KEYNOTE ADDRESS MINNESOTA DEMOCRATIC-FARMER-1ABOR CONVENTION by HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, MAYOR OF MINNEAPOLIS St. Paul, March 30, 1946

Delegates, Ladies and Gentlemen:

I am profoundly grateful for the honor and privilege of addressing this great convention. We meet today to seal the bond of the fusion of our two great movements -- the Democratic and Farmer-Labor Parties.

It is fitting that we meet in the City of St. Paul, which is the home of one of Minnesota's finest and grandest leaders - our friend and fellow party-worker, his honor, Mayor John J. McDonough.

Breaking all tradition and in the spirit of unity and understanding -- which I trust will prevail in this convention -- the mayor of Minneapolis, from just across the river, brings you the personal and friendly greeting of my friend and your friend, Johnny McDonough. As you know, his recent illness prevents him from attending this convention, but we all rejoice in the knowledge that he is well on his way to recovery.

Every member of the Democrat-Farmer-Labor party knows that we have in the followers and supporters of John McDonough, a great, loyal and sincere section of our party.

I am happy to note that today seated in this convention are a large number of the liberal members of our state legislature. Their presence here is another evidence of the new spirit which permeates the liberal and progressive forces as represented in

this great Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party.

We welcome them to the convention. We thank them for their counsel and advice. We extend to them our support and pledge our every effort in their campaign for re-election. May we be wise enough and strong enough to give to these stalwart liberal members of our legislature many more of their kind. The people of Minnesota want liberal representation. The people of Minnesota want liberal and progressive government.

This can be accomplished only if our party and the independent progressive forces of this state recognize the importance of electing to our state legislature a preponderant majority of men and women who accept and are committed the platform and principles of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party in this convention.

In Minnesota, our progressive party is the Democrat-Farmer Labor Party. It has brought within one great movement the farmer, the laboring man, the businessman, the professional person -- men and women who believe in the dynamic creed of democracy and who recognize that only through government by the consent of the governed do the people of this country have an opportunity to realize their ambitions.

It is absolutely essential that all truly progressive forces in the state of Minnesota be brought into the folds and the party organization of our party.

Our party meets this afternoon at our regular bi-annual convention, during which we shall discuss and transact much routine and normal business.

But we are meeting at a moment in the history of the world which is neither normal nor routine. We sit here in the dark and awful gloom cast by the shadow of the atom bomb.

Let us face the fact, fellow delegates, that America, as well as the rest of the world, stands face to face with the possibility of the destruction of world civilization. We confront the possibility of a war which no one will win, a war in which all will lost.

This is true and the peoples of the world anxiously hope for peace. And yet, in every heart, there beats the terrible fear of war. If the public opinion polls are correct, more Americans now predict a third world war than before the atom bomb fell on Hiroshima.

Why this pessimism? In large part it can be traced to the opportunism and unfailing inadequacy that many American politicians and representatives have demonstrated to the American people.

But never have the American people cried out so desperately for honest, intelligent, and liberal leadership. At home and abroad, we face problems of incredible magnitude and difficulty - problems whose solution requires imagination, intelligence, and idealism.

Yes -- the American people realize now more than ever before, that our idealism, so long sneered at by the Republican Party, has become the only practical course in American and world politics.

The American people challenge us to offer them a leadership of genuine practical idealism. We accept that challenge. And we are the only party that can. For we are the party of ideals;

We confess it to the Republican party -- we proudly declare it to the American people.

We are the party of the industrial worker and the white collar worker -- we are the party of the farmer and the small business man -- we are the party of all liberal Americans -- we are the party of the people.

We have an inescapable challenge to elect men to our count fy state, and national offices who are committed to a realistic and democratic international program and men who understand the inseparability of international peace and domestic security.

Our party is the spokesman of the spirit of human dignity and of freedom. Today we reaffirm our faith in democratic processes and in democratic freedoms as the fulfillment of that spirit.

Large areas of our world today is cursed by the enslavement of untold millions of human beings through the sufferings and agonies of war, starvation, totalitarian state controls and the supremacy of brute force.

We pledge ourselves to the responsibility of maintaining and extending a society of peace, of abundance, and of freedom for all peoples.

We recognize the basic principle of the human brotherhood of man as a universal truth. We pledge a crusade for a world community which rejects war.

As a party of the people, we deny the right of any minority or any select group to dictate its will over that of the majority.

Instead, we place our faith in the equality of all people to govern themselves!

govern themselves.

We reaffirm our devotion to the basic rights of freedom to speak and criticize, to publish and disseminate information, to be acquainted with all ideas and facts through the acquiring of information and education; to petition government without fear of recrimination; to worship as they please; to have the determining voice in the selection of their governing representatives through free nominations and elections; and to assemble freely for any and all of these objects.

These rights must be guaranteed to all peoples everywhere throughout this world, if freedom and peace are to be maintained.

But democracy in its full meaning includes within its creed not only political and spiritual freedom, but also a guarantee of economic opportunity and individual security.

Within the democratic framework we must work to develop the means whereby we can secure for every person those fundamental economic rights as set forth in the memorable document known as the "Economic Bill of Rights" by our late and beloved President, Franklin D. Roosevelt.

Yes, democracy is more than free speech. It is more than a guaranteed subsistence on the economic level. True democracy embodies within it the respect for human dignity of every man regardless of rac, color, or creed. It assures for all men everywhere the God-given right of freedom of conscience and freedom of thought. It is the only hope for the realization of a fraternity of mankind.

With this as our creed, with this as the driving force that should motivate all men of democratic faith, we enter into this election year of 1946.

Yes, this is the year we make the great decision as to whether or not this nation shall meet honestly and forthrightly the tremendous problems that confront it on an international, national, and state level.

This is the year when we shall determine whether or not we shall go on permitting reactionary and obstructionist elements to defeat the people's program of progressive democracy as outlined by our great late President, Franklin Roosevelt, and as is now being advanced and fought for by our leader and president, Harry S. Truman.

We do not come together in a spirit prompted by mere desire for partisan or personal victory. The world looks to America for democratic leadership. We cannot escape this responsibility if we are to survive as a free nation.

We must be clear-cut and steadfast in the program that we support. The people of this state and nation must know what we think, what we propose to do, and how we intend to accomplish it. We cannot afford the extravagance of political hypocrisy.

Let it ever be remembered that the history of the Democratic Party is the story of a free America. It is the history of the America that has given refuge to the oppressed and opportunity to the average citizen. Our party, the Democratic Party, is the party of Thomas Jefferson, the father of the Declaration of Independence. Our party is the party of James Madison, the

Party is the party of Andrew Jackson, William Jennings Bryan and Woodrow Wilson. Our record is not merely one of victory at the polls. Whether we won or lost, the Democratic Party has been the custodian of human rights against all odds.

In the darkest days of our nation's history, with ruin everywhere, and with panic in the hearts of everyone -- from the wizards of Wall Street to the toilers walking the roads in search of work -- with faith in democracy and American institutions shaken to the very core, our party, the Democratic party, gave to the American people and the world, our beloved late President, Franklin Delano Roosevelt.

The Democratic Party has faced one crisis after another during its 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. But, 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 truly progressive party, the spokesman of the people, 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, when the political balance sheet is tallied, we can be justly proud of the tasks 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.

Oh yes, 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 the reactionaries of that day who destroyed the reconstruction program of Lincoln and gave to America eight years of the most corrupt government that our history records.

It is this same party that speaks of its Theodore Roosevelt, but we as Democrats know that Theodore Roosevelt had to leave his party because of its basic reaction.

It was a Republican administration which, through its greedy tariff policies, destroyed American foreign trade. It was a Republican administration that repudiated America's promise of entrance into a League of Nations. 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 the record of their action in the twentieth century. It will do them no good to say they have changed, that they now wish to become the Progressive Party that they have a new vision. You know and I know, and America knows, that the same old gang is in control and may I say in passing - even Mr. Stassen of Minnesota knows the same ald gang to m Control

Our political opposition has forgotten nothing and has learned nothing by the tragedy of their failure. At a time when America needs a clean-cut statement of purposes and a courageous statement of issues along with a positive program of action, the Republican Party in our Congress along with certain reactionary and disreputable Democrats stands in unalterable opposition to the program as presented by President Truman.

It is the same old gang with the same old tactics that fought and hampered the program of our late and beloved President Franklin Roosevelt. The Republican party in its subtle ridicule of President Truman and its open opposition to his program is out to defeat the political and social philosophy of the New Deal.

But just as they were defeated before, by the will of a politically alert people, so they will be defeated again as Harry Truman and the Democratic Party wage the battle in defense of the program of Franklin Roosevelt.

When I say that the Republican leadership is out to destroy the program of Franklin Delano Roosevelt, I mean that they are out to destroy the economic bill of rights which when finally realized will bring the assurance of genuine social security and economic prosperity.

Let me be specific. The major political, economic and social issue confronting our nation today is housing for our returned veterans. The Democratic administration has outlined a practical plan by which we can obtain 2,700,000 new homes by the end of 1947. The Republicans shout that this is too drastic.

Of course, it is drastic. So were the hardships and sacrifices endured by the many million American veterans who won this war and who now cannot find a decent home for themselves and their families.

This nation cannot face a major crisis like the present housing shortage without unprecedented and drastic action.

In 1933, Franklin Roosevelt took drastic action. The country was salvaged and our economy placed back on its feet.

But the same old business-as-usual boys screamed to high heaven.

In 1941 when this nation went to war, we took drastic action to gear our country for all-out war production. But even then, the "business-as-usual" crowd yelled that it couldn't be done.

Now the same old "calamity chorus" is at it again.

Lobbyists are swarming over capitol hill in Washington like grasshoppers and locusts, chewing away at the props that President Truman and Wilson Wyatt have set up to relieve the home shortage.

Republicans in Congress are lined up almost solidly against the program. If they cannot kill it outright, they are determined to cripple it with weakening amendments.

The administration plan strikes realistically at the housing problem. It involves incentive payments to get production

moving. It stimulates the use of new materials and new construction methods. It provides government aid in financing home mortgages.

It diverts scarce materials from non-essential construction into low-cost homes.

It protects home buyers from runaway inflated retail prices.

Every day this program is delayed means 3,000 fewer homes built in American this year. Every day of delay means 3,000 fewer veterans who will live in the comfort and decency of a good home.

The alternative to the Democratic administration's housing program is the coddling of special interests and the continued shortage of houses or out-right wild inflation.

Let every American remember that victory in this war will not be won until every man in our armed services returns to his community and is given every opportunity for a decent job at good wages, a normal community life, and a modern home.

These are the men who fought to make our homes safe. Is there anyone who would deny that they have first priority on the materials needed for home building? Those who obstruct this program will face the righteous wrath of an incensed group of courageous young men who will not be told that "business-of courageous young men who will not be told that business-as-usual and profits before people" are the ideals for which they fought.

Yet, the Republican machine in Congress voted for the speculators and the real estate lobby. They voted against President Truman's request for stabilization of the real estate market while veterans hunt for homes and wait for new construction.

But it is not only in the field of housing that the Republican leadership has obstructed the forward-laoking program
of the Truman administration. If we turn to the matter of jobs
and employment opportunities for our returned servicemen, we
find again that the intelligent and well-designed program of
the administration has been obstructed by the same tactics of the
reactionaries.

To be sure, Congress has passed an employment bill. But it has been so watered down, so amended, so tempered with, that it doesn't even begin to provide an answer to the problem of full employment. Republicans and a minority of reactionary Democrats, "of whom we would well be rid", conspired to defeat passage of the original full employment bill.

These people said, "Let's have business as usual". The government must keep its hands off the economy." Again and again they said, "We must expect a normal unemployment load of five to six million people."

Rather than have the same government that mobilized this nation for war, aid in creating a national program that would encourage the highest possible peace-time production and employment, the obstructionists in Congress shout that government must keep its hands off "free enterprise".

War-time production proved conclusively that our ecnomic system is capable of employing all men and women who are willing to work. Better than 13,000,000 veterans are returning home, and they want a job. They want a job at decent wages or a business that yields a profit.

We cannot answer the criticism of an unemployed veteran by telling him that it is impossible to arrange our economy through the cooperation of government so that he can have a job.

That "hands-off", "business-as-usual" philosophy that 1 literally scrapped the full employment bill is behind the Republican opposition to continuance of price control. The threat of a destructive inflation hangs heavy over our nation. Need I tell the people of Minnesota the meaning of inflation. We in this great midwest experienced the hard realities of uncontrolled postwar inflation from 1918 to 1922. We saw farm mortgages skyrocket. We saw farm prices go to a disastrous new low. We watched the earnings of thousands of our citizens destroyed by the wild fluctuations of an economy that was trying to readjust itself, without the help of government, from war-time production to peace-time living.

Let all of us remember that inflated prices which are written into mortgages and bank loans during uncontrolled postwar boom days must be paid off the the sweat and labor of a deflated economy in the so-called normal days.

This is what broke our banks in the 1920's. This is what destroyed real estate values. This is what ultimately brought on the depression of the 1930's.

Only the finaglers and the speculators - the economic parasites - profit from inflation. Only those who gamble with other people's money and who ruthlessly ignore human rights in the economy ask for inflationary prices.

What is the record? Yes, let's take a look at the record.

On February 13, 1946, when the administration asked for an appropriation to continue price control, 105 Republicans and 3 Democrats voted against it, and 166 Democrats and 19 Republicans voted for it.

Only because of a narrow Democratic majority in the Congress has our country been spared from ruinous inflation. That is why it is so important that Minnesota send to Washington a Democratic-Farmer-Labor Senator and D-F-L Congressmen who will support anti-inflationary legislation which is so essential to the long-run economic well-being of our nation. Men who will vote for the people - like Congressmen Starkey and Gallagher.

This years as in the many years past, reactionary agitation for anti-labor legislation has continued unabated. Out of one side of the reactionary's \(\frac{1}{2} \frac{1}{2}

out the miracles of production in wartime and who today are asking for sufficient take-home pay to care for their families and to provide the purchasing power that is necessary for a profitable economy, are well aware that their great achievements in organization are the result of such enactments as the National Labor Relations Act and the Wage and Hour Law.

The Republican machine in Congress has again demonstrated their regard for labor by introducing what is known as the Case Bill...a bill which revives the use of court injunctions in labor disputes and which virtually repeals the Norris-LaGuardia anti-injunction act of 1932.

The Case Bill was presented by a woolly lamb from the plains of South Dakota, deceived and led on by the wolves of Wall Street. The bill is a part of the Republican machine.

It functions as a front for corporate power and special privilege."

This is the Bill that was supported by reactionary congressmen.

This same group of obstructionists is in opposition to the passage of the amendment to the Wage and Hour Law which provides a minimum wage of 65¢ an hour. American labor is a militant part of our progressive democracy. American labor remembers its friends and justly punishes its enemeis. The Democratic party has been, is, and must continue to be, the true friend of the working man and the labor movement.

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 Democratic leadership is the greatest social advance in American democracy since the Emancipation Proclamation.

But our party is not content to rest upon its laurels in this field of social service. The present social security program is but a beginning. Our party and our President ask that it be extended and enlarged. Here, again, obstructionists and reactionaries in Congress have fought this proposed legislation at every turn and in every committee.

Whatever it may be, wherever the interests of the ordinary every day citizen is involved, Republican leadership has been aligned in a bloc against it. Whether it be price control, a housing program, progressive labor legislation, the extension of social security, public works, full employment legislation, or a school lunch program, the Republican leadership in Congress has fought it and condemned it.

Apove all, the financial support and the reactionary political leadership of the Republican Party have been the enemy of the American farmer. Successive Democratic administrations since 1933 have conceived and established a farm program which lifted American agriculture - yes, Minnesota agriculture - from the depths of bankruptcy to the high plains of solvency and prosperity.

With unprecedented speed and deci sion a series of policies and programs have been enacted - the Agricultural Adjustment Administration, the Soil Conservation Act, Grop Insurance, the Farm Credit Administration, Farm Security Administration, the Rural Electrification program, and the program that made possible the feeding of the world during the war, the Ever-Normal Granary plan.

All of these sound and progressive programs were established to rehabilitate and revitalize our agircultural economy. These were not dreams; these were no cheap promises; these are real accomplishments. They are today a part of the American way of life.

But again we are not content with the accomplishments of the past. We here in the midwest wish to see our great river systems developed for the purposes of navigation, irrigation, electrical power, and soil conservation.

But, as with all programs of social betterment, reactionary groups under Republican leadership have fought the development of River regions just as they battled against the creation of the famous Tennessee Valley Authority.

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The Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party must dedicate its efforts to the fullest utilization of our natural resources and our might river systesm. We must go on record for more river valley authorities. The creation and development of regional rever valley authorities means jobs for the workers in the factories and increased production and prosperity for the farmer.

Farmers in this country have never prospered except when the country as a whole was busy and workers in the factories and shops have pay checks to spend at the corner grocery store. If we have learned anything from the great depression and from this war, it should now be evident to everyone that agriculture depends on a general prosperity. We have also learned that unless American agriculture is supported by a vigorous and practical program it can remain depressed even when the rest of the country is in good shape. This happened in the 1920's. I am sure that you remember it.

Parity for agriculture can never come unless the program of government is one which realizes the interdependence of agriculture and industry. Recently, Henry Wallace called to our attention how closely the welfare of the narmer depends on the pay check of the worker.

Here are the facts. In 1939, factory payrolls were ll billion dollars. Farm income was 11 billion dollars. In 1932 factory pay rolls were 5 billion dollars, and farm income was also 5 billion dollars. Even during the days of World War II, this relationship has been demonstrated againand again where farm income rose side by side with the earnings of industrial workers.

If the workers in the cities have money to spend, the farmer has a market for his product at a good price.

There can be no separation of interest in politics on the basis of state lines or regional areas. Politics in America today concerns every American wherever he may be. Our economy is an integrated unit. Our system of government permits neither isolationism among the states of our nation, nor isolationism among the nations of the world.

A political and economic policy which is good for the working man is good for the farmer. A political and economic policy which strenghtens the farm economy is sound politics and economics for the industrial worker. The propserous working man and farmer, teamed together, are the only hope of business profit and the maintenance of our American system of enterprise.

Those who would defeat us and pit farmer against worker and city against rural areas are false leaders and political opportunists.

Yes, just as the farmerand the worker are inseparable parts of our economy, so a stable domestic price for our commodities is a definite part of the free flow of goods between the nations.

The Democratic party gave to this country the Reciprocal Trade Treaty Program. This program, like all others advanced under the Roosevelt administration, was fought tooth and nail by Republican leadership.

The high tariff artists of the Republican party have never given up their fond hope of duping the American public into this ruinous policy again. Farm people will not be deceived by Republican protectionist tariff nomense. The

economic hope of the ax farmer is purchasing power in the hands of the consumer and a free flow of goods between the nations.

The pattern of the Republican leadership in Congress has its counterpart in the Republican administration in the state of Minnesota. Let me be specific. Here we see a Republican state administration that refuses to give us a practical and honorable program of conservation of our natural resources.

Here we see the familiar old tie-up between monopoly big business and the Republican party.

Here we see the injection of partisan politics into school administration.

Here we see the failure of self-styled Republican liberals to fix lift our program of rural education from one of the poorest in the nation to a position which is worthy of a hardy and progressive people.

In a false attempt to mouth the philosophy of the progressive we see the glaring fact of an unsound and discriminatory tax policy and a tax structure rigged to favor special interests and to drive small business from our midst.

Here we see a state administration that is long on surveys and studies but short on action — a state administration which even at this late date has failed to take one positive, concrete step in the direction of the solution of our critical housing problem.

Yes, a Republican state administration that since 1938 has repeatedly refused to grant permission legislation which would enable our cities and villages to clear from their midst blight and slum conditions through a program of federal assistance which goes to 41 of our 48 states.

Republican state administration has denied the taxpayers of Minnesota the right to participate in federal grants and subsidies -- yes, federal taxes that we the Minnesotans pay.

This election of 1946 is not only about a senator and congressman. This year of 1946 must see the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party sweep to victory in the state offices and return the government of this state to the people.

But, my friends, conventions, speeches, enthusiasm, and talk about unity are not enought to win elections. We must have political organization that will carry our message to the people of the state. We must build leadership in every precinct, every ward, and every township.

We must understand that a progressive party is not a bossed party, but one that gains its strenghth from the free will and the free participation of in thousands of plain ordinary citizens at the grass-roots level.

We have talked again and again about the march of the people. This doesn't mean just some of the people. This cannot mean just a select group of self-appointed political maters. The march of the people of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party must be composed of the hundreds and thousands of farmers, workers, businessmen — yes, our friends and neighbors who give real meaning to that which we call democracy.

The work of this convention will not be done until we have designed and approved concrete, positive, detailed plans for the carrying out of a specific two-year program that will really build our party into the effective voice of the progressive forces & in our state.

We must establish a permanent ogganization that will carry on educational activities the year-round. This organization must have full-time paid directors to conduct the regular business.

Delegates **px* to his convention, if this party is to live, if this party is to reflect the will of the **ast majority of our people, if this party is to avoid being bossed and regimented, then this convention must establish the organization and the machinery to bring into our ranks people who have not become confused with the bickering and the slander which inevitably comes when any group wishes to master-mind the instrumentalities of the people.

If this convention is to carry out such a program, then the delegates -- all of the delegates -- must be present at every session. We must remain at our work regardless of the hour or the maxe debate. Issues in this convention must be decided by a majority of all delegates

Our convention meets when dark diplomatic clouds are gathering. In the minds of thoughtful people everywhere is the frightenzing question, "Are we losing the peace," Our zxxxxxxxx statesmen seek frantically to inject new meaning into their efforts for international cooperation. But anxiety hangs heavy over us at this time, as after the last world war, the war may have been in vain.

Our late President, Franklin Roosevelt, has offered the only hope — a strong and democratically organized United Nations, supported by the leadership and strength of American democracy, dedicated to the worldwide realization of democratic ideals.

May our statesmen and our congressmen be clear in their thinking and be steadfast in their ideals. This nation must demand respect for treaties. This nation must repudiate economic nationalism of the production wherever it may be found. This nation must renounce economic imperialism whether it be Russian, British, or our own.

We must know and come to understand the peoples of other nations. We must be prepared to stand firmly in defense of the right of the smaller and less advanced nations to be free of domination or exploitation by their larger and more powerful neighbors. We must press upon our wartime allies a respect for law and order and drive for the universal acceptance of the basic rights of free speech, free assembly, free press, and free elections.

Now, if ever, we need faith and confidence in the instruments of international peace embodied in the charter of the United Nations. Political mechanisms alone are not enough. There must be a true and sincere respect for individual differences and personality, for all races, political creeds, economic views and regligions.

International security and world peace are inseparable from domestic security and prosperity. If this world is to have democratic leadership, it will come from America. But America can give give no leadership, if she is caught in the throes of unemployment, depression and insecurity.

The action for full employment, expanded social security, agricultural policy, river valley development, or whatever else it may be that you get from Washington in the critical years ahead will clearly reflect the kind of men and women we select in the primaries and send to Congress in the fall of 1946 and 1948 and after.

This goes for all programs of decent health, housing and education. This includes a sound and progressive tax and fiscal policy. Yes, this also includes a permanent fair employment act, an adequate minimum wage, and it goes for the control and use of atomic energy so that it will serve us and not destroy us. There is only one way that we can have social and edonomic progress in this country — that is by getting out the vote behind the true friends of progress.

Government policy today is too important to be left in the hands of those who have neigher faith in their country nor belief in the principles of democracy. The problems of today and the policies of tomorrow can never bex left in the control of those who despair of our future or who believe in the inevitability of depression. We need a new faith. We need a new determination in the ability of men and women to be masters of their own destiny and capable of designing their own future.

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