Whine DECEMBER 10, 1948 FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE THE HUMPHREY TESTIMONIAL DINNER COMMITTEE Excerpts from the Address HON. HUBERT H. HUMPHREY Senator-Elect from Minnesota "In the past American liberals have too often settled for the shadow of political power, and have left the substance for the other fellow. We now must serve notice that we're in this thing for more than the pre-election week-end. We now must serve notice that liberals are no longer going to be satisfied with winning on election day, and letting the other fellow win all the rest of the year." "And getting right down to cases, this applies to the American labor movement right here and now. I'm glad to

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be here and all the other dinners of celebration. But I
worry lest while we celebrate, others are laying plans for
directing the destiny of our nation. Labor can no longer
content itself with being merely a campaign partner in the
fight for a liberal program.

"Organized labor and liberals flex their political muscles every two to four years. It is the decisive factor in winning elections for the Democratic Party -- my Party.

But it has never been accepted or forced its way in to the inner councils of the strategy board and planning committees of Party structure.

"Politics in a democracy is a business that is never done. Which is elections is like winning a war. The true victory will be decided by who wins the peace. In politics, the victory is determined not only by the Electoral votes or the Congressional seats, but also by what happens after the Congress convenes and after the President delivers his State of the Union message."

"In this year of 1948, victory for liberal democracy will be determined and evaluated not by the celebrations over the vote-counting on November 2, but by performance on the pledges of the platform of July 1948. The people in America voted on issues. The people voted for an expansion and continuation of the beginning that was the New Deal. The people voted against Republican inaction, Communist deception and Dixiecrat reaction. For the one of the few times in American political history, the people were given a clear-cut program and platform to vote on that was immune from double-talk and the generalities.

"Just as Lincoln said, 'you can fool some of the people all of the time, and all of the people some of the time, but not all of the people all of the time.' This time, the people who voted for the liberal candidates proved that they do not want to be fooled any time. It's action that they're calling for. Action against high prices. Action against monopoly. Action for health protection, education,

Action Falley

social security, minimum wages and for Civil Rights. The people of the farm areas are asking for and expecting -- and I say that they will get -- long-range constructive agricultural program. The members of organized labor are asking for, and have a right to expect the repeal of the Taft-Hartley act. Every American wants peace, but not peace at any price. Every American wants peace and freedom. Not only for ourselves, but for the world. This election was a mandate against appeasement with the totalitarian forces of either the left or the right. This election stated in clear terms that we will make no compromise with Communism abroad, or with fuzzy-thinking parlorpink Communist frontism at home. But it was not a mandate for holding hands with the reaction either abroad or at home.

Our people understand, even better than some of our political leaders and diplomats that you cannot talk progressive democracy in America and hold hands with reactions and fascism abroad. There is an inseparability between a liberal democratic foreign policy and a liberal democratic domestic policy.

What does this mean in concrete terms?

It means that the hope for peace and freedom in Europe is to be found in the liberal democratic tradition of the social democratic forces. It means that our national leadership must clearly understand democratic rehabilitation of Europe is to be found in the cooperative movement, the trade unions, the social democratic narties, and those who during the 'thirties had the courage to resist the onrush of fascism and the temptations of Communism.

Its economy is different. Its politics are different. Its culture is unique to itself. Europe can live as a democracy, if we understand the full meaning of democracy. It can be democratic if our foreign policy does not place a strait-jacket of dollar bills and Federal reserve notes around the blueprint for democratic reconstruction.

"Here we are then, more than a century-and-a-half after our revolution, and a full century after the short-circuit one of the European democrats. And our destinies -- as well as those of the emerging democratic groups in Asia and Africa are bound together by a common and vigorous faith. Because the liberal-labor forces in America are the strongest, their responsibility is greatest.

Let them now surge forward to win their post-election peace. We shall build upon the great ideas of the past. But we shall use those ideas as a foundation stone under our ideological feet, not as a mill-stone around our necks. We shall draw our inspiration for democratic action from those ideas. But we must do it with imagination and courage. For the stakes are the highest ever -- nothing less than the release of man's deepest creative potentialities for the achievement of Western civilization's highest values.

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