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Good Evening

Duluth Minn 1944
Sept 30 Radio

These are days of decision. The armed forces of the United Nations are marching on to a glorious victory. At long last, we can see the triumph of the forces of freedom over the forces of darkness. The military victory can and will be ours. Yet, we cannot afford to indulge in a philosophy of "everything will turn out all right." This war has dug deep into the roots of our social and economic life. When the war is over - and it isn't yet by a long shot, - we cannot simply return to what we like to call normalcy. Remember, it was that which was so-called "normal" that produced this war. It was the "normalcy" of the ^{early} 1920's and 1930's which gave rise to a Hitler. It was the "normalcy" of the Harding-Coolidge-Hoover era which condemned this generation to the inferno of unemployment, economic disaster, and world war.

There must be no "going back." There must be a better, a freer, and a more stable society. The tremendous dislocation to our economy made by world war cannot be treated lightly. Now, if ever, we need statesmanship. Now, if ever, we need men of vision, and courage.

That is why this election year of 1944 is a year of Decision. We are to decide in this election the path we are to choose. Either we march forward under the leadership which in 1933 met the challenge of defeat, hunger, and fear - the leadership which has mobilized the nation for total war - the leadership which has displayed courage and imagination, or we go back to ^{the} dismal reaction, the frightening defeatism, of those who are addicted to a "do-nothing policy."

With these things in mind, the Democratic and Farmer-Labor parties of the State of Minnesota united into one political party. The progressive and liberal forces of our state united to do our share in the great days that lie ahead. Today we stand shoulder to shoulder ready to do battle with those who would turn back and check the march of progressive government.

We do not underestimate the forces of reaction which are at work in our state and our nation. We know this election of 1944 to be the most important political event of the twentieth century. We have been besieged by those who would destroy the confidence of the people ⁱⁿ ~~of~~ this Administration. We have been under the influence of a barrage of oratory and propaganda on the part of the opposition that would weaken those of lesser faith. X

The platform of our party is sanely liberal, sound, and progressive. It stands boldly and clearly for effective International Organization. It includes every necessary measure to combat the threat of inflation; it champions the principle of racial and religious toleration. It pledges a relentless exposure of the evils of monopoly and economic exploitation. We demand post-war planning by our government in cooperation with Industry and Labor. We pledge to crusade against the fascist ideas of hate and intolerance wherever they be found. We pledge to see to it that the members of our armed forces are guaranteed respectable jobs at decent wages along with every opportunity for education and normal community life.

Yes, ~~somehow or other~~, we are proud of the title of our party - the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party. It is a fusion of the liberal

philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, Andrew Jackson, Woodrow Wilson, and Franklin D. Roosevelt along with the immortal Minnesotans of John A. Johnson, John Lind, and Floyd B. Olson.

This great state of Minnesota has had a Progressive Liberal tradition which put real meaning into the principles of American Democracy. Today we march ahead under one banner taking our spiritual strength not only from our great leaders of the past but in a firm conviction of our ability to cope with the future. Let it be remembered that the history of the Democratic party nationally, and the history of the Farmer-Labor Party in Minnesota is a record of free America. It is the history of an America that has given refuge to the oppressed, an opportunity to the Common man, and a chance for plain people to become great people. #

I have mentioned the name of Thomas Jefferson, and it is strange to note that those today who are most bitter over the Progressive policies of the Roosevelt Administration, hark back to Jefferson, saying that the new progressivism of the Democratic party is a betrayal of Jeffersonian democracy! But oh, how they do misinterpret American History!

It was the Democrat Jefferson -- yes, the Democrat-Farmer-Laborite Jefferson -- who proclaimed the doctrine of human equality. It was Jefferson the Democrat who reminded us of the essential dignity of man.

It was Jefferson who enunciated the great principle of democratic government -- that governments are instituted among men to secure the blessings of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

We, the members of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, are proud of Jefferson -- not only the Jefferson of the past, but the Jefferson who is the living symbol of the future.

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We can face the future with pride in the principles upon which our party was founded. Thomas Jefferson gave us a great heritage.

He stood for the legitimate rights of the states. He stood primarily for "equal rights to all and special privileges to none" -- for the "encouragement of agriculture and of commerce as its handmaiden" -- and for the freedom of speech and of press.

He believed that governments are not for the masters, but the servants of the people; that government must be responsive to the necessities of the people; that governments which sacrifice the interests of the majority to the greed of a minority are but usurpations by the few.

He believed that society requires the protection of property in all its legitimate rights, but that in any conflict between property and men, the rights of men come first.

He believed that the Constitution must be respected, but that when time and circumstance demand amendments to make government responsive to the will of the people, who are the masters, they must be adopted to preserve popular respect for constitutional government.

This is the philosophy which caused Wilson to say that "the principles of Jefferson are the definitions and the axioms of a free society."

We are proud of the title of our party -- the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party -- because it states three subjects that the opposition party seems inclined to ignore; Democracy, the Farmer, and the Laborer. We are proud of our party because it stands boldly and clearly upon the great traditions of Thomas Jefferson and Floyd Olson. We are proud of our party because it dares to dream new dreams and chart new courses

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to meet the problems of a dynamic and a changing world. HP

There is but one test of a Political Party, and that is to judge it not by its promises but by its performance. Let's look at the record. Yes, let's look at the record of the Republican Party. Republican leadership had 12 years to guide the destiny of our country from 1921 to 1933. The Democratic Party has had almost a like period of time in which it was entrusted with the responsibility of government. Let's take a look at the record. Let's make our judgment from facts, not fiction.

My mind, goes back to world war I, when Woodrow Wilson was in the White House.

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Like all of his great predecessors, Woodrow Wilson was attacked for "undermining the foundations of Americanism." In the midst of his great reform administration, the tragedy of World war I came upon us -- but again this great American rose to the summit of his statesmanship.

Wilson was the greatest of American war presidents up to his time. Miracles of mobilization were performed before which the world stood at salute.

It was Woodrow Wilson, the proclaimer of the "new freedom," who sponsored the League of Nations.

It was Woodrow Wilson in his idealism that lifted America to the epitome of humanitarianism and morality that symbolizes the true meaning of the term nobility.

From the peak of this idealism, with the defeat of Woodrow Wilson, the country sank at once to the lowest depths of sordid materialism it had known since the Period of Reconstruction.

The twelve long years that followed are among the blackest in the triumph of selfish special interests. The voice of the people seemed lost in the battle cry of the victors -- "Back to normalcy!" "Hands off Big Business! It knows best!"

Even in defeat, the Democratic Party fought against this defiant corruption -- under the leadership of that great ^{american} ~~Democrat~~, Senator Thomas J. Walsh of Montana.

In the end, came the inevitable crash which threatened the foundations of American institutions.

Thus, in the darkest days of the nation's history -- with ruin everywhere -- with panic in the hearts of everyone from the wizards of Wall Street to the toilers walking the roads in search

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of work -- with faith in democracy and American institutions shaken to the very core -- the Democratic Party gave to the American people Franklin Delano Roosevelt. X

Yes, our Party has faced one crisis after another during this long and glorious history. It has been tested in the refinery of faith and achievement. It has never faltered in its devotion to the higher interests of the American people, and it will not falter now. We do not come together in any vain spirit prompted by the mere desire for partisan or personal victory.

Unless, by our record in the past and our concept of duty in the future we are prepared for the tasks of statesmanship, unless we remain the progressive party, the spokesman of the common man, we have no right to expect the support of the electorate.

We lay no claim to perfection. There is no pretense that our record is without error. Nevertheless, we point with pride to the task we have undertaken and accomplished in behalf of democracy in America.

The opposition party had its "twelve long years" to prove its capacity for government and administration. Their record is one of broken promises, broken hearts and a despairing and disillusioned America.

In their appeal to the American citizen, they cite the name of the Great Emancipator, Abraham Lincoln. However, they fail to tell us that it was this same political machine that destroyed the reconstruction program of Lincoln, undermined the administration of Andrew Johnson, and gave to America eight years of the most corrupt government that our history records. It is this same party that speaks of its

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Farmers Leagues

Theodore Roosevelt, but we as Democrats know that Theodore Roosevelt had to leave his party because of its basic reaction and affiliation with special privilege. I ask you to look at the record of those who today ask for public acceptance.

Their only two leaders suffered defeat and humiliation at the hands of their ^{own} machine. ~~X~~ The shameful period of the 1920's will go down in American history as the ^{II} era of glorious nonsense.!!

With responsibilities for the attainment of a secure economy and world peace, they gave America over to the exploiters and the world to the dictators.

It was a Republican administration which through its greedy tariff policies destroyed American foreign trade. It was a Republican administration that repudiated ^{the} American promise of entrance into a League of Nations, to ensure permanent peace. It was a Republican administration that scrapped our Navy -- that denied our Army the appropriations necessary for adequate national defense. It was a Republican administration that closed its eyes to the economic realities of the inevitable catastrophe of stock-market manipulation. It was a Republican administration that broke the back of the American farm economy. It was a Republican administration that harassed the efforts of working men and women to organize into a free labor movement.

It was a Republican administration which, when faced with the glaring facts of poverty of our citizens, collapse of our financial institutions, and curtailment of our industrial production, had only a slogan to offer: "Prosperity is just around the corner."

That, I say to you, is their record of their action in the twentieth century. It will do them no good to say they have changed, that they regret the error of their ways -- that they have a new vision.

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You know, and I know, and America knows that the same old gang is in control. May I say in passing -- even Mr. Willkie knows!

Our political opposition has forgotten nothing and has learned nothing by the tragedy of their failure. Even today they speak of returning to normalcy -- a normalcy which included as its cardinal points, protection for the greedy, depression for the needy, chaos for a world, and despair for our youth.

At a time when America needs a clean-cut statement of principles and a courageous facing of issues, the Republican leadership offers glamour and the stillness of the night. Is it any wonder that today, as during the past 11 years, we, ~~the Democrats~~, are ever more proud of our great leader and our great President, Franklin Roosevelt!

The Republican leadership is ^{so} addicted to a love for the past that even today they are parading on the national political scene the reincarnation of their leaders of the 20's. Again, from Ohio, comes the Harding of 1944 -- and from New York comes the silent Calvin Coolidge of our day.

Do they think that the American people forget so easily and remember so little? Do they not know that we are living in a dynamic world -- a world that requires American leadership which is bold and progressive? What sort of normalcy are they now planning that we should return to?

Americans everywhere are not seeking to return to the past. The sacrifices of today are being made to ensure the fulfillment of a stronger America and a better world.

Again I say that a liberal Democratic party offers that hope of leadership. A militant Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party offers that type of leadership in Minnesota in its candidate for governor, Byron G. Allen.

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Our President is not shackled down with an imaginary dream world of the past. He is intelligently and courageously meeting the tasks of today and planning the achievements of democracy for tomorrow.

It was Franklin Roosevelt who on March 4, 1933, aroused America to a new faith for living. He banished the paralyzing fear that had beset our economy by reminding us that that which we had to fear most was fear itself. The words were like magic.

A vigorous leader restored vitality to a resourceful America, and we began our forward march. The parade of Achievement of the Roosevelt Administration is unparalleled in American history. In the words of the Poet: "Lest we forget!"

American business enterprise was salvaged from the ruin of Republican maladministration by a succession of legislative and administrative actions which created the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation, to guarantee bank deposits; the reorganization of our entire banking structure, the establishment of the Securities and Exchange Commission, which prevented fraudulent practices on the stock market, and extensive government loans from the Reconstruction Finance Corporation.

The Roosevelt Administration ~~and the Democratic Party~~ have made "free enterprise" more than a mere slogan. Our private economy is a thriving, a growing reality. Those who today claim to be the friends of business were but yesterday the destroyers of business. They cannot deny the record of 1929 to 1933.

This administration ~~and the Democratic Party~~ did not offer "pious platitudes" to the American farmer. Instead, the Democratic administration conceived and set up a farm program which lifted American agriculture from bankruptcy to the high planes of solvency

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and prosperity. With unprecedented speed and decision, a series of policies and programs were instituted. The Agricultural Adjustment Administration; the Soil Conservation Act; Crop Insurance and the Ever-Normal Granary plan; the Farm Credit Administration, and the Rural Electrification program. All of these sound and progressive programs were established to rehabilitate and revitalize our agricultural economy. These were not dreams; these were not cheap promises; these are real accomplishments. They are today a part of the American way of life!

American labor will never forget its great friend in the White House. The millions of organized workers in America who today are turning out the miracles of production know all too well that their great achievements in organization are the result of such enactments as the National Labor Relations Act and the Wage and Hour Law. American labor will not repudiate this administration. American labor remembers its friends and justly punishes its enemies. Franklin Roosevelt, more than any one man in American history, has been and is the friend of labor.

We know that it is the Democratic Administration which has given aid and comfort to the needy, the aged, and the infirm. The social security legislation proposed and enacted by this administration is the greatest social advance in American democracy since the Emancipation Proclamation. The Democratic Party does not intend to rest on its laurels in this field of social service. The social security program is but a beginning. Our party and our President intend to see it extended and enlarged.

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The Roosevelt Administration did not forget the youth of our nation. Roosevelt, like Wilson, knew that the strength and richness of America rested in its young people. One of the greatest tragedies of the depression was the despair and cynicism of our young men and women. It was a Democratic President and a Democratic Congress that offered the American youth the assistance of the National Youth Administration. It was our President who conceived the idea of a Civilian Conservation Corps. The young people of America will remember the opportunity that has been extended to them. The young people of America are friends and supporters of the President and his party.

✓ The amazing record of achievement is far too long for a point-by-point analysis. History will record that it was the vision and leadership of Franklin Roosevelt, along with the steadfast support of the Democratic Party, that healed the wounds of suffering America. It was ~~a Democratic~~ ^{the Roosevelt} Administration that added untold wealth to our economy through its great programs of public works, social rehabilitation, and conservation.

✓ We, today know that the peacetime program of the New Deal provided the vitality and the strength for the wartime mobilization of the Arsenal of Democracy. The highways, the bridges, the airports, the hospitals, the schools, which we constructed in spite of the "sniping criticism of the false prophets," gave America that extra reserve of power which is now so vital in total war. The victims of the depression who were saved by work relief programs, social security, and credit assistance, are today the stalwart soldiers of the home front and the heroes on the battlefield. (X) *The Shovel Leavers of the 1930's are the producers of the miracles of production in the 1940's*

The financial system which was reorganized is today capable of financing the terrific cost of our war effort. "The unbalanced budgets

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of the thirties will provide ^{for} the upsetting of the Axis in the forties."
yes, America, today, is immeasurably better off because of the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt. We have the will to fight and the means with which to carry on the battle.

slower / The reform and reconstruction administration of Roosevelt, like that of his great predecessor, Woodrow Wilson, has been interrupted by the spectre of another World war.

Our great President warned us of the gathering storm of aggression. He extended the helping hand of America to those who resisted the march of Fascism. It was a Democratic Administration that rebuilt our Navy in the 1930's, a Navy which the Republican leadership had permitted to become obsolete and weak. It was the Roosevelt Administration which secured appropriations for our Army in order that America might make preparations for the inevitable onrush of war. At the same time, the President and his able Secretary of State, Cordell Hull, made every effort to keep war away from our shores without sacrificing our heritage of freedom. The opposition party had nothing to offer except to say that the "President was a warmonger." The American people will remember in this election year of 1944 the defense plans and activities of 1939 and 1940. The fathers and mothers of our young men and women in the armed forces will remember the courage and vision of our President and the leaders of the Democratic Party in those fateful months of 1940 and 1941.

They will remember that it was the President who refused to admit the defeat of the Democratic cause in those desperate moments after Dunkirk. The people know that it was Franklin Roosevelt who refused to make peace with the Nazi World Order, and who retained his

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faith in ultimate Democratic triumph. The American people remember and will remember in the election of 1944 that it was President Roosevelt and the leaders of our party who led a stunned nation to unprecedented peaks of production and military achievement.

We, the people, are justly proud of our Commander-in-Chief. We, the people, know that this is our best-managed war. The American electorate will not be confused by the bitter attacks and the false words of those who but yesterday were shouting "There will be no war!" and "Roosevelt is a warmonger!"

The Republican Party and its leadership cannot deny that it was the Commander-in-Chief who conceived the great plans of total mobilization of our human and material resources. The Republican leadership cannot deny that the armed forces of America are the best equipped, *the best fed, the best clothed, and the best trained in the world.*

The opposition critics cannot honestly dispute the record of achievement and accomplishment in those days since that infamous attack upon Pearl Harbor on December 7, 1941.

Our Armies and Navies are sweeping on to new victories. The men and women who are on the battlefield believe in America and believe in President Roosevelt. It was with this in mind that the opposition to this Administration denied an effective means of voting for our armed services. The youth of America has faith in the leadership and statesmanship of our great war president.

I say to you that the opposition party dares not condemn the amazing spectacle of our military mobilization and achievement. But, they "point with alarm" to the problems on the home front. What is the record here?

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The Administration program of economic stabilization, in spite of the determined resistance of those who would make this war an "easy one", has held down the cost of living, has stabilized wages, has prevented inflation, and has maintained a sound economic basis for our economy.

We challenge the Republican Party to show a record in American history that anywhere equals the record of this administration in this most gigantic of all wars. The program of production is the miracle of the 20th century.

Let it not be forgotten that it was this Administration that conceived the plans and placed them in operation. It was Franklin Roosevelt and the majority Democratic Congress that established the War Production Board. It was Franklin Roosevelt and the Democratic leaders who selected the men responsible for our industrial mobilization. It is this Administration that so ordered our economy that today the production of war equipment flows off our assembly lines in an ever-increasing quantity.

We, the members of the Democratic ^{Farm Labor} Party, and we, the people of America, point with pride to the fulfillment of our pledge to our Allies that we are the Arsenal of Democracy.

It is this Administration that established Lend-Lease. It was President Roosevelt, in cooperation with the Prime Minister of Great Britain, who pronounced the declaration of the United Nations.

It was our Commander-in-Chief who gave to the world the Atlantic Charter and the goals of the Four Freedoms.

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The opposition has only to say that these are "impractical dreams of a visionary man," but the people of the United States know that these dreams and aspirations are the only hope for a better world and an enduring peace. What do these critics have to offer in the name of a constructive program? They present criticism, confusion, reaction, defeatism. They shy away from a positive statement of our responsibilities as a great nation. They play upon the inevitable restrictions and sacrifices that each and every one of us must bear in order to win this war. They shout "Bureaucracy!" without ever defining the meaning of the term.

They dare not criticize those great men and women of American industry and labor who have been mustered into the service of our government and who are today working with tireless effort for total victory.

Yes, the record of the Republican opposition while they were in office is one of betrayal of the great heritage of America.

Their record today and in the past ten years has been one of "viewing with alarm" and crying out that the foundations of our republic are being destroyed. But the great mass of American people know better. They have enduring faith in the strength of our nation, and complete confidence in the leadership of our President. They stand in admiration of our Commander-in-Chief, who at great personal risk has traveled to Casablanca, to Cairo, and to Teheran in order to more closely coordinate the activities of the United Nations.

The people of Occupied Europe, of Britain, of China, and of Russia, look to Franklin Roosevelt as the champion of democratic

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forces. He symbolizes to them the struggle of democracy against Fascist aggression, unemployment and economic insecurity. He is a citizen of the world. He is a leader of the people. And, the Democratic Party is proud to claim him as their own.

We here in Minnesota are an important part of this great political force of progressive democracy. Minnesota three times has cast its vote for Franklin Roosevelt. Minnesota will cast its vote the fourth time for Franklin Roosevelt.

We are not being misled by rubber words, by weasel words and double talk of the Hoover, Dewey, Thye, and Dunn Political Machine. The people of this State now know that a Political betrayal on the part of Governor Thye and his two Political masters -- Mr. Dewey and Mr. Hoover -- has taken place. The Metropolitan press of our State lead us to believe that the Republican Party stood for effective international organization to insure a just and durable peace. The newspapers of this State in their "worship-like" support of former Governor Stassen and Senator Ball lead us to believe that the Republican Party nationally and in Minnesota had repudiated the isolationist and reactionary leaders within their ranks. But, the sorry spectacle of the Republican National Convention in its selection of Dewey and Bricker and in its repudiation of Wendell Wilkie and the 17 so-called Liberal Governors, can leave but one conclusion -- that the Republican Party is now hand and hand in with the Chicago Tribune, the Hamilton Fishes, and Herbert Hoovers.

The people of this State want to know what sort of political medicine was concocted at the Republican National Convention that so cleverly put aside the liberal forces of their so-called Liberal Governors. The People of Minnesota want to know what kind of leadership

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existed in the Republican Party that denied Mr. Wilkie even a hearing. The people of Minnesota want to know whether or not it is true that Mr. Hoover, Landon, and Mr. Pew of Pennsylvania, and the other reactionaries of a "by-gone age" are not still in Political control. Yes, possibly the people of our State do know that the Republican Party, national and state, has gone back to the political philosophy and the political slogans of Herbert Hoover. ~~XP~~ The people of this State will find in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party no weasel words, no double talk on the matter of international organization. The citizens of Minnesota will find in our party no cry to a return to normalcy. The electorate of this State will find in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party a chance to express itself by supporting Franklin Delano Roosevelt and Harry Truman and our militant, progressive, candidate for governor, Byron G. Allen. The people of Minnesota will find in the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, Candidates for state offices who unhesitatingly and whole-heartedly support the constructive policies of Franklin D. Roosevelt -- who are pledged to build a greater Minnesota, a more prosperous state. X

I call to your attention the present Minnesota Congressional delegation. Here is a delegation in Congress that has a record of isolationism, a record of reaction second to none. We need a Congress that understands the great issues of our time. We need Congressmen from the State of Minnesota who will cooperate with our President, who will fight for progressive legislation.

In conclusion, I say, there can be no return to normalcy, no

renunciation of our responsibility. We cannot repudiate a suffering humanity twice in one generation and still profess to be a democratic and decent people. Either we recognize and practice the basic principles of our moral and political faith -- the dignity of the individual, freedom of conscience, and the brotherhood of mankind -- or we forfeit the privilege of freedom and the claim to decency. Our task is almost overpowering. The world expects so much. Our Party must and will be ready to fulfill its destiny.

The Democratic party and its great leader, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, will never allow it to be written that we gave to little too late!



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