

Local 9 - Frank Schultz

*File
Mayor's speech
abandoned*

SPEECH DELIVERED BY MAYOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY AT TEAMSTERS CONVENTION
SAN FRANCISCO, CALIFORNIA - AUGUST 11, 1947

on this 65th Labor Day.

I am very happy to speak to ~~this~~ great convention assembled of free working men. I do not need to tell you that we meet at a dark hour in the history of man. The situation has never been so grave; the problems facing us have never been so incredibly difficult; and the way ahead has never been so dangerous and uncertain.

If things were a whole lot better we would still be faced with an overwhelming task. If things were much worse we might not be here.

Only a short while ago, the peoples of the world celebrated a peace which they thought marked the end of the Second World War—a war which brought death and unspeakable suffering to millions and millions of people. Today the inhuman struggle of man against man continues in the far corners of the earth.

To win the war quickly, we mobilized our vast resources and technical intelligence to split the atom and to create the deadliest weapon yet known to mankind. Today we live in the gloomy dread that we have created a monster which may destroy all of us. Too much time has passed and we have not yet secured an agreement for the international control of atomic energy.

The United Nations Organization—in which we placed—and still place—so much hope, has not yet solved one of the major problems of war and peace. We have no agreement on disarmament and we have no international police force. We painfully hold our breath while we ask whether the organization will be able to peacefully settle the problems of Palestine, Indonesia, and the Balkans. Till now its councils have been an arena of deadlock and frustration.

*This is the setting for our labor day 1947 -
Democ is on trial - Herst abroad*

*Mr. Dooly
Mr. Smith*

And although we have given--and given generously--to world relief and rehabilitation, most of the world is still hungry and exhausted--still badly in need of our help.

When we look homeward, the picture ~~is not very much brighter.~~ *is anything but comforting.*

We know that the employment figure is now over sixty millions, and that our national income stands at a new all time high. But there is no optimism among our people that full employment will continue. ^(X) We make no predictions; we hope that our prosperity is not temporary; but we know too well that no adequate steps have been taken to make sure that full employment will be permanent.

We know that our basic social and economic problems--old and new--still remain unsolved.

We need to control our destructive rivers and to conserve our disappearing topsoil. We need to expand the benefits given to the aged and sick. We need to increase and make better the educational opportunities offered to all our children. We need to insure for all races, creeds, and colors that full measure of freedom and equality necessary for human dignity. We need to provide adequate medical assistance for that large section of our population which does not have it.

We need to maintain the rights of free working men and their legitimate bargaining representatives. We need to boldly and deliberately plan for a stabilized economy of full employment. We need to relieve our people of the haunting sense of insecurity which comes from a fear of unemployment and depression. We need to show ourselves and the world that in the twentieth century economic security does not demand the sacrifice of freedom.

(X) We

Immediately after the end of the war our economy was dislocated and our people uprooted. We badly needed certain basic controls to help us over the enormously difficult period of readjustment. We needed a short range and a long range housing program--particularly for our veterans who returned to this country after many years of great hardship and sacrifice. We needed to maintain a fair relationship between prices and wages. We needed especially to keep a ceiling on rents to avoid the chaos of eviction and inflationary profit grabbing that was sure to follow.

We needed all these things. We still need all of these things. (X2)

In our trouble and confusion, we look around us for bold and imaginative progressive leadership. Once--not so long ago--we looked to our national capitol--to our Congress--the meeting place of our leaders. We looked and then we had to look again; we could not believe what we were seeing.

Instead of leaders we saw strange ghostlike figures--resurrecting a past that we had long since forgotten.

(I use the word "ghostlike" advisedly. Those of you who carefully examined its record or saw this Congress in action will know what I mean when I say that you rub your eyes and wonder if its real.)

There they were mouthing the old slogans that they had dug somewhere out of the ^{political rubbish piles} garbage pails of the past. "New Deal Communism"--the trouble is that nobody wants to work today"--supply and demand"--balance the budget"--sacred right of private property"--tax relief for the rich"--and let's get back to normalcy."

There they were "getting back to normal" with their heads in the pork barrels. Only in this Congress they have bigger and better barrels.

And ~~they~~ there they were making small talk while there was a big job to be done.

These were the men we elected to meet the most crucial problems this nation

has ever faced.

I don't need to tell you of their failure. You are working people and representatives of working people. When the 80th Congress set up its wringing machine you are the people they put through it. You know the price of bread and meat and milk because there's not much left over out of your pay check after you get through paying for them. You know about the housing shortage because it is especially difficult for the people you represent to get decent living accommodations. You know about the need for more education because it is your children who go to the schools. You know about the fear of a depression because you won't be able to sit it out by clipping coupons or dipping into capital.

You/^{know}and I know that catastrophe has not yet overtaken us. But what we especially fear is that it is somewhere just around the corner.

We are all keenly aware that things ^{can go bad.} ~~are bad.~~ What we especially fear is that things can always get worse. And what we all know is that if most of the members of this 80th Congress are re-elected in 1948, things will get very much worse.

During the darkest depression years from 1929 to 1932 there used to be a motto. They used this motto to console the people waiting on the breadlines. The motto was "prosperity is just around the corner." After a careful estimate of the direction in which they are going, I suggest a new motto to advertise the ^{leadership of} Republican party--Catastrophe Is Just Around The Corner. ^{!!}

Gentlemen, I wish to be fair. I am a member of the Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party of the State of Minnesota. I know that sometimes in the heat of party battle we tend to exaggerate. But after looking at what the 80th Congress has done, after looking at what it hasn't done; and especially after looking

at what it tried to do--I wish to say this: Never before in our history have so many Republicans ^{and a handful of Democrats} done so much for so few.

But let's take a closer look at the record. You have to get to know this Congress better to really dislike it.

Faced with the great historic responsibility of meeting the problems of the post-war period, this Congress saw as its two main jobs--tax and labor legislation. Our newspapers often refer to this Congress as a hard-working Congress. It worked especially hard--in fact overtime--on the labor bill.

I wish to quote a very great Republican. Quite naturally he died a long while ago.

Abe Lincoln said--

✓
✓
✓
"Labor is prior to and independent of capital. Capital is only the fruit of labor, and could never have existed if labor had not first existed. Labor is the superior of capital, and deserves much the higher consideration."

The present members of Abe Lincoln's Republican party have got it twisted just the other way around.

I don't want to make a lengthy statement about the Taft-Hartley bill. I know that a very great deal will be said about it at this convention. I have read this bill; at the invitation of the AF of L. I, along with Mayor O'Dwyer of New York City, spoke on the radio against its passage.

No friend of the labor movement will deny that the labor movement has faults or that it has made mistakes. No serious friend of the American working people will fail to criticize the American labor movement for its shortcomings.

But the Taft-Hartley bill was a bill compounded in vengeance by the historic enemies of the labor movement. It was a bill which laid the blame

for industrial unrest only on the shoulders of the American trade union movement. It ignored the basic facts of inflated prices and economic insecurity. It ignored the simple truth that it takes two sides to make a fight; and that in most instances strikes occurred because employers failed to live up to the responsibilities of collective bargaining. This bill comes to the rescue of those who have made a failure of labor relations, and attempts to penalize those who have suffered most from that failure.

Of course, the Taft-Hartley bill is anti-labor legislation new style. It is sponsored by the self-styled "true friends" of labor. They tell us that they're doing all this for our own good, and that it really hurts them more than it does us. The bill is a fairly clever attempt to get the trade union movement out of the area of free collective bargaining and into the courts--where the unions can spend time and energy in litigation--in that kind of litigation where an adverse judgment can destroy the very existence of a union.

In our ~~state~~, the state of Minnesota, we have one of the foremost of these ^{self-styled} "true friends" of labor; it is Senator Joe Ball. Having labored hard in Washington he has come back to tell the working people of Minnesota he is going to run squarely on the issue of the Taft-Hartley Bill. As one of the leaders of this 80th Congress he can't do much else. A few days later he told the people of our state that the bill might need a few changes. WE don't know ~~what~~ what his position will be around 1948. But whatever it may be--and here I bring you a fraternal message from the progressive people of the great state of Minnesota--but whatever his position may be, we will move heaven and earth to restore this ^{self-appointed} "true friend" of the labor movement to his rightful place in the American society--outside the United States Senate.

Senator Ball--the ^{synthetic} true friend of labor--told a Minnesota audience a few days ago about his own experiences in the labor movement. He told them

that he quit the Newspaper Guild in 1931 because it was controlled by the Communists.

Now let's square/away on the Communist question. I don't hold hands with the Communists under any kind of table. I oppose their ideology; I oppose their tactics; and I oppose the policy of unity with them. Unlike some of my friends in liberal movements, I do not believe that you can be just a little bit pregnant with Communism.

I believe that like everyone else in this society the Communists have the duty to stand up and be counted. I believe that when a man is running for office--whether it be in a trade union or in the U.S. Govt.--the people voting have a right to know who he is and what he stands for. This goes for whether he is a servant of the real estate lobby, a representative of the N.A.M., a member of the Ku Klux Klan or a member of the Communist party. I believe, that is, in calling a Ku Kluxer a Ku Kluxer and a Commie a Commie.

You have to pay a price for this policy. I am at one and the same time called an agent of the international cartels and an agent of the Communist International. When you get it from both sides like this you know that you're in the right progressive position.

But while I am opposed to Communism, I am opposed to that kind of repressive legislation which would deny them their political rights; I am opposed to that kind of legislation which because of the adequate safeguards of due process of law injures many of our innocent civil servants at the expense of weeding out a few guilty ones; and I am particularly opposed to that kind of labor legislation which makes martyrs of the Communists while it deprives innocent workers of their legitimate bargaining rights.

Our problem ~~with~~ with the Communists has never been to drive them underground, but to bring them out in the open. If we see them, we can handle them.

But let us return to Senator Ball--the self-styled true friend of labor. We can learn something very interesting from his statement that he quit the Newspaper Guild in disgust in 1931, because it was controlled by Communists. Many other newspaper men did not quit. They had the guts to stay on, and today the Newspaper Guild is not controlled by Communists. It is led by men --who like millions of others in the labor movement--know that the only way to meet the challenge of the Communists is the democratic way--by outthinking them, outworking them, and outvoting them.

Senator Ball didn't have time to learn this lesson because he quit too soon.

The second major problem of our time to which the Republicans addressed themselves was the problem of tax legislation--as they put it--the problem of tax relief. With a great show of justice they announced there was going to be equality of tax relief. This fooled no one. It was a proposal to give the rich people ice in the summer time and the poor people ice in the winter.

Not only was the original proposal and the final bill plainly unjust; it was stupid and hypocritical. It was stupid because at this particular period we needed to limit the supply of money in order to check our dangerous inflationary spiral. By cutting taxes the Republicans wished to put more money into circulation so that we would have higher profits and higher prices--so that people who live on wages and fixed incomes would be able to buy less and less with their money.

The tax bill was hypocritical because the people who sponsored it are always saying we have to economize and balance the budget. This time of inflated national income is a magnificent opportunity to retire some of our large national debt. The Republicans did everything in their power to keep the debt large. The only time they are serious about balancing the budget is when they want to slash the appropriations for some government agency

that is performing a worthwhile service for the people.

Tax legislation and labor legislation were the main burdens of this hard-working Republican Congress. I am proud to say that the president of the United States had the wisdom and the courage to veto both the tax bill and the labor bill, and that in one instance his veto was sustained.

What else did this 80th Congress do? Well, of course, the Senate has passed the Reed-Bulwinkle bill to exempt the railroads from anti-trust legislation.

And they passed a bill authorizing a tariff on the importation of wool. As Secretary of State, George Marshall and Under-Secretary Clayton pointed out, this bill would have helped to wreck the world's chance for international economic stabilization.

And, of course, they saved money for the taxpayers by a program of good old-fashioned economy. They drastically cut the appropriation for the Department of Interior. This cut will fall most heavily on our great regional projects which furnish power and irrigation--particularly here in the Far West. They kept down to a minimum the appropriation for soil conservation, for rural electrification, and for the school hot lunch program.

Our children are not a very good investment for the government of the United States.

This was economy for you. The 80th Republican Congress economized on our soil, electrification for our rural areas, and on our children.

These penny pinchers and dollar grabbers think that the wealth of our nation lies in the number of dollars we have in the treasury. Well, I want to tell you that we measure our wealth today as in this country we have always measured it--in terms of our natural resources and in terms of our human

resources. What else have we got?

Is it economy to let our human and natural resources go to waste?

They speak of balancing the budget. What budget is being balanced? Whose budget is being balanced?

The conservation of our natural and human resources is a serious problem to us in the Middle West. We have realized for a long time now that we need for our Missouri Valley Region a planning authority comparable to the TVA. We know that in the years from 34 to 44 the Missouri Valley showed a 214% gain in electric services to farms; at the same time the Tennessee Valley showed a 630% gain. From 1929 to 1939 Missouri Valley showed a 12% loss in personal income while the Tennessee Valley showed a 20% gain. And other figures on the production of electricity and the growth of manufacturing tell the same story. The figures do not show how much of our precious topsoil is carried away forever each year by the insatiable rivers. They do not show how much of our property and how many of our people are destroyed each year by the uncontrolled floods.

The soil and the people of the Missouri desperately need a regional planning authority like the TVA. Needless to say, they didn't get one from the 80th Republican Congress.

They had no legitimate excuse. The TVA is the living refutation of the old lies about Communism and regimentation; it is conclusive proof that freedom is possible under democratic planning.

I wish I had the time to tell you in detail what is happening to our resources all over the country--what is happening to our soil, to our forests, and to our minerals. Our soil is tired, our forests are disappearing and not being replaced, and our supply of minerals necessary to industrial production is steadily declining. During the war, ammunition had first call on our nitrates

and our phosphates, and less fertilizer was produced for our already impoverished soil. Today only 70 million out of 1 billion farm and ranch acres do not need attention. During the war our annual cut of timber was twice our annual growth. And today we have standing only 100 million acres of virgin timber out of a potential of 450 million acres of forest growing land. We have only 9 minerals in sufficient quantity to last 100 years. We have less than a 35-year supply of 19 other minerals. Our highest grade iron ore will be exhausted in about 20 years.

Was our hard working, economy-minded 80th Congress doing anything to help us economize these resources? By this time, you know the answer. They were working hard on the labor bill.

When we look to those areas where legislation is so vitally needed-- health, education, racial discrimination, and social insurance--it is the same old story. Nothing has been done by the 80th Congress.

I've probably said too much about this Congress, but I feel that it's necessary to say a few things more.

Possibly its most shocking failure was its refusal to do anything about prices and the housing shortage. It's true, of course, that we have a new rent control bill. And let me tell you something about the workings of that bill.....

X3 - wyatt

But all of us here who are worried about prices and housing can now be reassured. The Republican ^{Controlled} Senate is going to do something about these problems. Just before adjournment they appointed two committees to study these problems. The best thing about it was that they did it with a straight face.

The next time you start looking for a place to live, don't feel bad if you don't find one. A Senate Committee is looking into the problem.

And if you can't afford meat, don't worry about the high prices; the matter is being thoroughly investigated.

Already this 80th Congress has been described by many names. I call it the "midget Congress." It was a group of little men elected to a job that can only be done by big man. It was a cap-gun brigade charging into the problems of the atomic age.

This has been a strange and unbelievable period. And when they write the history books about it, I hope they insert this question and give us the answer: where, where was the leading candidate for the Republican presidential nomination. Where was that wandering possum Tom Dewey when the Taft-Hartley bill was being passed?

Here we have a 20th century politician who doesn't believe what Abe Lincoln said "that you can't fool all of the people all of the time."

den
Gentlemen, it was necessary to make some analysis of the record of the 80th Congress because the 80th Congress demonstrates the most crucial problem which faces us today.

yes — We need in this country today as we have never needed before honest, capable, imaginative, and progressive leadership. If the ^{leadership of the} 80th Congress is the best leadership that we can dig up in our country, then we are politically bankrupt.

This union has always been able to recognize great leadership. It gave its militant support—it gave its heart to the great progressive leadership of the late Franklin Delano Roosevelt. But where shall we turn today? To whom shall we look for leadership?

Shall we go to the real estate lobbies? Shall we go to the N.A.M.? Shall we go to the U.S. Chamber of Commerce? ~~Shall we go to the American Communist Party.~~ Shall we go to the self-styled "true friends of labor?" Shall we go to the "this hurts me more than it does you, boys?" Shall we

go to the political midgets? Shall we go to little men of ward-heeling politics?

Where shall we turn for leadership. The answer is easy. We should go where Franklin Roosevelt went--to the people of this country. No critic of Franklin Roosevelt--and there were many of them--there are still many of them--no critic of Franklin Roosevelt ever denied that he had the ability to reach out to the people of this country--to make them understand--to make them feel that the government was their government. In return he got back from the people their strength and support. This was his greatness; this is our weakness.

This great union along with the rest of the American trade union movement--has furnished great leadership to the working people of this country. Historically, it has given its time to heartbreakingly difficult and often heroic struggle to get a better life for the American working man.

But we know today that the law--that is what comes out of Congress--can aid and abet that struggle or that it can destroy that equality of bargaining power which the labor movement has tried to hard to achieve.

Lots of you beat your brains out to get 10% wage increase for your members. Then you found that something happened down in Washington and that prices had gone up 15% and that you were worse off than when you started. The labor movement is ~~having a hard time~~ ^{NOT} getting ahead these days. Its having a hard time keeping up to where it was. You're running on a treadmill; and the power for that ~~tread~~ treadmill is being generated down in Washington.

I think that the American labor movement knows ~~today~~ better than ever today, that its major struggle is the political struggle. But it must know something else. It must know that millions of Americans--union and non-union; farmers, small business men, professional and white collar people--are looking to the trade union movement for leadership. You have the organized power and the know-how. If you do not act there will be a political vacuum. the vacuum will be filled by someone. You know who--the midgets, the errand boys for the lobbyists.

But you will fail in your political action if you go in for synthetic political action--if you do not go directly and ~~be~~ honestly to the people.

Synthetic political action is a brand of synthetic democracy. It is called by a lot of other names--pseudo democracy, phoney democracy, and especially Hollywood or glamour democracy.

Here is the recipe: every time an important election ~~comes~~ comes up you hire a couple of smart organizers; you write yourself some handbills and spread them all over town; you buy radio time; write letters to the newspapers. ~~Ex~~ This all builds up ~~to~~ ^{TO A} for the big event--the big meeting. You hold a big mass meeting; on the platform you have some ^hHollywood beauties; you get a crooner to sing some songs; you get your best speakers to whip up the ~~at~~

on a candidate for Congress because we've got sixteen prima-donnas who want to run for the same job. And then when they do agree on a candidate it's not because they've decided on the best candidate; it's because they've arranged a deal where all sixteen of them can get something out of it. And let me tell you something—we've got plenty of this on our side.

If this is phoney political action what is real political action? You know, our leaders are always talking about the common man. They all want to get ~~it~~ elected because they want to do something for the common man. But does anybody ever go to the common man to find out what he wants? We stuff handbills in his box; we bleat out the so-called truth to him over the radio; we tell him what he ought to believe; but does anybody ever get to him and find out who he is and what he wants. Does anybody ever get to these ~~people~~ common people we all love so dearly?

Well somebody has got to start. And where do you start? You start in your own backyard. If you can't organize your own neighbor you'd better stop right there. Because the road to Washington ~~is~~ begins right on that sidewalk that separates you from your neighbor.

And how do you start? ~~You start by helping him.~~
 Not by talking politics. You start by helping him. You become his friend. And if he doesn't like unions you don't pick a fight with him; there are lots ~~of~~ of people ready to give him a bum steer, and he hasn't had a chance to know

ADA HELP ON
 RENT CONTROL -
 BETTER THAN A
 BARREL OF SPEECHES

any better. But maybe sometimes hes got a legitimate beef ~~against~~ against ~~the trade unions~~ some trade unions. And you know what wed better do then? Wed better start washing up so that we can go talk to him with clean hands.

~~How to~~

You start out by making friends of the ~~people~~ people around ~~and~~ you and you start out by working together on your common problems--on the little problems--the problems that you both can understand. You dont have to worry about the unimportance of what youre doing--these problems will lead you to the municipal governments, to the state governments, and finally to that place where we all want to get at--Washington.

And you dont just work on economic problems or about whats bothering you in the trade union. These people are interested in their churches, and their schools, they want playgrounds for their kids; they want good municipal services; they want honest and decent law enforcement.

If you believe in God, go to your churches. If you have kids in school join the Parent Teachers Associations. How many of you delegates here belong to the PTA.? In these organizations and in your neighborhood and community clubs, meet your neighbors on their own grounds. Help them in their own problems and they will not fail to help you in yours.

We are always talking about grass roots democracy; we all say that democracy begins on the local level. If it begins on the local level it begins by working on local problems. If democracy comes from the bottom up, it begins by working on bottom

THE ONLY TIME
THE COMMUNITY
SEE SOME TRADE
UNIONISTS IS
WHEN THEY'RE ON
THE PICKET LINES.

problems. If you cant get ~~ix~~ a man interested in the bad water supply of his ~~own~~ town or city, you cant get him interested in the destruction of the country's soil a thousand miles away. And once youve got him interested, dont worry, because ~~hes~~ ~~intere~~ his interest will spread outwards. If a man gets interested enough to clean some crooks out of the city hall, hell go on ~~ix~~ to get interested in the bigger job--cleaning the crooks out of Washington. And if a man will join you in helping you to clean out the city hall, theres a pretty good chance hell help you to clean out the Congress of the U.S.

When does this job ~~begin~~ begin? It begins today. And when does it end? It never ends. If weve only got enough time to get interested in political action once every two years then we might as well forget about it.

Sure, we might hold a lot of mass meetings in 1948 and get the people excited and we might elect enough ~~Congressmen~~ ~~men~~ of our own Congressmen to get something done in Washington. But if we then decide to ~~forget~~ go to sleep and forget about it, you know what well have in 1950--a new collection of midgets. And theyll build a new, bigger and better plastic treadmill. ^And you know wholl be running on it--you and me.

We need day to day, ~~week~~ to ~~week~~, and year to year political action. And you know one place where the trade union movement ~~will~~ ~~right~~ ~~on~~ ~~its~~ ~~own~~ ~~members~~ ought to start --right on its own members. One thing ~~x~~ thats always worried me about ^American labor movement has been the number of paid orgainizers ~~x~~ that it uses. Every member of an American union ought to ^{be} ~~to~~ a

sincere and active salesman for trade-unionism. And if he isnt we ought to find out why he isnt; and if its for a good reason ~~we~~ we ought to begin to clean our skirts.

I am happy to learn that the AF of L --as well as the CIO-- has started a program of Consumer Cooperatives. This action is probably more important than anything that happened in the 80th Congress. But we need more of this. We need more worker's education. And we need more rank and file participation in our unions. The union has to become a meaningful part of the union's life, and our workers have to become a more meaningful part of the union's life.

But shall we stop short at doing something for our membership? In ~~strict~~ political action shall we stop short at protecting the gains of organized labor. If this is the best that we can do, we shall fail. Because there are plenty of people that will spend all their time pointing out that the American labor movement is only interested in the welfare of its own membership. And this wont make the vast majority of the people happy--I understand that most of our people regard themselves as members of the middle class.

We need to ~~be~~ get into the guts of the community. We need to become a part of it that gets along with the rest-- with the farmers, with the small business men, with the professional people, and the white collar workers, with the people of all races and colors, and with the people of all religions and faiths. We need to live with them, get along with them, work with them and fight for them ~~every day~~ every day in the year.

And if we are going to offer political leadership to a vast
 ma~~nt~~ majority of the American people we are going to have to offer
~~leadership~~ clean leadership, moral leadership, great leadership.
 We have to have leadership that's straight on every issue, not
 just the trade union issue. We want the farmers to support us
 in our legitimate demands because he knows that ~~with~~ we'll support
 him in his. And that goes for the rest of our decent and progressive
 people who want a lot more ~~from~~ their government than simply good
 legislation on trade union matters.

You know in the city of Minneapolis we have no scabs and
 finks on the police force. But neither do we have any ~~gangsters~~
 crooks or negro haters. We've never felt that just because our
 policemen respect a picket line, that they have the right to take
 take some easy money from the liquor interests. And our people
 don't have to choose between a police force that takes money ~~x~~
 from ~~the~~ strike-breakers and one that takes money from the
 liquor racketeers. Our laboring people of Minneapolis get ~~rich~~
~~help from~~ protection from the Minneapolis police force because
all our people get legitimate protection.

And we can't expect to elect ~~x~~ Congressmen who are straight
 on the trade union issue but ~~crooked~~ on every other one.

My friends are always crying to me about the apathy of the
 American voters. What they mean is that they can't understand why
 more people didn't get out to vote for their candidate. But the
 American voter is not apathetic; he's just usually a lot smarter
 than the conniving politicians who call him apathetic. He knows
 too much to go to the polls to choose between two phonies or
 two different kinds of scoundrels. I don't blame them for going
 fishing; the air is clean out there. When we get the stink out
 of the polling places; when we present honest and clean cand-

idates who present real issues, the people will come to the ~~poll~~ polls. You'll never get the great numbers of our people excited about a contest between midgets, and we'll never beat midgets with midgets.

Friends
Gentlemen, I have talked too long. You should realize now that I am saying that we need great leadership. Most of it must come from you, and to be great leaders you must go back to the people. We have too many believers in synthetic democracy; ~~we need and the world needs~~ *there* are too many of us who are afraid to go to the people. Never worry about what you will find there. There is decency, honesty, and courage--and a great idealism in our people.

~~You know that~~ Today ~~enough~~ the name of our people is on trial throughout the world. There are those who say that we are materialist and imperialist--that we are dollar crazy--that we are selfish and mean and narrow and little. Well I am here to tell you this --we are a great country. *a great people* We are a big and sprawling country; we have made many mistakes; but through all our incredible blunders our good heart has shown itself. We have given generously to the ~~people~~ hungry and suffering of the world and we shall give more. Our strength does not lie in ~~the~~ factories and machines, our strength lies in our moral greatness.

This is the country which announced the principles of the Declaration of Independence when ~~the rest of the world~~ everywhere else men were subjects of kings. This is the country of the democratic agrarianism of Thomas Jefferson; this is the country of ~~the~~ Jacksonian democracy; it is the country of the Gettysburg Address of Abraham Lincoln; it is the country of the "new Freedom" of Woodrow Wilson; it is the country of the

of the New Deal of Franklin Roosevelt.

No country is perfect.. Ours certainly is not. Many grievous and appalling injustices still exist in our society. We shall continue our long struggle to remove them--to make this ~~society~~ ~~society~~ ~~in~~for all men--a better society in which to live. We draw no iron curtain around ourselves to hide from criticism. We criticize ourselves. And we criticize because we expect greatness from ourselves and our leaders.

We cannot call ourselves great if we refuse admittance to those people who have lived through the gas chambers, and the concentration camps, and the gestapo.--the people who have still ~~managed~~ managed somehow to keep alive that spark of freedom which makes them refuse ^{the} proffered hospitality of totalitarian countries. My forefathers didnt come over on the Mayflower. And when they ^{OVER LATER} came they were welcomed by those who were already here. We cannot do less than the same.

And we cannot call ourselves great if we refuse not only to give, but to sacrifice part of our wealth to help those unhappy people whose homes were the battlegrounds for this war. If it is shown to me that we need rationing to give maximum aid to the peoples of the world, then I will come out for rationing. If that should mean political failure I would still speak out for rationing. I would rather be a plain citizen than a midget politician.

"With malice toward none, with charity for all--that expresses the spiritual greatness of this country, not--["]whats in it for me."
We have to recover this greatness which is potentially in all of us. And in our search we look to the great American trade union movement.

we friends
 For ~~you~~ ~~Gentlemen~~ stand on hallowed ground. In the
 twentieth century you are the spiritual descendents of Jefferson
 and Jackson, Lincoln and Roosevelt. *we* ~~You~~ are the symbol of hope
 to the little people all over the world. *we* ~~You~~ are truly one
 one of the last best hopes of the world.

History has imposed upon you a great responsibility.

May God give you the goodness, the courage and the
 strength, and the greatness to live up to it.



Minnesota Historical Society

Copyright in this digital version belongs to the Minnesota Historical Society and its content may not be copied without the copyright holder's express written permission. Users may print, download, link to, or email content, however, for individual use.

To request permission for commercial or educational use, please contact the Minnesota Historical Society.



www.mnhs.org