany.

To help meet the military threat, you and I and our government formed the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. We took the first steps toward the creation of a European army and an integrated European defense command. There is today a formidable resistance to Communist military aggression in Europe. No longer will the Communists be able to pick off one nation at a time and divide the forces of freedom in Europe. The result has been that the Russian armies are not moving and will not move in Europe so long as we remain united.

Our intervention in Korea was designed to give the Communists further proof that aggression is unprofitable by making Communist aggression in Korea unprofitable and a military failure. We took a

significant step toward assuring world peace. I say in all humility and with every conviction in my soul, the American soldiers in Korea deserve a place alongside soldiers of Bunker Hill as great American heroes.

But I would be less than candid with you if I did not report to you today that we have in the last few months suffered serious diplomatic and military defeats. The Communist military victory in Indo-China is a threat to our position in Japan and in the Philippine Islands and is, therefore, a threat to our defense position as a nation. We all pray that the fall of Dien Bien Phu does not mean the fall of all of Indo-China to Communist hands. But if that should be the unfortunate result, we must awaken to the fact that Indonesia, India, Thailand, Burma and even Malaya will be threatened by Communist aggression and infiltration. We cannot allow that to happen.

Furthermore, ~~for the first time since the end of World War II~~
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the United States has lost the diplomatic initiative at the international conference tables. I report these facts to you, my friends, with a heavy heart, because as an American I resent the fact that our nation's objectives in the world are being distorted by the Communists, and I regret the fact that the Communists have been able to divide our democratic forces.

In the face of these crises, our country and our government has not shown qualities of leadership and responsibility that the times and the problems cry out for. Our newspapers report to us every day conflicting stories from leaders of our government. These conflicts reflect an indecision in Washington which confuses not only the American people, but our friends abroad.

In addition, just at this time with the future safety of our nation hanging in the balance, Washington is the scene of a circus atmosphere which holds us up to amazing disbelief in the eyes of the world and which serves to degrade the high historical standards.

With world-shaking decisions being made in Indo-China and Geneva, and with our nation locked in deadly cold combat with the Soviet ideology, the attention of the Congress and the attention of the American people are focused on the question of whether a United States Senator, a Secretary of the Army or their assistants are telling the truth. This is indeed a sorry spectacle.

I stand before you today, therefore, with a plea for national unity. Let us -- conservatives and liberals alike -- stand together as Americans in the face of the most powerful enemy that has ever confronted us as a nation. Let us regain our perspective -- not just as Democrats and Republicans -- but as Americans. Let us place principle above politics and our national welfare above our party welfare.

Let us reject the totalitarian technique of the big lie, the half truth, the distorted quotation, the cynicism about truth and facts -- and the smear. These devices belong to Communism, not to America.

Let us strengthen the American fabric of democracy so that
we can as a united people successfully end the totalitarian threat
to our well-being as a people.

Let us end this conscious and malicious turning of Americans
against Americans. Nobody can benefit from this division within
our ranks other than the Communists.

Now is our responsibility to develop an international program
which will defeat world Communism. We know that the power of the
United States cannot be measured purely in terms of military strength.
To think of our struggle with Communism as a purely military venture
is to make a serious mistake. The military part of that struggle
is important, but is only one aspect of the battle.

The fact is that Communism in Asia finds fields for growth
among the landless poor and among those seeking dignity and inde-
pendence for their new nations. It is we of the democratic world
that should be appealing to the legitimate aspirations of the people
of Asia for land and independence, for our nation grew because of our
recognition of the importance of land family life.

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Our nation was born out of the desire for freedom and independence. Our Declaration of Independence has been translated into every language in the world. Let us intensify our belief in a declaration of independence for all the nations of the world. In a battle of ideas between the Declaration of Independence and the Communist Manifesto, it is we who will win.

We must as a nation identify ourselves with the end of colonialism. We should recognize that part of our difficulty in Asia and Africa is due to the resentment of these continents of colored people against white supremacy. We should meet these problems by acting at home in such a way as to eliminate discrimination in our midst. We should strengthen the moral base of our international affairs by strengthening the forces of freedom and liberty wherever we find them in the world. We must share of our plenty with the underprivileged in the world in such a way that the gifts of food and material resources with which we are blessed bring us friends and not envious enemies.

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In this connection, I am proud and pleased to welcome the unanimous decision of the Supreme Court this week ruling segregation and discrimination in our schools to be Un-American and unconstitutional. This is the America which wins us friends and has earned us respect. This is the America of which we can be proud. This is the America which can defeat the forces of totalitarianism in the world.

I make a plea for unity in the ranks of the democratic forces. This means unity of liberal and conservative at home and it means unity with our allies abroad. Without such unity we cannot survive. With such unity we can prevail and we can win. With such unity will come understanding. We must understand that the forces of world Communism are far more diverse than were the forces of Nazism. This is so because Communism has a powerful attraction for the underprivileged in the world. Unless we understand that attraction we cannot cope with it. Promise of democracy can be far sweeter and far more valuable to the world than the promise of Communism, for the promise of Communism means the debasement of man and the promise of democracy means the dignity of men.

Now let me conclude with one final observation. Our unity of purpose must exist not only in our international relations, but also with regard to some of our serious domestic economic problems. Our struggle for survival against world Communism is also an economic struggle. On trial is the Communist Marxist theory that our free enterprise economic system cannot work. The Communist world is gambling on the failure of our economic system to meet the needs of our people. A depression in the United States would be filled with horrible consequences throughout the world. We must accept the challenge of Communism and demonstrate that our free enterprise economy can work, can provide full employment and can establish economic stability not only for ourselves, but for the free world. We must prove that liberty need not be sacrificed to achieve economic security.

We cannot afford to have a serious unemployment problem which today reaches $3\frac{1}{2}$ million, and which is expected to reach 5 million a year from now. We cannot afford a serious decline in farm prices

which today spells a low parity ratio of only 91 percent, and a decline in farm income of 5 percent. We cannot afford a situation which spells an increased number of business failures. We must not have a depression whether it calls itself a recession, a slump, a dip, a decline or any other expensive word fashioned by high-priced advertising agencies.

We need in the United States today an economic program which will keep pace with the growth potentialities of American life. We can't afford to be satisfied by just meeting the levels of last year -- even though we are today not even doing that. The American economy cannot stand still. It either goes ahead or goes back. The issue is growth or stagnation. With our growing population, with continuous new fantastic developments in science and technology, we must move forward and reach new and higher goals of employment, production, and purchasing power.

Our emphasis must be upon a growing economy, upon maximum production, upon full employment and increased purchasing power. It

is simply ridiculous that we have to suffer through a situation with millions of Americans today experiencing the painful reality of layoffs, job hunting, lower income, reduced business profits, falling production and economic insecurity.

I call upon our government to undertake action which will not only correct the current economic dislocations, but even more important, action which will insure continuing economic growth for our Nation and expanding economic opportunity for our citizens. The best way to help our business and to keep it free, competitive and progressive, is for business and government to join hands in helping to create the expanding markets which will enable business to expand.

What must we do?

Our first task is to increase consumer purchasing power. Present productive capacity has outstripped income consuming ability. The immediate job to be done is to stimulate sales through increased purchasing power. At the same time as we increase consumer spending which obviously stimulates business investment, we should also make

every effort to increase business investment which will further create employment and stimulate consumption.

This means:

A program of lower tax rates for low and middle income groups, and increased tax deduction for dependents from \$600 to \$800.

Let me say a word about this tax program before I go on. The Congress of the United States is about to write a new tax law. The bill that passed the House of Representatives is 875 pages long.

Hearings have just been completed by the Senate Finance Committee.

Taxation is a complicated problem, but I say to you it is an important problem. It affects each and everyone of us, and I also say to you that I do not like this new tax law they are writing and planning for us. It is an unfair tax law because it reduces taxes for the higher income groups who earn a living from stocks and bonds and it does not reduce taxes significantly for the farmer, the worker, the businessman, who earns his income through the work of his hands and head.

Let me dramatize this with an illustration. Only eight percent of American families own any stock at all. That means 92 percent own no stock. Yet a man with a wife and two children earning \$4,000 a year who earns his income through working in the factory, on the railroads, in his business, or on his farm pays a tax under this bill of \$240. Another man, however, with the same size family -- wife and two children -- earning the same amount of money -- \$4,000 a year -- but who gets his money from clipping coupons or receiving stock dividends will only pay \$110 a year. \$240 if his income is earned income through the sweat of his brow; only \$110 if his income is derived as unearned income. That is, through investments. This is not the American way. This is not fair. This is not the way to restore our economy to its full potentialities.

Now let me go on with what I consider to be an essential effective economic program.

I repeat we should lower tax rates for low and middle income groups and increase the personal tax deduction for dependents from

\$600 to \$800.

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We also need the following:

A realistic housing program to build two million housing units next year, including 135,000 low income public housing units;

A public works program for hospitals, schools, roads, bridges, civil defense facilities;

An adequate social security program for our senior citizens who have already given their productive lives to our system through years of toil;

A liberalized credit program to help small business and to reduce interest rates for our veterans and for our farmers as well as for our businessmen and home owners;

And an unemployment insurance program which will include a great many Americans and allow them to obtain at least 50 percent of their wages for a period of 39 weeks until they can get a new job.

This is the challenge of the day. Our future as human being
and as a Nation and as a free world depends upon our ability to meet
that challenge. Our survival hangs in the balance.

This program can be achieved. I stand ready to join my
colleagues in the Senate whether they be Democrats or Republicans
to achieve this program. We cannot afford to wait any longer. Words
are not enough. We need action. Instead of slogans we need a program.
Instead of political hucksters, we need political economists.

It has been my purpose this afternoon to present you with the
facts as I see them. Some of these facts are discouraging and others
are hopeful. The American people have a right to know the facts and
I have a responsibility to present the picture as I see it. We cannot
successfully meet problems if we refuse to face up to them. Once we
face up to them, however, I am convinced that we have the ingenuity,
the ability, the perspective and the will to come out on top. There
is no need for us to have fear if we have faith.

Thank you.



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