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TEXT OF ADDRESS BY HUBERT H. HUMPHREY, CANDIDATE FOR UNITED STATES SENATE,
KEYNOTE ADDRESS
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Fellow-citizens:

In the last several weeks, since the opening of this campaign, I have been in all sections of the state. I have spoken in literally hundreds of cities, villages, and towns. I have visited with people in all walks of life-- farmers, workers, business people, professional men and women-- and I have discussed with them the important issues of our time.

Wherever I have been-- whether attending the ^{Leebaw} ~~Fillmore~~ County Fair at Albert Lea, or a rally of Steelworkers in Hibbing, or a meeting of the Farm Bureau in Wabasso, or a gathering of professional people in St. Paul-- I have found a persistent note of anxiety, a worried and apprehensive outlook about the future.

The people of our state-- as elsewhere in our nation-- are raising a basic question. They are searching anxiously for a clear and meaningful program that will give new purpose, new vitality, and new confidence to our democratic way of life.

There are many issues in this campaign. They are issues that concern our foreign policy and our domestic economy. I have discussed the various specific issues in detail, striving always to make clear why they are important to our future as a free nation. And, in future broadcasts, I will deal further with the important aspects of the specific questions.

Tonight I want to do more than just set forth my position on the measures that will be before the 81st Congress. Tonight I want to discuss them in a broad and meaningful framework, to relate them to the needs and the hopes of the people of our state.

I want, in short, to give you my philosophy of government-- a philosophy

which is, I think, the philosophy of America. Because it is only in this context that the specific issues of the campaign have meaning.

It is fitting that this keynote address should be given here in Bemidji, ^{this section} in the ~~Western~~ part of the state, out of which have come in past generations so many progressive movements that are native to the American spirit.

It is fitting, too, that the keynote address be given in the land of the legendary Paul Bunyan, because the story of Paul Bunyan is the story of the incomparable determination of the American people. And these are days which demand imagination, energy, devotion, and, above all, confidence in our own strength and in the promise of our way of life.

There is nothing strange nor novel nor new about my philosophy of government. It is as old as our nation. It is as old as the idea of individual liberty that gave birth to our democratic form of government.

But it is a philosophy, an approach, which needs constantly to be restated. It needs constantly to have new applications, new interpretations, new vitality. And, under our form of government-- where the people select, by their free vote, the men and women who are to represent them in the halls of Congress-- it is the office-holder and the office-seeker who must provide these new applications, this new vitality.

We must insist, therefore, that the candidates who stand for high public office shall come forth with honest, simple, direct statements of their political philosophy, because today throughout the world three fundamentally different ideas are competing for supremacy. And, if we who believe in democracy lose this struggle on the ideological level, we shall lose the entire battle.

At the heart of my philosophy is the belief that the richness of our country is in its people. To me, democracy is the means that enables us to unfold and release the talents and abilities of every person so that they may be

used fully and constructively in the pursuit of individual happiness and community well-being. To me, democracy is the key that unlocks the storehouse that holds the secret treasures of our human resources.

This understanding of democracy-- this commitment to the belief that each individual is entitled to a station of dignity and self-respect in our nation-- I have carried with me during my experience as Mayor of Minneapolis.

In administering the affairs of a city of a half-million people, I discovered again and have come to appreciate more fully the deep meaning of the democratic idea. Here are people-- five hundred thousand individuals-- each with his own problems, his own aspirations, his own needs, his own personality, and his own individuality-- each searching always for the activity, the work, that will give greater meaning to his own life and to the life of his community.

We have come to understand that the government, whether it be the township board or the municipal council, the state legislature or the national Congress, is not something removed from and apart from the individuals who make up the community. We have learned the real meaning of the idea that the government is the servant of the people.

We learned, for example, that, if the people want to rid their community of the influences of the underworld, and, if their elected officials are honest and faithful to them, the job can be done.

We learned, too, that it is possible to achieve harmony and understanding between business and labor, if government is used in a constructive, democratic fashion.

We learned that it is possible, where the public officials are prepared to work with community leaders, to institute programs and adopt legislation that strengthen the human relations among our people.

We learned, in short, that government can be a positive, constructive force

in the improvement of our individual and community lives.

But we also discovered that we live in a society that has become highly complicated. Each of us, in this day of mass production and rapid communication, is dependent upon everyone else for the food we eat, for the clothes we wear, for the services we enjoy. And, similarly, the cities are dependent upon the state and national governments for assistance in dealing with the problems that concern the day-to-day living of the people.

We learned that the problems of housing, of the cost of living, of old age security, of protection against unemployment, of an adequate tax base for our numerous services-- these problems are the concern of the entire nation and must be dealt with on a national basis.

As our society has become more complex, as each of us as individuals has become more dependent upon the joint activity of all the other individuals, we have turned to government for help in many fields of endeavor. Over the years, government has been called upon to control the rates charged by railroads, to subsidize needed industries, to provide public education, to establish practices of fair trade, to build highways, to establish broad programs that would protect us from mass unemployment, to control unfair practices on the stock market, to ensure the bank deposits of the small, average person, and to perform a host of other services.

Now government has become part of our thinking, part of our accepted pattern of life. We look to government as a natural partner in the affairs of our community-- on all levels, local, state, and national.

But we must raise some serious questions, because there are dangers on the road of governmental participation in the affairs of our people. We must ask, what is the proper role of government? Will the undertaking of specific projects curtail or expand our cherished freedoms? Which particular acts of our govern-

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ment will broaden the framework of democracy, which will narrow it?

Now there are those who speak on these questions in an irresponsible way. There are those who say--- during the period of an election campaign--- that I, too, am for social security, for increased old age pensions, for an adequate housing program, for adequate assistance to our veterans. But, then, they make as their first order of business the opposition to these measures because, they say, the adoption of these measures will restrict the area of our freedom. Or they say, I am also for reducing the expenditures of government, and reduction in expenditure must come before these specific humanitarian measures.

There are those who talk about government as the "dead hand." They talk about automatic economic forces that adjust supply and demand. They talk about government having no proper place in the adoption of constructive programs of housing, soil conservation, rural electrification, or human relations.

I say to them that government is not the "dead hand." It is, it must be, the warm heart of our nation. We must, by our joint effort, make government the living hand that offers us protection and security by helping us, as individuals, to work and to live together.

The American society of the Twentieth century is a complicated mechanism. It is a society that can crush and distort the individual personality. We can, if we follow a policy of drift, be swept into a mass-maelstrom that would destroy the whole of the democratic concept.

As a result, there are those who-- lacking courage and lacking insight-- would retreat to the Nineteenth century. They talk about freedom with a glibness that is matched only by the shallowness of their thought. They rail against labor for seeking a better life, but they have not one critical word for the alarming concentration of wealth in our nation. They raise a banner, upon which they have inscribed the word freedom, and loudly shout down the attempts of the

people to use their government for the legitimate purpose of improving their living conditions.

Those who dwell in the Nineteenth century, those who would prevent the people from employing their government in the fuller use of our human and natural resources, those who would insist that government is nothing but a "dead hand" should read again the words of an immortal American-- an American whom they should know especially well.

"It is the legitimate function," said this great American, "for government to do for the people what the people cannot do for themselves."

I quote from Abraham Lincoln.

The role of a democratic government must be one that undertakes the responsibility for marshalling our resources-- human and material-- to make it possible for each American to live the full life. We have the abundance, we have the skills, we have the vitality. What we must have is renewed faith in ourselves, an understanding that freedom cannot exist without security and that security cannot exist without freedom. We must discover and develop the techniques, the methods that will enable us to realize our hopes and still not lose our heritage of freedom.

I have said that in the world today there are three fundamentally different philosophies of government competing for supremacy.

On the extreme right, we find those who believe that government belongs to a small group, that our public policies should be controlled by those who, in some manner-- perhaps because of their wealth-- are especially equipped for the role of governing. These people would deny full social, economic, and political participation to those who are of different skin or of different nationality. They do not believe in the dignity of the individual. They are impatient with the democratic way. They fear in their hearts the power that

the people have in a democracy. They worship at the shrine of concentrated wealth and would, if they had their way, give over the determination of public policy to those with the greatest personal economic stake.

The most virulent form of the extreme right philosophy is what we call Fascism. But it exists in milder, if no less dangerous forms. It reached its extreme under Hitler. But it did not die with the defeat of Hitler. The seeds of this philosophy of government exist wherever there are people who believe that one race is superior to another, who believe that the people are not fit to govern themselves, who exalt our nationalism or the nationalism of any nation above the humanitarian needs of the entire world.

The seeds of Fascism exist in the unconscionable concentration of economic power in the hands of a few, powerful corporations. The seeds of Fascism exist wherever there are people who would deny the civil rights guaranteed in our Constitution. The seeds of Fascism exist wherever there are those who say, with glibness, "labor is a commodity."

The second philosophy competing for supremacy in the world-- that of Communism, on the extreme left-- is the twin of Fascism. They have so much in common. Both exalt the idea of dictatorship. Both have contempt for the democratic process. Both deny the dignity and integrity of the individual person. Both deny human values. Both make the most ruthless use of any technique, however barbaric or cruel, to advance their cause.

Both would resurrect ancient forms of enslavement in modern dress. Both advance their cause with the false cry that they seek to serve the people.

Our concept of government, our philosophy of democracy rejects with equal vigor both Fascism and Communism. We see them as two sides of the same counterfeit coin. We see them as enemies allied together in a conspiracy against the continuance of our freedom.

Ours is not a middle course, a compromise between Fascism and Communism. Such philosophies admit of no compromise. Ours is a course of honesty, of decency, of respect for people and for human values. Ours is a philosophy that says, we believe in the people, we believe in education, we believe in truth and honesty and the other old-fashioned virtues. We believe that all people are entitled to share in the life of their community and their nation. We believe that, in the end, our course-- the humane, decent course-- will triumph, and that we will gain final supremacy, because our philosophy is consistent with the hopes and dreams of all mankind, everywhere, because our philosophy is part and parcel of Christian ethics and morality.

When we turn to the matter of foreign policy, we find the most dramatic and most significant application of our philosophy. We are today challenging the anti-democratic forces. We are more than challenging them, we are conquering them-- by the successful execution of the Marshall Plan.

The Marshall Plan is a positive humanitarian project. It is the most challenging, dynamic, and ambitious program ever attempted in the history of the world to give life and hope to millions of people, to raise them from the depths of their despairing society, and to make them and their society part of the living world again.

With the Marshall Plan we are waging peace on a scale which we learned to wage war. We have learned that peace is not a negative, stop-gap period between wars. It must be waged as diligently, as determinely, if it is to be achieved.

The Marshall Plan is effective. It is working. It is winning its battle. It is winning in Italy, in France, in many other countries. The forces of Communism and Fascism are on the defensive because America is as invincible in waging peace as it is in waging war.

Those who tell you differently, those who fought and voted against this last,

best hope for peace, stand before you as the enemies of humanity, as the unthinking bedfellows of the Communist Party. For anyone, my opponent or the Communist Party, who voted against or fought against the Marshall Plan sought inhumanly to deny the right of people to live.

America can stand proudly before the world in the knowledge that it maturely accepted its serious responsibilities to humanity, that it is keeping faith with its traditions of freedom, democracy, and humanitarianism.

But, as we view the future, our ultimate goal lies beyond the European Recovery Program. Our ultimate goal is world government. Toward that goal the United Nations is a beginning. We must, if we are to be faithful to our ideals of democracy, give unswerving devotion to the United Nations. We must seek constantly to improve it, to make it the success it can be.

We should press for international disarmament and international control of armaments, for the international control of atomic energy, and for an international police force. We must give our full support to an international bill of rights. We should support placing of strategic bases under the United Nations trusteeship to establish police stations for security purposes. We should seek the expansion of the jurisdiction of the world court, and all nations whether large or small should be brought under its powers.

At the right time and with the proper moral leadership, this country must press for the elimination of a veto power in the Security Council. With creative imagination, we must press for those projects which, through the United Nations, will lead to the proper democratic use, development, and conservation of our human and physical resources.

In all our actions, we must remember that the idea of world government, the idea of world security against mass destruction, is a powerful idea that moves the minds of men everywhere. We must show our belief in world government by ex-

hibiting a readiness to bring our case before the bar of world opinion and to seek its solution in cooperation and agreement with other nations.

Our foreign policy is following still another democratic channel in the form of the reciprocal trade treaty program. This has been America's answer to the need for commerce between nations. The free flow of goods, like the free exchange of ideas, builds peace, understanding, and good-will. Reciprocal trade is America's answer to the false principle of a high protective tariff that holds, in effect, that we should turn our backs upon the needs and hopes of the rest of the world.

Those who would cripple reciprocal trade treaties, those who would have our country withdraw from a full participation in the economic life of the world, simply do not understand the nature of the society in which we live. Again they would retreat to the past; they would ignore the realities of the modern world.

Now, it is crystal clear that, if there is to be a better world, it will come about because of the political, economic, and moral leadership of America. Our foreign policy finds its strength and its inspiration in the people and the resources of our country. The climate of our social and political life at home will determine the success or failure of our foreign policy abroad.

We cannot, therefore, have a double-standard by which we judge our policies abroad and at home. We cannot say to Europe, treat labor with respect and dignity, and then at home pass harsh and punitive labor legislation like the Taft-Hartley Act. We cannot say to Europe, encourage the development of cooperative enterprise, and then at home adopt legislation which restricts and curtails the development of our own cooperative movement. We cannot say to Europe, all peoples-- regardless of race or religion-- are entitled to equal treatment, and then at home fail to take the steps that guarantee equal treatment for our own citizens.

The eyes of the world are turned towards America. We live in a political and

economic glass house. We cannot talk democracy to Europe, respect for labor, admiration for cooperative enterprise, and a deep concern for education, and then at home-- by action and inaction-- strike out at labor, curb the cooperatives, fail in our responsibility towards education, and permit the ever-growing concentration of economic power.

Our foreign policy will always be only an extension of our domestic policy. The two are inseparable. We cannot be progressive and democratic abroad, and reactionary and anti-democratic at home.

Just as we must give moral and political leadership, so we must be prepared to continue material assistance. But we cannot give material assistance, if our economy is weakened by inflation. We cannot fulfill our commitments on foreign policy for European Recovery, if, through mismanagement, we find ourselves the victims of depression, unemployment, and economic disaster. We cannot help feed the millions of our fellowmen in Europe and America, if our agriculture is impoverished through failure to care for our soil.

Ours is the task of not merely holding the line or of looking back to the good old days. We must meet this challenge by the dynamics of our system of enterprise and by our own political faith to grow, to build, to expand.

It is in this spirit that we must move ahead with rural electrification, that we must reclaim the millions of acres of our eroded soil. America needs these projects; the world needs them-- for today and for the future.

Millions of people in the world today are living on a starvation diet. This vital, desperate need for food makes it imperative that the 81st Congress implement and broaden a sound, long-range agricultural program for America. Never again shall American agriculture be the plaything of grain speculators, of the stock market, or unscrupulous financial interests.

Just as we need a basic declaration of human rights for the United Nations,

a Bill of Rights for all America, we need a set of economic rights for American agriculture that provides minimum guarantees for price, protection of markets, and orderly distribution of commodities.

But there are those who say that such things are a restriction upon the freedom of our people. I say to them that these things expand freedom. I say to them that our agricultural program is sound, progressive, and constructive. It is giving to the American farmer price supports, crop loans, farm credit, soil conservation, orderly marketing, and agricultural research.

Our economy is a diversified one. Just as we must have an economic program for agriculture, so we must establish minimum standards for American labor and industry. Whatever those who live in the Nineteenth century may say, labor is not a commodity. American labor is humanity. Fair labor standards, minimum wages, health protection, free collective bargaining-- these are not privileges, these are basic rights of free men.

American industry is entitled, indeed it must have, every fair and just consideration of government. We have prosperity when business makes a profit. And it is a legitimate function of government to assist-- as it has in the past-- the projects of industry that expand and develop our economy. We should encourage and foster American industry through trade treaties, government financing, through subsidies to the extent that such assistance is justified by our national needs.

The vitality of our democracy rests in the strength and intelligence of our farmers, workers, and business people working together with governmental help where it is necessary.

The terrible fury of war twice in one generation has demonstrated the importance of the health and education of our people. To fulfill our responsibilities of world leadership we must be a people who are educated, who are strong

in body, who are skilled in their labor, educated in their responsibilities of citizenship, and possessing a spirit of understanding and compassion.

Ours is the task of developing to the utmost our human and natural resources. We must harness the rivers to bring us the power of electricity so essential for good living and for an ever-expanding production. We must control the floods, reclaim the land, develop our transportation, and utilize the achievements of science towards building a stronger, a healthier, a more productive America.

This is the task of our people, of our government. A free people will undertake this challenge with determination and confidence. In those instances where individual initiative and enterprise are not equal to the task, a free people, privileged to have a government "of the people, by the people, and for the people" will join hands with their government in accomplishing these vital objectives.

This is what we mean by free enterprise, the free society, by democracy. We are free to chart our own course, to plan for our own destiny. We are free to experiment, to visualize a bright future. We are free to tackle these mighty projects individually, through cooperation, or with the assistance of the helping hand of government.

We dare not fail. We are in the battle for a free world. The secret weapon in this struggle is the ability, the energy, the intelligence of the people of America, working side by side with the freedom-loving people in the other areas of the world.

This is our faith for living. It is as old as the story of Cain and Abel; we are our brother's keeper. It is as American as the Declaration of Independence, which proclaimed for all men human equality and liberty. It is as new as the Atomic Age, an Age in which the science of human relations must match the science

of technology. It is only through democracy that the material gain of science can be directed toward the common good of mankind.

In this spirit and this faith, we know that we have it within ourselves, with the help of Almighty God, the power to make this world all over again, to realize in practice the democratic ideal.



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