

THE PEOPLE ARE SPEAKING

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Excerpts from remarks prepared for delivery by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D., Minn.) before the Midwest Democratic Conference Banquet, Milwaukee, Wisconsin, Saturday night, March 7, 1959.

Across the heartland of America -- the great ~~midwest~~ ^{midwest} --

a significant political upheaval has occurred in the last decade.

The people themselves have reasserted their right to a more effective voice in the destiny of their nation -- and they have quite understandably chosen the Democratic Party as the vehicle to give meaning to their massed voices.

Up until about ten years ago, this great midwestern area was regarded as virtually the foundation stone of Republicanism.

In fact, it was in this very state that the Republican Party was founded.

Yet today, Democratic governors and Democratic administrations are serving the people in ten out of the 13 midwest states -- and more and more the people are turning to Democratic

10
out
of
13

10
out of
13
states

representation in the United States Congress.

What has happened?

People of the midwest, solid, dependable, hard-working people, have been understandably reluctant to abandon their traditional, inherited ties to the Republican Party.

Yet they have done so -- in a rising wave of protest over the Republican Party abandoning them.

Nowhere in America can you find people more deeply dedicated to the true spirit and meaning of democracy with a small "d" than in the midwest. They believe deeply in government by consent of the governed -- and they do not hesitate to withdraw that consent when they see abuse of power, neglect, and special privilege replace concern for the well-being of people.

They take seriously the responsibilities of citizenship, and the right and duty of citizens to insist upon the kind of government they want -- instead of being told by government how

they should be governed.

To political historians, it should not be surprising that the midwest has led a new revolt against Republican do-nothingism, and that the midwest has breathed new spirit and fire into the Democratic Party itself.

For here in the midwest we have a great liberal tradition and heritage that insists upon keeping government responsive to the needs, the hopes, and the aspirations of people.

It was out of our midwest that the great populist and agrarian movements of the past have arisen. It is out of this heartland of America that the people have rebelled in

Geo
Brooks.
Wm Jennings
Bryan

the past against domination from entrenched minorities of economic royalty -- as evidenced by the earlier Progressive Party of Wisconsin, the Farmer-Labor Party of Minnesota, the Non-Partisan League of North Dakota.

Because we as Democrats have deliberately kept our eyes

Mann N.E.L. - Then WISC - Michigan
Gaylord - Kansas - Iowa, Neb

and ears tuned to people, we have been able to provide a more effective outlet for the voice of the people -- and *consequently* inherit the benefit of their confidence.

There is a tremendous significance in midwest political trends of the last ten years, far beyond what most political writers and sociologists have noted.

Most political upheavals and major shifts ~~from~~ one party to another in America's political history have been somewhat temporary surges in time of extreme crisis or economic adversity.

Yet in the midwest the ^{*Democratic*} consistent trend has continued over the past ten years in good times or bad, and the steady, persistent swing to Democratic leadership shows no signs of diminishing

On the contrary, there is every indication of increasing confidence in Democratic leadership in the years ahead -- and a great probability that the roots of this political upheaval have sunk deep enough to bring about a permanent change in the

political complexion of this part of America.

This
~~That~~ does not mean we can rest of our laurels, nor that there will not be intermittent swings back and forth depending upon how well we continue to merit the trust and confidence that have been bestowed upon our Democratic Party.

But it does mean that the midwest can no longer be regarded as a fenced-in private preserve of Republicanism.

We have in our generation had the privilege of helping fulfill the objective^{of} the Democratic Party being a truly national party, representing fairly and equitably all parts of our great country, all segments of our society, and all *cultural*, and economic interests within our society.

We have found common aims and goals to which we are all dedicated, above and beyond other regional or economic differences. --- a lesson in political maturity that ~~can not be~~

gives americans confidence in our leadership qualifications.

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Perhaps I can be forgiven for taking pardonable pride
in the resurgence of the voice of the people in the midwest,
for much of the Democratic Party's advancement in this area

has matched the time-table ^{of the Minnesota DFL} ~~of my own political career.~~
~~The Back of Republicanism in the Midwest was~~

We in Minnesota like to think we helped pioneer the way

-- showing to others in the midwest the common ties which

existed between the farmer, the working man, and the ~~small~~

businessman, showing that we could and did build a party

with a purpose, a party built on ideals -- and dedicated

to furthering those ideals by constructive and responsible

action.

Our purpose has been to serve people, to be deeply
concerned about the well-being of people -- of all people.

We have had the vision to look ahead, to plan for tomorrow!

We are not afraid of the future -- we welcome it.

We have had the courage to believe there is always opportunity

Forrest and
Shoemaker in
1948, again
in 1954 with
the election
of Gov.
Colwell
and again
in 1958
with the
election to the
U.S. Senate
of Sen. McCarthy

in America to make democracy more effective -- to bring closer to full realization the inspiring dreams of justice and equal ~~economic~~ opportunity for all.

✓ We have dedicated ourselves to the democratic ideals so effectively and impressively articulated in the last two nationwide Presidential campaigns by Adlai Stevenson.

✓ We have sought to preserve and implement the spirit of Woodrow Wilson, Franklin Delano Roosevelt, and of that courageous man in Independence, Harry S. Truman.

held
We ~~cling~~ to those ideals in spite of set backs in the 1952 and 1956 Presidential races -- and still made local gains for Democrats.

✓ We cling to them today. They stood us in good stead in the recent election, and upon the same type of politics we believe we can best win in 1960.

The fact is that our insistence upon building a party more

interested in issues than patronage, more
 interested in performance for people than perpetuation of a
political machine, more interested in the future than in the
past, has paid good dividends -- both in and out of Minnesota.

It has created a solid foundation for steadily expanding
 victories.

Take a look at the ever-widening ring of expanding Demo-
 cratic leadership circling out from Minnesota.

Wisconsin Democrats along our border broke the ice outside
 of urban areas by electing Congressman Lester Johnson -- and ^{twice} ~~then~~ ^{reflecting}

~~him~~ ^{to} ~~keeping him in Congress where he belongs.~~ And it wasn't

long before this new Democratic tide swept across this Badger

State to give us Senator Bill Proxmire, Governor Gaylord Nelson,

and such fine additional Democratic Congressmen as Henry Reuss,

Jerry Flynn, and Bob Kastenmeyer to join your veteran, and for

~~As~~ ^{the} long lone upholder of Democracy's banner, Congressman Clem

Zablocki of Milwaukee.

Down in Iowa, the same spirit was spreading. First
you gave us Merwin Coad in Congress -- then you kept at it
to elect a great Governor in Herschel Loveless and complete
the job this last fall by ~~sending us~~ ^{electing} more new Democratic
Congressmen.

Our liberal democratic spirit
pushed west, too, with George McGovern in South
Dakota, and kept pushing until we ~~lost~~ ^{Democrats won} the statehouse
with Governor Herseth. We are even on the way in North
Dakota, with our new Democratic Congressman Quentin Burdick.

liberal
The prairie fire of democracy swept on into Nebraska
and Kansas, where a few years ago ~~you were~~ ^{it was} considered almost
against the law to be
feels hardy to be willing to run as a Democrat. But our loyal

Democrats in those strongholds of Republicanism refused to
give up, refused to be discouraged -- and today ^{Both States} ~~they both~~ have
great Democratic governors, and outstanding Democrats in
Congress.

Paralleling this Democratic tide spreading outward
 from Minnesota was the ~~great~~ recapture of the State of
 Michigan from the Republican economic royalists, and the
 building of a great Democratic stronghold under the
 courageous, capable, liberal leadership of Governor *McNamara*
was we affectionately say, 'Soapy' Williams
Williams. How effective Michigan has done its job is re-
alend programme
 flected in its two United States Senators today -- Pat
McNamara and Phil Hart -- along with its fine Democratic
 representation in the House. Michigan, by its victories,
 has helped inspire the rest of us -- and has influenced
 further new Democratic gains in other surrounding areas,
 such as ~~and~~ in Indiana *and Ohio*.

The roll call of states could go on; I have cited these *few*
~~gains~~ merely as examples of what is happening in the Midwest.
 And *everywhere* it has happened for the same reason -- we Democrats

idealism ~~all through the midwest. We have turned to the young~~ *but always seeking the*

~~and strong for leadership yet we have always sought and took~~

advice and counsel from the depths of experience of those who

~~through the years have gained~~ *through the years have gained*
~~through the years had experienced~~ a mellowing of judgment and

reason based upon experience.

The result is a new brand of practical liberalism -- never
 compromising on principle, *and persistently pressing*
~~but seeking reality and practicality~~
forward a program of accomplishment.
~~in accomplishment.~~

Let me just digress to say a word for the great array of
 Democratic pioneers who helped pave the way for the victories
 some of us are enjoying today, -- and many who are here tonight --
 tasting fruits of victory that are a far cry from the earlier
 struggles they faced in the midwest.

You know, we in Minnesota have a name for the kind of loyal
 Democrats who kept alive our Party's name year after year without
 the blessings of success.

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We call them "moat fillers" -- the men whose ^{political} bodies

helped fill the moat so eventually others could charge
across and scale the walls of the Republican citadel.

There are hundreds of old-timers who ran against hopeless odds, knowing they could not win themselves -- but taking advantage of the opportunity to repeatedly tell the story of how democracy could be made more effective in the midwest. To them, indeed, goes much of the credit for the growing awakening of the midwest, and arousing of the once-dormant spirit of liberalism in state after state. We salute them tonight, along with the veteran party officers, past and present, who worked so faithfully with them.

We in the midwest can be proud that our gains have sparked a great Democratic revival westward to the Pacific, until today the midwest and west are linked together in providing a new "western accent" for the Democratic Party.

Our party fits the west and the midwest, for it is the party of progress, the party of growth, the party of concern ~~we have~~ for our resources and our farmers, the party concerned about people.

The midwest and the west aren't satisfied with the status quo.

The pioneering spirit is still alive, and the zeal of our people for progress in every area is not going to be denied.

We have won in the west and the midwest not only because of the kind of people we have put forward as our spokesmen, but only because we have stood for what the midwest and the west needs -- and for what America needs.

We have been the party for constantly greater development, for expansion rather than contraction of our free enterprise system; the party with real depth of appreciation of the vital necessity for conservation and preservation of our great natural

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resources, coupled with sound and prudent judgment in putting them to the most practical use for the benefit of the ~~people~~ people.

We ^{are} ~~have been~~ the party that recognizes farming as a real way of life as well as a way of making a living -- and the party that wants to preserve the human and social values of rural living on the family farm. — We are the Party 7 REA —

We ^{are} ~~have been~~ the party of expanding opportunity for young people, and the party of deep concern for the ^{social &} economic problems of those in the twilight of life, as well as those handicapped or otherwise underprivileged along the road of life.

In truth, we have progressed because we have become a party with a purpose of doing things rather than just a party of patronage and machines and personal power.

We have helped the American political system to grow up, and display a new maturity.

See
See

We have become an all-American Party that recognizes all ~~and~~ people on the basis of individual dignity and worth, and all candidates on the basis of individual merit -- yes a party mature enough to unite on basic issues, and to maintain a respect for differing racial, religious, or cultural backgrounds that override prejudices of the past.

Recent elections offer proof of that maturity. We have tossed a lot of old political cliches into the discard.

When we can elect an Irish Catholic in a traditionally Scandinavian Protestant state -- like we did in Minnesota ...

When a primarily rural state like mine can elect a Minneapolis Mayor to represent the entire state in the United States Senate, as in my case, and yet California, with its great urban population can choose a country Congressman from its most remote hinterlands as its new United States Senator ---

When a college professor can be elected to the Senate from

the cowboy state of Wyoming ---

When the tall timber and mountain country of Idaho can
sent to the Senate a brilliant young lawyer...

When we are seeing an ever-increasing number of
similar examples showing the basic wisdom of voters, wherever
they may be ...

Yes, I am convinced, we have shown we are growing up
as a party -- and are providing leadership to build America,
wherever we find it, and whatever its background. We are pro-
viding America with representatives alert to 20th Century needs
and problems -- and men capable of doing something about them.

* * * * *

yes As Democrats, we have accepted the mandate of victory to

build a program for America geared to America's needs.

must fill
We ~~are filling~~ the vacuum of executive leadership con-

fronting our country.

XI

We are determined to produce a program of constructive action as an answer to the do-nothingism of the tired, old, *cautious* ~~and~~ and conservative men who are now at the helm of the executive branch of our government.

We have the framework of such a program now evolving in the current Congress, with contributions to it coming from all geographical areas of the country, and all segments of the Democratic Party.

There need be no quarrel over authorship of such a program, for our purpose must be to put together the very best we can devise from the combined resources, judgment, and experience of our Congressional leadership, our Democratic National Committee and its Advisory Council, our Democratic Governors, and competent, nonpolitical experts dedicated to specialized fields of education, health, economic development,

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human rights, agriculture, social welfare, defense, and international relations.

It will be a liberal program, because ours is a liberal party -- and the American people have indicated a vote of confidence in liberal leadership.

Yet, it will be constructively and sanely liberal, providing assurance to all segments of our economy that we can build soundly for the future growth and development, and higher living standards at home and abroad, within free democratic institutions, without any of the recklessness which some profess to fear.

Quite the contrary, such a forward-looking program would be far less dangerous to our country than running the risk of shutting our eyes to the weak spots in our economy, our areas of neglect in our society that urgently need attention.

FORWARD
LOOKING
PROG

Program

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-20-

h We are determined never to neglect our economy, because we are convinced that a recession is too costly a luxury for us to afford. (HOUSING, AIRPORTS, ROADS, ARBA REDEVIL,

HARBOR,

h We need more teachers and more schools, and better teachers and better schools at every educational level -- and we are convinced Americans will be unsatisfied with less than the best of educational opportunity for our young people.

h We are deeply concerned over the growing toll of sickness, in cost to the individual and economic loss to the country.

h We are determined to wage an aggressive effort to wipe out disease through research and improve availability of adequate medical care -- and effort in which we wholeheartedly welcome the increasingly helpful cooperation of the medical profession and its many related fields of health care and service.

h There is much more that needs to be done, but nothing should take greater priority than building a climate for a just

and secure peace.

We must quietly go about our business of strengthening our defenses, yet aggressively launch, and persistently maintain, a bolder program of "Works for Peace".

These need not be in conflict at all.

When robbers roam the streets, we need to have police -- but we also need hospitals, schools, parks, industry, and jobs to maintain a well ordered society. Police alone cannot meet society's needs.

(X2)

How well we as Democrats do in 1960, in my opinion, hinges on how well we fulfill such aims between now and 1960.

It is always heartening and encouraging, of course, to read about the brighter prospects for a Democratic victory in 1960, and how easy that victory may be. Let us not get so

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enthralled with the power of victory that we forget what we won for last November. Let us make sure we make good on the job we promised to do.

The real formula for success in 1960 is what we Democrats are able to do in the Congress, in State Houses, and in city governments between now and 1960.

When I conducted my campaign in 1954, my slogan was "Senator Humphrey Gets Things Done".

For 1959 and 1960, we need to convince the country that "Democrats Get Things Done".

We need more political performance, and fewer political performers.

Our most urgent purpose in order to merit the country's confidence in 1960, must be a responsible, constructive approach to building a climate for world peace -- regardless of partisan divisions between the Executive and Legislative

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branches of our government.

X3

We should make it clear to the world that we have a specific, definite program of works for peace. Let me mention a few.

1. We should emphasize a long-term "Food for Peace" program as a means of aiding and helping the food deficit areas of the world.
2. We should give leadership and increased emphasis to a broad world health program, a "Health for Peace" program.
3. We should emphasize the importance of education, particularly vocational and technical education, in the newly developing areas of the world with a bold and dramatic "Education for Peace" program.

Whatever happened to the President's proposal of five years ago at Baylor University to build vocational schools or

to help in establishment of vocational schools in Asia, Africa, and Latin America? It was a good idea, and it should be carried out -- let's do it.

4. We should expand our programs of cultural, people to people exchange.

5. We should emphasize trade and economic development.

Of course, at all times, we must remember that American military strength must be second to none. ~~But~~ We need far less talk about rockets, missiles, and other military power -- and much more fulfillment.

We need far less talk that portrays us as a bellicose and belligerent people, and much more emphasis on our programs and policies to help people live.

Our program must be one that has as its objective better living for people everywhere!

2 The world is weary of war, and threats of war.

The people of this world want someone to help them on the path of helping themselves, rather than someone to frighten them.

What the world needs is hope and promise, not fear and tragedy.

That, to me, is victory's challenge and responsibility to Democrats -- in 1958 and 1959.

March 6, 1959

Anderson County

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Democratic Women's
Club!

State of
Andy Jackson
Andrew Johnson
Estes of Albert

Oak Ridge AEC plants!

Albert says any man to President want him
to be well aware of
Tennessee, TVA + Oak Ridge

Mrs Brewer

Mrs Rucker



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