

October 12, 1948

Gentlemen: I am sending you herewith the text of the speech to be delivered Thursday, October 14, at 9 p.m. Central Standard Time, over a nationwide ABC hookup, by Hubert H. Humphrey, mayor of Minneapolis and Democratic-Farmer-Labor nominee for the United States senate from Minnesota. It is for release at 8 p.m. Central Standart Time on Thursday, October 14.

Orville Freeman
Chairman, Minnesota State Central Committee
Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party

Advance

For release, Thursday, October 14

9:00 P.M. CST.

An Address by Mayor Hubert H. Humphrey of Minneapolis
over the ABC Network, on ~~Friday~~ ^{Thursday}, October 14, 1948.

We are waging today----in the United States and in Minnesota
----a campaign of many issues. Some of these issues are new----they
are the imperative problems of a mighty Nation hastening toward its
destiny. Other issues we have met before----they are----for a reason
we shall see----the unfinished business of our history.

Yet the pattern of all these issues----the battle line of
this campaign----is as old as human government.

GOVERNMENT IS THE MEANS BY WHICH ALL THE PEOPLE----ACTING
TOGETHER----DO FOR THEMSELVES THOSE THINGS THAT THE PEOPLE CANNOT
DO ONE BY ONE.

That is the great principle of government.

There is no other.

That principle was born the hour the first chieftan became
the protector of a rude tribe of cave men huddled about a common
fire. That principle is no less true in our democracy today.

The things that government must do, have changed as human
society has changed, but the principle never has changed a syllable.

There is one more thing that has not changed.

Always there have been the greedy and the selfish who did not
WANT government to do its job. They cried out against Hammurabi and
his Code of Laws. They whispered against Moses and the Commandments.
They fought the Tribunes and the Corn Laws in ancient Rome. They

were enemies of Franklin Roosevelt and the New Deal. And today they are enemies of President Truman.

The greedy and selfish factions who would block the people have been known by many names. But never have they been so well named as they were a few nights ago, by a certain man, who is their spokesman in the United States today.

This man spoke of the dead hand of government.

We Americans can----and WE WILL----act together, to do for ourselves those things that people can not do one by one. We shall protect ourselves against the bandits of big business, against the fraud of inflation, against the corruption of our country by greedy corporations.

But Tom Dewey sees no good in all this. He calls the result---the Dead Hand of Government.

The DEAD HANDERS----the party of Tom Dewey----and Joe Ball----earned their new name well. Just 16 years ago, they saw the farmers stripped of his land, and the workman stripped of his job. They saw banks fail, and schools close and little children going hungry----and they did nothing about it. They played politics with human misery.

Under them the hand of government was indeed dead.

Two years ago, when the Dead Handers won their brief majority in Congress they showed at once that they----like those other Dead Handers, the old kings of France----had learned nothing and forgotten nothing.

They have done us great harm in two years.

We Americans must undo that harm.

We must free our good servant, the government, from the chains of the Dead Handers. We must declare a clear and meaningful program that will give to our democracy new life.

And this not for ourselves alone. If there is to be a just and enduring peace, if there is to be a better world, it will be under the moral, political and economic leadership of the United States.

As we free ourselves of the Dead Handers, we free the world.

Our program must secure the future of the American farm. We must declare an Economic Bill of Rights for Agriculture.

That does not mean, of course, that we are to favor the farmers. Unlike the big corporations, the farmers ask for no favors; they want no more than their due.

And that they must have.

That is not only good morals. It is good business as well.

Agriculture is the great balance wheel of this economy.

When the farmers are prosperous, business is good. There are jobs for all, and there is food for all.

There are those who would turn our farmers out into a so-called "free market." They would have our farmers compete with billion dollar corporations. They would have them sell their corn and wheat to the gamblers who stake millions on the figures of the exchange.

That is like turning a lamb into a den of wolves and saying, "It's all right, you can bite back."

Under President Roosevelt, we worked out a better way of doing business. He sketched out the broad outline for the Economic

Bill of Rights for Agriculture. That program is sound, progressive, and constructive. It is giving to the American farmer price supports, crop loans, farm credit and orderly marketing.

All these things, and more, must be part of the Economic Bill of Rights for Agriculture.

The welfare of all our people depends upon them.

But our concern with agriculture goes even more deeply into the welfare and security of our country.

Of all our wealth, the greatest asset of the people of America is the land of America. That farm land gives us our daily bread, and it will feed our children. That land must be preserved and replenished.

We have seen the TVA turn a poor-house into a treasure-house--providing our people with power, irrigation---providing farms with fertilizer---and our air fleets with aluminum. The Dead Handers never gave us those blessings. Private power companies could not---or would not. As long as they kept up their rates they were satisfied. But the TVA gave us these blessings. Now we know the way. We must have---as President Truman has said, again and again---a Missouri Valley Authority---and a Mississippi Valley Authority. We must develop every valley---for our people.

Soil conservation, reforestation, agricultural research---all these, too, must be part of the Economic Bill of Rights for Agriculture.

Just as we must have an economic program for agriculture, we must set up minimum standards for American Labor and industry.

Whatever the "Dead Handers" 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. They are not even for the benefit of labor alone. They are for the good of our whole country.

There must be no more harsh laws, cunningly drawn to harass labor. We must undo the harm that has been done in the last two years----we must repeal the Taft-Hartley Act----and then move forward on the road toward fair, stable, productive relations between labor and management----the path that will bring us at home the peace and security that we seek abroad.

And in our foreign policy we must follow a course no less wise and reasonable. For it is in our foreign policy today that we find the most dramatic and significant application of our philosophy. We are today challenging the enemies of the democratic world. We are more than challenging them, we are conquering them----by the success of the Marshall Plan.

The Marshall Plan is a positive humanitarian project. It is the most dynamic, and ambitious program ever attempted in the history of the world. It gives life and hope to millions of people. It raised them up from the depths of despair. It makes them and their society part of the living world again.

The Marshall Plan is effective. It is working. It is winning our battle. It is winning in Italy, in France, in many other countries.

Communism and Fascism are on the defensive.

Those who fought and voted against this great measure for peace, stand before us as the enemies of humanity. They are the unthinking bedfellows of the Communist party. For those who worked and voted against the Marshall Plan, voted against the right of the people of the world to live.

Our goal lies beyond the European Recovery Program. Our goal is a just and enduring peace. Toward that goal the United Nations is a beginning. We must, if we are to have peace, give unswerving devotion to the United Nations. We must seek constantly to improve it, to make it a success.

At the right time, our country must press for the elimination of the veto power in the United Nations' Security Council.

We should work for world disarmament----and the control of all armament----for control of atomic energy, and for an international police force.

We must give our full support to a world Bill of Rights.

We should seek a wider jurisdiction for the world court, so that court may do even handed justice to all nations, large or small.

Always we must remember that the idea of world order, the idea of world security against mass destruction, is a powerful idea that moves the minds of men everywhere.

Our foreign policy is following still another democratic course in the reciprocal trade treaties. The treaties have been our 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.

The Dead Handers, who would cripple the reciprocal trade treaties, who would withdraw our country from the economic life of the world, simply have no place in the society in which we live.

They ignore the realities of the modern world.

We cannot have Dead Hand policies at home----and modern policies abroad.

We cannot say to Europe, treat labor with fairness and honesty; and then at home enforce harsh and punitive labor legislation.

We cannot say to Europe, encourage the development of cooperative enterprise, and then at home adopt legislation which restricts and destroys our own cooperative movement.

We cannot say to Europe that all peoples----regardless of race or religion----must have the basic human rights, and then at home deny equal treatment.

In short----We cannot be progressive and democratic abroad, and reactionary and anti-democratic at home.

And we are not going to do so.

We reject the double dealing, and the double talk of the Dead Handers.

We shall free our country of their cold and clammy clutch.

We shall move forward, in the spirit of Abraham Lincoln, in the trail blazed by Franklin Roosevelt, under the leadership of Harry Truman. And we shall win for ourselves and our children, for all mankind, the reality of a free and secure world.



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