

Labor Omnia Vincit

REPORT OF PROCEEDINGS
OF THE
SIXTY-SEVENTH CONVENTION
OF THE
AMERICAN FEDERATION
OF LABOR

HELD AT
CINCINNATI, OHIO
NOVEMBER 15 TO 22, INCLUSIVE

1948

EXECUTIVE COUNCIL

OF THE

AMERICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR

1948

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Liquor Advertising

Page 169, Executive Council's Report.)

COMMITTEE CHAIRMAN GEORGE: Under the caption Liquor Advertising the Executive Council reports the introduction of bills to prevent the moving in Interstate Commerce of newspapers and publications carrying advertisements of the liquor industry.

We believe this bill discriminatory against distribution of legitimate products, the manufacturing of which gives many job opportunities at good wages to thousands of American workers.

We recommend the Council always oppose such legislation.

I move the adoption of this section of the committee's report.

The motion was seconded and carried.

At this point in the proceedings President Green interrupted the report of the Committee on Legislation, to introduce to the convention Mayor Hubert Humphrey.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: One of the great events of this convention to which we have looked forward with pleasant anticipation now will take place. A great hero is here, one who won a great victory in the last election.

I cannot describe to him the feeling of pleasure and satisfaction we experienced when we read of the defeat of notorious Senator Ball and the election of Mayor Humphrey.

Perhaps you will recall the impressive, eloquent speech he delivered at the San Francisco convention which was held last October. Knowing him as you do it is unnecessary for me to dwell further upon his great ability, upon his qualifications, and upon his peculiar fitness to serve as a great leader in the Senate of the United States.

Without further ado, I am going to present to you this man who occupies a very large place in our hearts and in our affectionate regards. Mayor Humphrey, Senator-elect from the great State of Minnesota.

(A standing ovation was given Senator-elect Humphrey.)

HUBERT HUMPHREY

(Senator-Elect from Minnesota)

Thank you very much, President Green.

I just had my first opportunity to meet a distinguished gentleman in the service of our country, Mr. Averell Harriman. I looked forward to it a long time.

I don't suppose any newcomer to the halls of Congress has had a more cordial greeting coming to this State of milk and honey and four leaf clovers than I had when I was met out here in the lobby of this fine hotel by the President of our own State Federation of Labor, Mr. Olson, and by Mr. Tobin, that grand gentleman of the International Teamsters, and Mr. Petrillo of the Musicians organization and other distinguished men who were there to say hello. I have never been escorted by so many people to one room in my life. I have watched men in court houses and city halls that had a certain number of men in blue coats escort them to small rooms, but no amount of escorting was ever done so well or so cordially as that which was mine today. Thank you, thank you very much.

Now, this is my vacation period. I have been telling Mrs. Humphrey for nigh onto five years that sooner or later I was going to take a vacation so she said the best way that we could possibly take it was for her to stay home so she wouldn't have to be bothered with me for a while and me to run around and do just what I wanted to do. That's what we have been doing. I told Mr. Dubinsky that I went up to New York last Tuesday just to make sure that the International Lady Garment Worker's union was getting along all right while the boss was out of town. I can report to him that the dues are coming in well. The membership is thoroughly loyal. I understand that two or three of them are back to work since election day, November 2nd, which is, of course, a great accomplishment.

I have been down in Washington, D. C. house hunting and I want the delegates to this honorable body and this great organization to know that after five days of house hunting, you see a Senator-Elect who is going to be a devil on wheels when it comes to housing, believe me.

I don't know what has happened to this country. Because we have four children is no reason people shouldn't want us to have a house. Every place I go they say, "We have two-bedroom houses, we have three-bedroom houses." And I say, "No, I need a four-bedroom house now, and I'm only 37 years old, and I give you no guarantee for the future."

This is a great day for optimism and confidence. I don't know how Mr. Green and Mr. Tobin and Mr. Petrillo and the rest of these people feel about it, but I have a little confidence that the population is going to go right ahead, see.

Really, there is so much on my heart and so much to say that I scarcely know where to start. I told some of my friends that I brought a manuscript along. This is unusual. I suppose it is almost a sign of weakness, may be a sign of mental fatigue, but I did want to be prepared to say what was on my heart and to talk to my friends, because I can honestly say I have never had finer friends who have asked less from me and who have given more to me than my friends in the

American Federation of Labor, and I want to thank you.

I was trying to think just how we might get going, and I thought I had better tell you about the visit of Mr. Green, your great President, to the Twin City area. He spoke at our big auditorium in Minneapolis and gave one of the most brilliant speeches of this entire campaign. I am convinced that the people of Minnesota were pleased and surprised that here, one of the great statesmen of the labor movement of this world, spoke out to the people of Minnesota, not just about the issues of labor, but spoke to them in a spirit of understanding, with information, with competence, with intelligent understanding, of the problems of the people on the farms in that great Midwestern state.

And, Mr. Green, I want you to know that wherever I went in Minnesota—and believe me, I went a lot of places—I found people saying that they were tremendously pleased, and that they were inspired by your words the evening that you spoke in the Auditorium in behalf of my candidacy, the candidacy of the President of the United States, and of the liberal Democratic Congressmen that you and your organization did so much to help elect. God bless you! Boy, that was good.

You will permit me, won't you, to be just a little provincial and tell you how much I appreciated the work of Mr. Olson, on State President, Mr. Lawson, our State Secretary of the Federation of Labor, and every one of the union officers, all of the business agents, and of the rank and file. I think I can honestly say that we in Minnesota will take a back seat for no one when it came to the teamwork that was so vital to winning this election, a teamwork, if you please, between labor, businessman, and farmer, where our friends in labor took their message not just to the union halls. It doesn't take too much courage to speak to the fellow workers in the union halls. Or, let me say, even too much information, because they already have the information by being a member of the organization. But we concentrated our fire and we concentrated our information and our energy and our time on the Main Streets of Minnesota. We let the Republican Party have Wall Street, and we took Main Street, and we got the vote.

I might say, too, that the Taft-Hartley Act was campaign issue. My opponent in this election said that there were just two campaign issues—the Taft-Hartley Act and OPA. Apparently he didn't know that OPA was dead, and he apparently did not know that Taft-Hartley soon would be dead.

I think this ought to go down into the record, at least in the memory of every good citizen in this nation, that in a state that is predominantly agricultural, in a state that prides itself upon an intelligent citizenry, upon a decent, wholesome citizenry, that where the Taft-Hartley Act was made an issue of the campaign, where it was hotly debated, where one of those that had been the champion of the Act went up and down the state with every weapon at his command and told thousands and thousands of people, almost 3,000,000 people in our community, the importance of that Act as he saw it, and that

it was the issue upon which this election should be decided, that not only did the folks in the cities turn that kind of argument aside, but put it down, ladies and gentlemen, that only 10 counties out of 87 counties cast a vote in favor of the candidates that were for Taft-Hartley. Ten out of eighty-seven. That's all!

The men and the women that were out on our farms—and, listen, we have good farms, almost as good as they have in Ohio and Kentucky. We have wonderful farm people. And their sons and daughters have gone into the cities as sons and daughters from all farm families have gone into the cities, and the young men and women in the unions wrote letters home to their parents of the farm, to their brothers and their sisters on the farms, and in the garages and the filling stations. We had a letter-writing campaign.

Mr. Harriman, they tell me it worked with America and Italy in the elections. I was told that one of the great weapons that we had in winning those Italian elections for freedom and democracy was the fact that Italian-Americans in this beloved nation of ours took time out to send a letter to their kin-folk, to their relatives, beyond the sea, and told the story of American democracy, and told the story of the value of freedom.

Well, I'm happy to say that we followed suit. Hundreds upon hundreds of our young men and women, and our older men and women, in the unions, took time out to sit down around the family table, or desk, or somewhere in the shop, and to pen a little postal card or a letter, and to send it out into the countryside to their brothers and their sisters, their aunts and their uncles, their mothers and their fathers, and told them the story of the relationship between labor and the farm, told them the story of the economic dependence between a worker in a shop and a factory and a man out on the farm tilling the soil to produce the goods that are so necessary for the well-being of this nation.

If this election, my friends, told us one thing, it was that we don't need to get up here and boast about labor did this, and that the Democratic Party did this, and that this fellow did that, and so on. I'll tell you what this election was. This election was the greatest testimonial to freedom and to free people and freedom of thought and freedom of assembly and the freedom of the ballot that the world has ever known—the greatest testimonial to freedom!

Good grief, the newspapers were loaded! You talk about an Iron Curtain. Well, I grant you that the Iron Curtain is rough, and believe me, its something that I hope that we can pierce with the philosophy of freedom. But I also want to point out to you that the "paper curtain" can be almost equally difficult when it comes to blocking out what is impartial, objective information.

Why, many people were just getting ready to move in, you know, down around Capitol Hill. I was out with a real estate agent just the other day that told me that a certain person from New York made a down payment on a house that was now available for the Senator-Elect from Minnesota.

Actually, the story was told so often of the inevitable victory of Republicans, the

story was told so often that the election was all over, that even the people who thought up the darned-fool story began to believe it.

But the people didn't. The people said, "Let's think this one out. Let's talk about this a little bit. Maybe let's pray about it a little bit, too, because this world is in trouble. Let's think about who our friends are. Let's think about the kind of America we want."

And in the process of that thought, I say to you that this election was on the basis of principle, not just personality. This election was won on the basis of a platform, clear-cut issues, not glib generalities. This election was won because working people had learned the cruel lesson of 1946.

Just as I said to you good folks in San Francisco, in November of 1946 you went fishing, and believe me, you almost turned out to be a sucker for two years afterwards.

In 1948 you put away the vacation clothes early. You put up the fishing tackle and put it back in the cupboard. You even locked up the canoe and the boat and put down the gun and didn't even go hunting. You went precinct working. You went block by block. You registered the voters. You talked to them. You got out little pamphlets, few as we had. You were on the radio. You went out and shook hands with them. You showed them that we, too, are people.

And, isn't it wonderful, people that you and I were often told would never vote our way, would never vote for a labor-endorsed candidate, never had anything in common with labor—what did they do? They put out their hand of fellowship and they said to the people in the shops, and the factories, and the cities, these good farm people said, "Join with me, John. We are going to the ballot box and we are going to re-elect the President of the United States and we are going to give him a Congress that will work with him and we are going to tell the people of the United States that we want action."

That's what I am here to talk to you about—action, performance.

You know I thought of a story on the way coming down here that I want to inject right now.

Some of the opponents, the reactionaries, the people who have little faith and who have lost their faith in democracy—I think some of these people have learned a lesson.

I think this lesson is well described by a story I heard about some years ago. There was a traveling salesman. This was before the days of the airplane or the modern train. I think this driver, however, of the coach was a member of the Teamsters. I didn't check into the story but I am quite positive he must have been, knowing how well they can organize.

The salesman got into this stage coach and he was driving across the countryside sitting back there jumping over the roads. The driver was very adept with the whip. As they were going along the driver was taking the whip out, you know, and bang, he would take a rose right off the side of the road. A little later he would take the whip and bang, a pebble would fly up in the air. A little later there would be a bird over on

the fence and, bang, he would just take the tail-feathers right off him.

The salesman looked up at that driver and said, "You are pretty good."

"Oh," he said, "I have been doing this for years."

Finally they came along and there was a hornet's nest hanging from a tree.

Oh, boy, the salesman pulled the blinds down of the stage coach, locked the door good and tight. Here was the driver sitting up there, clearly exposed. The salesman said, "Oh, this fellow is really going to learn his lesson."

So the salesman was sitting there in the stage coach and he was patiently waiting. He was looking up at the driver and he wanted to be sure that this driver would take that whip out, you know, and bang at the hornet's nest. But, so help me, the driver drove right on by, no whip, no nothing. He just drove right on by. About five minutes later the salesman said to the driver, "Mr. Driver, look, I saw what you did to that rose, I saw what you did to that pebble, I saw you take the tail-feathers out of a sparrow," he said, "what is the matter with you? Why didn't you take that whip out and crack that hornet's nest?"

He said, "Oh, no, brother. They're organized."

Now, I think that's a great lesson. They're organized. And when we stay organized, when we stay united, when we have a common bond and understanding and an appreciation of each other's problems, nobody is going to come around with that cracking whip. Yes, individually, they will pick you off one at a time. That is what the farmers were worried about this last time. They thought they were going to get a Taft-Hartley Act too and that's what the cooperative movement was worried about. They thought that next time they might be the next victim of a new kind of Taft-Hartley Act. So they didn't sit around like the sparrow and the pebble and the rose. They joined themselves into a hornet's nest.

You will notice that the driver passed them by, and the driver is no longer on Capital Hill. The drivers of the 80th Congress are out and the 81st Congress is in, at least it will soon be in on the third day of January. And, I say to this fine assemblage of good people that the 81st Congress is going to be a Congress that represents every American citizen, not just some—every single citizen in this country. It is going to be a Congress, I know, that will fulfill its promises. It will be a Congress that will support the militant, challenging program of President Truman. It will be a Congress that will give him unstinting support in every liberal piece of legislation that he presents to it.

I said something about the forces that directed that last Congress, the 80th Congress. You have heard so much politics, I suppose a person ought not to talk about them, but, after all, I said to you in San Francisco a year ago that the time to start politics is right away. Elections are up every two years and anybody who goes to sleep just because he has won an election is surely

going to oversleep the next one and he won't be there when the votes are counted.

I was pleased to see that the Political Education organization of the A. F. of L. is going ahead and not resting on its laurels. I was pleased to see that we have learned the lesson of the importance of continuing political action.

I am grateful for a six-year term. It is wonderful, I want to tell you. I had to run every two years as mayor in my city, and that is hard work, believe me it is. But I would like to point out to you that there are elections coming up two years from now and already the plans are under way on the part of the opposition to overturn the political appcart. Already they are starting to reorganize their forces. They have been put into retreat but they have not been thoroughly defeated, when the real estate lobby, my friends, meets in New York two weeks after the election to plan its program. You may want to bask in the sunshine of your victory. You may want to say: "Isn't it wonderful?" But I warn you and I don't want to be accused of being a pollster—I am not a prophet. I have never taken a sample poll in my life. I come to you with clean hands. But I just want to warn you that history does repeat itself, particularly if we do not learn from the lessons of history.

I have been trying to think about how we might term the new era of politics. I have said some things here that I hope will stay with you quite a while. I say this was a great personal triumph for the President of the United States. When some of us didn't have faith, he had it. When some of us didn't have courage, he had it. When some of us thought he couldn't win he said, "I will." At least he was the kind of person that was willing to carry the fight, and isn't it wonderful to live in a country where they still like champions and they still like fighters.

There were some great speeches given in that campaign—the speeches, you know, of the team, team, team; love, love, love. I heard that one—Mr. Ickes' speech. But there were some other great speeches given, too,—the speeches where the President of the United States talked on the specific issues, the speeches where the President of the United States pledged to the people of organized labor the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; the speeches where the President of the United States pledged a minimum wage that was adequate and decent and not the kind of a miserably kind of a fair labor standards act wage that we have today and which means little or nothing; speeches where the people of this country know that a political party and the forces that make up the political party pledged effective action in a host of fields. This election was won on the basis of issues, and we better remember it right down the line.

One of the great issues of our time, one of the greatest issues of all times, is foreign policy. It surely is just a little bit—what should I say?—it may be foolish on my part to talk about foreign policy after you have had the wonderful opportunity that has been yours to listen to Mr. Harriman. But I suppose I will now have to know something about foreign policy. I have tried to over

the years in some little way. I have long been interested in it and I know that it is a great program, it is a great issue of our time.

We do not just want peace. We want peace with liberty. We want peace with freedom, we want peace with hope. We are not the kind of a people, and I hope the world has caught on my now that we are not the kind of a people that is going to Berchtesgaden or Munich. We are not the kind of a people that will just back up and give away all the principles upon which this country has been founded and dedicated.

I think there are some things in the field of foreign policy that we could do. I have been a supporter of the Marshall program. I want to see the voice of America carried to the world. Believe me a country that can sell tomato soup ought to be able to sell democracy to the people who are hungry for spiritual freedom.

Never in the history of the world have we had a commodity so good and so much desired, and the fact that we haven't sold it better than we have is only sort of a testimonial to our ineptness as political salesmen. One of the greatest forces this world has is the democratic forces of labor. I would say that on the continent of Europe the cooperative movement, and the labor movement are the greatest social democratic forces of Europe, the people who are liberal and progressive in their political thinking but who don't go down the slavish line of regimentation for Communism. Let's call it what it is. There are great ranks of people in Europe that have joined themselves together in unions and groups and they are hungry for the chance that we have in this nation.

I want to say that I think one of the greatest things that this country could do to prove our good faith is to establish in the great State Department of ours an assistant secretary post filled by a member of organized labor who comes from the rank and file of our membership. Why? Because it will revolutionize our policy? Oh, no, I don't think it will necessary do that. Because it will may be bring peace tomorrow? I don't think it will do that. But because it is now crystal clear to the world that labor in America is an essential factor in our economic, political and social life, and believe me, it also ought to be clear to every American that Labor in the rest of the world, the decent democratic forces of labor—one of the hopes that they have is to be able to keep a peaceful world. I want direct communication with them. I want the kind of understanding that comes only when people have been in labor. I will say very candidly that a person who hasn't grown up with the labor movement, one that hasn't been on the picket line, one that hasn't known the struggle and strain and sorrow that it has taken to build labor, can never understand it. You just can't.

You can read all the text books until you are blue in the face. You can be filled with do-goodism. You can have the love of humanity in your heart until its bulging, but until you have been a part of it, until it has been a part of you, and until it is a part of your very being you cannot understand it.

I wish that I could understand it better, but I recognize my limitations, and I know if we had in our State Department, for example, that kind of a post, it would help us in our relations. At least, I feel that way. It is worth thinking about. I don't suppose it will be adopted overnight, or anything—I am not so foolish as that—but I believe we ought to have a few new ideas. I honestly believe that we could make headway at a more definite and rapid pace than we are at the present time if we had such a post.

I know we have done much. We have labor members like Boris Shishkin here who is working with Mr. Harriman. He is the Labor Consultant. He is the one that is speaking for American labor, interpreting the voice of labor in Europe. What a wonderful thing! It is good to see him, too. He is a good friend of mine, and I know he is doing a great job. I know Mr. Harriman feels he is doing a great job. We need more of it—not just a little bit.

I said something about the minimum wage law. Now let me say a few other things here. I said a year ago in San Francisco to two great conventions—the Teamsters and the A. F. of L. at its 66th Convention,—that labor must take a broad view. I don't believe there is very much room in America for a sectarian type of view. I think the election has proven that there is a community of interest that goes far beyond any one particular group. In other words, we don't need to judge each other class by class,—the little class, and the middle class, and the big class, and so on down the line. We can better judge ourselves by the decent people that believe in the present way of life and the people that do not. That is the cleavage that is in the world today and we had better keep that cleavage and adjust ourselves on that basis.

It seems to me, now, that labor has got its great opportunity. It didn't win this election alone. We know that. It was part of a team. I think Mr. Olson, our State President, would agree that in our state the farmers had about as much to do with winning the election as anyone else, and I think we found out after looking over the votes of the cities of five and ten thousand population, that a lot of druggists, filling station operators, and grocers had just about the same ideas as the steam fitters and the sheet metal workers and the teamsters. They seemed to have a community of interest.

All right, then labor must be the advocate of a great program—not just the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, but a great embrace, comprehensive program. What kind? Well, to work with the Party that won this election, or at least that was given the privilege of serving the people as a majority Party in this country—to work with that Party now.

I know there are some of you in the room who say, "Well, we can't tie up too close to a political party." But I want to tell you something. Every time you don't, somebody comes around and ties you up. Every time! Don't misunderstand me, I don't say you have to come in lock, stock, and barrel. I still believe that it is good to be able to have an independence of action, to act as your conscience sees fit in American politics. You don't need to sell your soul, nor will you, to

any political party. You can say, "Well, we will be the balance."

Don't get too far away so when we need a little balance you are not there. Be close at hand. And remember sometimes the weather gets a little rough and we may arrive an hour late. Be very close.

Now, I said that the Party platform pledged the extension of Social Security. The field of Social Security is the interest of organized labor and of all the rest of the people of America, white-collared workers, farmers,—it doesn't make any difference who they are. It is of great interest to America. Isn't it crystal clear that in these elections the people wanted something done about Social Security except what was being done? The Republican Party was doing something about Social Security. They were starving it to death. They were slowly but surely cutting off the very flesh off the bones.

You remember one of the reports that was presented. The Gearhart resolution took about a million men and women out of the coverage of Social Security. Do you think the people of America don't know that? They maybe didn't know who Gearhart was, but the people in California did, so he isn't going back to Congress. That is all that is important on that!

But I tell you that the millions of people that went to the polls back on November 2nd said, "Listen, we don't want to stop the program of Social Security. We want to go ahead with it." They don't want the millennium tomorrow. There isn't one American in a million that expects to have a Utopia tomorrow. We wouldn't want it even if we could have it. It wouldn't be any fun. We wouldn't have anything to gripe about. What we want is a chance to work towards a better America.

We want to know that each year we can make a little progress. We want to know that we can push ahead a few feet each year, even if we do get shoved back a few inches. That is what I am talking about, and I want to say to my friends who are going to serve with us in the Congress—I am a new one, and I am only talking about the young ones now—the first-termers—I think that I can hear a voice from the people of America that says, "Listen, Democratic Party, we intend that the old people of America shall be treated as human beings and that they shall be given an adequate pension for their basic human needs." I think they want that. And I think they want the kind of a friendly government that will see to it that the workers in their unions go ahead on their own great program of Social Security and of human welfare and do everything to encourage it and nothing to hamper it.

I think the people of this country are interested in the kind of unemployment compensation that will work for the needs of our people, aid to dependent children. Now, that doesn't have to be a labor program. That is a program of the people of America, and the labor movement of this country can endeavor itself to the hearts of millions of American people by championing that cause, pointing out to the people that are depressed, and the people that are unemployed,—those few that we have—to the people that are on relief, to the people that are in need, to the children

that need help that the arm of American labor is an arm of humanitarianism and of love and understanding. Yes, it is an arm with a clenched fist when it needs to fight for its rights, but it can be an arm that will embrace the people of this nation, as well, in a spirit of affection, and association, and fellowship.

Well, I said something about the housing problem, and I have a little note here. I want to read this. It is an American tragedy that this nation, with all of its great wealth, cannot provide decent homes for the people. To the veterans who are doubling up with relatives—and to the relatives—there is no greater need. For the millions of American workers still living in trailer camps, organized labor must write a script that members of the Congress cannot ignore for an instant.

The National Association of Home Builders had better limit their efforts to building houses and not to blocking or trying to block legislation to put a roof over every citizen. I know very few young men who are looking for hand-outs. I got so darned sick and tired in this election, hearing some hide-binder running around talking as if we wanted a free ride. I never wanted a free ride in my life, and I don't intend to ask for one.

I think I personally represent the thinking of millions of young men and women in this country who don't want anything handed to them on a platter. We are perfectly willing to work for it. All we want is the opportunity. All we want is to be sure that this America of ours is as free to the interplay of economic forces just as much in this year 1948 as it was in the year 1895, 1896, '97, '98 and in the year 1922, '23, and '24. That is all we want,—the same opportunity. We want the Congress of the United States that saw fit in times of emergency to build barracks, that can see fit in times of emergency to put men in uniform,—we want the same Congress that sees fit to harness the industry of this nation and labor of this nation in times of emergency to clearly understand that the people of America want legislation that will at least facilitate and make more readily available the opportunity of home ownership and of rental units in housing for every American family. That is a must. We are not going to horse around with it.

Now, I want to give a charge to my friends in the labor movement. Will you think up new ideas on this? We are a little bit exhausted on the "idea" stage. We have had the Wagner-Ellender-Taft legislation. It is good, basic, fundamental, but it is just a beginning. It isn't enough. You can't win wars with the weapons of the days of the Revolution. You can't lick the housing problem by just talking about things as they come up. Think up new ideas. Your sons and daughters need places, too.

Come to the Congress with a plan. The Real Estate Board isn't the only one, you know, that can get in to Congress. They were rejected on November 2nd. The welcome mat is out for the building trades. It is right there. The hinges have been greased. The doorbell works, and some of us will be there to greet you and offer you all the courtesies of the house. But don't just come for a visit. Come prepared to advise and consult, to plan, and to achieve. Give us help. Give us

the men that will give us the help which you are so capable of giving.

I know that you have the ideas that will work!

Well, I said something about tax legislation. I think you realize that taxes is an important question. I am not going into it. I just want to say that there was a tax bill passed by the 80th Congress, and the author of that rich man's tax bill undertook to give aid and comfort to my opponent in the recent election. I call it the horse-and-rabbit tax bill—50-50. You know, the horse is what some people get, and the rabbit is for the others. Sometimes the rabbit was a little elusive. You could hardly see it.

Well, the author of that tax bill undertook to give political aid and comfort to my opponent in the recent election. He was not in danger in his own Congressional District. Of course, the people there would re-elect him, so he said, and the newspapers said. So this elder statesman of the party, the GOP reactionary wing, decided all at once that he would come to the defense of the Senator,—the former Senator of the State of Minnesota. So he traveled up and down the State, county to county, and carried the message of the Knutson tax bill, carried the message of the importance of the tax bill, carried the message of how this government of ours was just wasting money—all this terrible waste. And while he was out saving Rome, or something, there was a young man on a farm in Minnesota by the name of Fred Marshall that had never been in politics in his life, and who was just a good, God-fearing, decent, understanding, intelligent, respected American citizen who had been sick and tired of the kind of representatives that come out of the sixth Congressional District in the State of Minnesota. So on November 3rd—after they got over the shock, after they were able to clear away all the secret polls, and all the election promises, and they had been able to make over the newspaper headlines, after they had all the smoke screens and the trouble and the rubble of the election out of the way—the author, the Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means was permanently retired from the House of Representatives and was supplanted by a citizen and a man that is going to make an outstanding record for liberal democracy in the halls of Congress.

Say, we in Minnesota did something for this country, believe me!

Speaking of taxation, I just want to pay my respects to Mr. Matthew Woll and Mr. Arthur Elder. I think Mr. Woll was the only member of that Magill Special Tax Study Committee, which was primarily made up of people on the other side of the so-called political and economic fence—I think there were some fifty special relief provisions that were studied and recommended by that special committee, and it is the eternal credit of Matthew Woll, the Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, ably assisted by Mr. Arthur Elder of the American Federation of Teachers, that they filed a sizzling dissent which fully exposed the loopholes that were planned and ultimately adopted. I think that organized labor and the American people owe a particular debt of gratitude to Mr. Elder and Mr. Woll for their magnificent

contribution in reporting to the American people the scheming and of the loopholes that were planned.

Yes, we want federal aid to education, and I don't mind telling you that we want to see things done to improve the schools of this nation. How many of us in this room know that there were more men rejected for military service in World War II because of their lack of a fourth grade education than all the men who were involved in the combat theatre zones of the Pacific. More men rejected because of their lack of education, than the total number of men that were used in the combat areas of the Pacific.

American education isn't just something now that we can talk about for the peace of this country. American education is a vital weapon of our American national defense. The education of our people is vital to our productivity. It is vital to our health, it is vital to our salvation, and it is vital to the future of American democracy.

The labor movement of this country pioneered in public education. Labor carried the cross for public education for better than half a century, and I call upon my friends in labor to lead the fight in their local communities on the state level, and in the halls of Congress, for America to go forward with the greatest program of public education the world has ever known.

Yes, there are other things. We have almost quit talking about atomic energy, but we want to keep on with that, too. I don't want any playboys getting hold of that pill, nor any of the exploiters. The harnessing of atomic power is the result of the most daring and imaginative expenditure of money and scientific talent. Yet one prominent presidential candidate, who I doubt will run again, referred to the dangers of the cold, dead hand of government upon progress in the atomic field in one of his speeches.

Inference was made there that government couldn't handle the atomic energy of this country, that the atomic energy field should be farmed out to somebody. Now, it is all right to farm out jet propulsion. It is all right maybe to farm out the small arms ammunition. I suppose we can even farm out a few block busters, but pray God we never farm out atomic energy. No! That belongs to the people of this country and it belongs under civilian control, and I remind you to keep your eye on it, because in atomic energy and its peacetime uses are some of the greatest developments that the world has ever known. In its wartime uses if we ever need it again it needs to be guarded and perfected with all the security measures that this country can possibly devise. It can't be left open to what we call the free market. No free market on atomic energy at this date!

Well, some of you were at Philadelphia when I participated in a national convention, and what a great historic occasion it was, and what an opportunity. Many things were said about that. Some people didn't like it, but I would remind some of my friends that some people didn't even like the Sermon on the Mount. Some people didn't even like the Ten Commandments. Some people didn't like the Sermon on the Mount

enough, didn't like the Ten Commandments, didn't like the Gettysburg address and some of them didn't like the Declaration of Independence. So help me God, if we have got to wait until we have unanimity before we can act then I can say that there will be no action in democracy.

Yes, I believe in civil rights. I believe in them because they are morally right, and I will continue to believe in it. I know it isn't easy. I know that the problem of civil rights is basically a problem of human understanding, and I know also that our democracy will not long survive unless we know how to live together as men and women. It is kind of foolish, isn't it, and it sounds a little bit hypocritical when we want to build a brotherhood of man in the world when we can't even get the brotherhood of man in America. I say that we have got to have moral armor, moral armor that is so strong and so irresistible that no one can attack us. That is part of our weapon. That is one of our secret weapons of our democracy, our moral strength; not just our material strength.

You can build battleships and you can build air groups and you can build an army. You can build the greatest military machine that the world has ever known, but I remind every American citizen that the strength of this nation is basically in its integrity, its decency and its honesty, and, let me say, the wholesomeness of the American people. That is our basic strength.

I know it isn't easy. It isn't easy to live like a Christian, either. It isn't easy to follow the rules and the laws of Judaism. It isn't easy to follow the law of any faith, but I want to tell you the law is the truth. The truth either will be abided by, and therefore we will have our triumph, or it shall be denied and therefore we will have our disaster.

You can't deny the truth. You may want to escape it, but you can't deny it. And I only hope that we will take from the great Declaration of Independence the challenge that is ours of democracy, that there shall be equality of opportunity, that man is endowed with certain inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that there is an equality of mankind.

I say we can't do it tomorrow morning or the next day, but it is a challenge of democracy. It is a part of the unfinished business of this country and of civilization, and as long as there is inequality in this nation there is still work to do. I plead with my friends in labor that more people today are interested in the spiritual blessing of living as they see a crazy world practically killing itself off, than they are in some of the material gains of living.

Believe it or not, there is a spiritual renaissance in the world. People are worried. They don't know whether it is worthwhile to build all these great buildings. They are not sure whether it is worthwhile to go ahead and put their labor and money and talents and energy into material productivity, because they say that maybe it will be all over because man hasn't learned how to live with men.

Our science of technological engineers has gotten way ahead of our science of human engineers, and there are a whole lot of peo-

ple in this world that are concerned. They are concerned enough to get on their knees on the Sabbath and pray. They are concerned enough to write their sons and daughters letters and to tell them that they have to learn the art of human fellowship. I hope that the sons in labor will recognize that when you have been the most magnificent, when your cause has received the greatest support, when you have really spoken the minds of the people, that when you represent the people of the world, it is when you speak out on these great philosophical and spiritual subjects, when you speak out in terms of the morality of men and the decency of people, and you will find out that there will be millions who follow.

I plead with my friends in the other parts of America to remember that civil rights is not just an issue of Negro and Whites. Civil rights is not just an issue of Jew and Gentile. Civil rights is an issue of Catholic and Protestant. In the problem of civil rights we ought to remember it excludes Ku Klux Klanism, it excludes Gerald L. K. Smithism. We ought to remember that racial bigotry is eating at the very soul of America. This matter of civil liberties and injustices is not peculiar to just one region. We have it in Minneapolis. We have it bad, and we have been fighting against it, too, and not letting it grow. We have it in Minnesota. You have it in Cincinnati. This problem isn't just in Birmingham. This problem isn't just to be found in the South or in New York. This problem is to be found wherever there is a man who speaks out against his fellow-man who belongs to a different religion or belief.

This problem is to be found wherever there is a sign put up where it says they will not permit those of Jewish ancestry to buy a house. It is found wherever there are restrictive covenants. The viciousness of anti-Semitism is something that needs to be eradicated from the minds of American people and American thoughts. That is one of the problems of civil liberties—the viciousness of anti-Catholicism. And I speak as a Protestant, not as a Catholic. The viciousness of racial bigotry wherever it may be found is an abscess that is consuming the strength of our blood, our social progress, and we have got to fight it. I hope we will have the courage to fight it. But if we fail this time we will try again. If we fail the next time we will try again. It takes a long time for mankind to learn how to live decently. We have been at it now for thousands of years and look at us. But I think we will make it.

I want to conclude now by just ending up with the part that I started out with on the relationship between farm and labor, because I think that is one of the great lessons of our time. Isn't it wonderful to be elected to a public office, supported by labor, and know that you can go down to the halls of Congress and work for honest, legitimate, free enterprise, that you can go down to the halls of Congress and work for an honest, legitimate farm program? Isn't it wonderful to be a candidate endorsed by the great rank and file of labor and its membership and know that you can go down to Congress without any strings on you? What a wonderful thing!

I have not had one labor leader, not one, ask me to commit myself or sell my soul, on anything that I didn't believe in. Not one thing. Somebody will say, "Well, Humphrey, if you are against the Taft-Hartley Act the labor boys are telling you what to do." I say, "No, I am telling them what to do. I was against it even before they were. I was against it three months before it was enacted."

I think we will take care of the Taft-Hartley Act.

I am also for a farm program. You know, I have yet to find a single person in labor that has told me that I can't go down to Congress and vote for the farmers. Even if you did tell me I would say that I am sorry but that I cannot listen to you. But you didn't, and no one else has. I can go down there as a free citizen like I want to, free enough to make mistakes, and you will get after me. But I will be back and we will see whether you get after me or not. Don't worry about that. I am free enough to go down there and to know that you are not going to expect miracles from any one of us, and free enough to go down there and say what I honestly believe, that there is such a great inter-dependency in our economy that if any one group long profits at the expense of another we are in for trouble. I said this on six hundred and some Main Street corners of my state. I traveled 31,000 miles and made 692 speeches, and shook a lot of hands and ate a lot of hot dogs and hamburgers, all in the spirit of freedom, too. I will say that some of them were a bit expensive. I wouldn't want you to misinterpret that word "freedom."

If there is any program that you ought to be interested in it is the economic solvency, the economic prosperity of the man and woman who tills the soil. The farm price program hasn't kept the cost of living up. Let us get that clear right now. The record is crystal clear on that. Maybe you have to pay a few cents more for potatoes, and that is all, and you had to do that because the Government needed potatoes during the war for production of alcohol and the production of explosives. But I say that if the Government could make a deal with the munitions manufacturers, then when the war was all done they could make a deal with the potato farmer, too. They are pretty decent people, and I think it will work out to the satisfaction of all Americans.

Farm legislation deserves a careful attention on your part as does labor legislation. Any effort on the part of other groups to deprive the farmer of the gains he has made over the past years must be resisted just as vigorously as any legislative attack on the rights of workers, so that never again will the farmer of this nation become the plaything of speculators, so that he will be able to send his children to school, and so that his wife can have electricity as a result of the rural electrification program; so that she can have an electric iron, and so that he can have an electric milking machine, too. Those things are important—rural electrification, more of it! That is good for the Electrical Workers, too. You boys put that up, you know. It is good for the hardware man who sells the tools and the supplies. It is good for America.

Reforestation program for our country; land conservation; soil conservation programs; reclamation programs, farm credit, so that the farmer in this country can own his own farm in good and bad times. That is good for America, good for every one of us, and it is good for the corner drug store and good for the corner grocery and the filling station. I speak as a past master of the pill pushers, I graduated from a pharmacy school. My father is a druggist. I know where we got our business. We didn't get our business from the people that were touring the country from some other nation. We didn't get our business from just the people who happened occasionally to come through and wanted to look at the landscape. We were able to get our business from the people that worked out in the packing plant. There was an A. F. of L. union there, too. We were able to get our business from the farmer that was out on the countryside, and when he didn't have it we didn't have it.

I remember the days of relief. Sixty per cent of the people in my county were on relief, and the only reason we weren't on relief was because we made enough money off of those people who were on relief so that we didn't have to go on relief.

I am frank to tell you that I have learned a lot of economics in a few South Dakota dust farms. I don't have to read very many pamphlets on soil conservation. I got enough dirt in my eyes, ears, nose, and throat that I will remember it a long time.

I saw 25-cent wheat, and 10-cent corn, and 8-cent oats, and \$2-hogs, and I saw hungry people, and I saw unemployed labor, and I saw a broken American business economy, and I saw trouble as you did. That never again will happen in this nation if we set ourselves to the task of preventing it.

Now, somebody will say to me that this sounds idealistic. Idealism? Is it idealism to say somebody ought to have a minimum wage of at least 75 cents an hour? Is that idealism? Is it idealism to say that maybe an old grandpa can't live on \$36 a month old age pension? Is that idealism? Is it idealism to say a farmer ought not to be pushed down into the mire of depression and mortgage foreclosure? Is it idealism to say that workers ought to have a right to join together in an organization known as a union to defend their economic rights? Is it idealism to believe in this country we ought to search out the answers for peace?

Idealism, I want to tell you, is a basic minimum of realization—a basic minimum! Once we have accomplished that, once we have enacted the platform of the Democratic Party, every bit of it right down the line, once we have enacted that, then we can say we have a sort of social, economic, political floor for America from whence we can work. We have been in the basement too long. Let's get out of the basement and get up on the first floor!

Yes, my friends, let us get out of the ditches of reactionarism and climb on to the high plateau of progressive democracy, and our vision will lead us to a better world.

Thank you very much. It has been nice to be with you.

(A standing ovation was given Senator-Elect Humphrey.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: I can fully understand how you are moved deeply, because we listened to a most eloquent and moving speech this afternoon.

One thing of which labor and the friends of labor and the liberal forces of the country have been deeply conscious is the fact that we lacked a champion speaker, a champion fighter for the cause of labor and the liberal forces of the nation on the floor of the Senate. But I am sure that all of you are convinced that we have arrived at the time in the history of our nation when we are going to have one of the most convincing fighters and speakers on the floor of the United States Senate that we have ever had in the history of our nation. He has convinced us of that fact this afternoon.

Of course, we cannot at this time adequately measure the value of the service that he will render to the working people, the farmers, the average common man and woman, the masses of the people, the underprivileged and the down-trodden in America and throughout the world. What we need in the Congress of the United States is more men like Senator-Elect Humphrey.

I recall now while he is visiting us here that a year ago at San Francisco—I wasn't commissioned to do so—he didn't tell me to do so; his friends didn't ask me to do it—when I introduced him to you I nominated him for election as Senator of the United States from the State of Minnesota. I think that you nominated a very good man. Of course, the farmers, the laboring people, the progressive people, the people with vision, the people with understanding, in the State of Minnesota responded and elected him to the United States Senate.

I wish I could command language that would adequately express your feeling to him because of his visit here today, but I will in simple language just say to him that from the bottom of our hearts, sincerely, moved by feelings of emotion, we extend to him our thanks for his visit here and for the wonderful address he delivered.

(A standing ovation was given to Senator-Elect Humphrey.)

PRESIDENT GREEN: I want to inquire if there is a young man here in the audience by the name of George Rhodes who happens to come from Reading, Pennsylvania.

He is from the ranks of labor in the great Keystone state of the nation, that great State of Pennsylvania, where our representatives have been fighting to convert it from a reactionary commonwealth to a liberal labor supporting commonwealth and they have done a wonderful job. He was elected to the United States Congress by the laboring people of Reading, Pennsylvania.

Here he is, the new Congressman-Elect from Reading, Pennsylvania.

MR. GEORGE RHODES
(Congressman-Elect from
Reading, Pennsylvania)

President Green, visitors and guests, brother and sister delegates: This is a great day for organized labor. I have been very much encouraged with what has happened during the past year because of the work of the Federation especially in the field of politics. The report by Brother Meany and Brother Keenan on our work in political action indicates the great stride forward that has been made in this past year.

Two years ago, apathy and indifference made possible the election of a reactionary Congress. Today that apathy and indifference have very much disappeared. We can expect that politics is going to be something we are going to work at more and better in the future.

You know and I know what would have happened if reaction would have won at the polls this year. We knew that the Taft-Hartley Act was a delayed action bomb, that the real blast was to come after November 2nd. They were so sure of victory and no wonder. The newspaper columnists, the commentators and the pollsters did a pretty good job. To the everlasting credit of American labor and the American people, they were rebuked on November 2nd, but don't think that they didn't fool some people. If they weren't successful in fooling a lot of people, the defeat of reaction on November 2nd would have been much worse, in fact, they did such an excellent job in propaganda that they succeeded pretty much in fooling themselves.

Back in Reading, Pennsylvania it was pretty much the same story as all over this nation. Three weeks before election the Republican reactionaries hired a band for the victory parade. The night before election they had a big rehearsal. But on election night we had to take over their band. And back there was a clear-cut issue on Taft-Hartley, although we were campaigning on other issues that we knew other people had in common with us.

We knew that all over the country, like in Reading, they were very much concerned in putting across their reactionary candidates, but especially so in our community where we had an A. F. of L. man at the head of a ticket, a leading CIO man a candidate for the General Assembly. It was a clear-cut issue, and we saw in that vote pretty much the same

thing that happened throughout the nation. We saw a new political alignment taking place. Just as the Democratic National Convention chased out a lot of Dixiecrats, reactionaries, so did the line-up back home chase out of the Democratic party many of the conservatives. But to our cause came many workers who had in the past been Republican and made possible that great victory.

I want to pay tribute to the many unionists that made this victory possible in our community, and I know, in other parts of the land. Our labor league—the State Federation league, also the labor league at Washington, all helped much. So did Brother Harrison's committee. I want also to pay tribute to the Upholster's International Union and its President, Sal Hoffman, because of their efforts. We could have done a better job, and I think that same story is true throughout the nation. We do not want to cry about spilled milk, but we have to organize our forces for 1950. We should have carried Pennsylvania not only for 11 Congressmen but we should have gotten more Congressional seats, and we should have taken the Pennsylvania legislature out of the hands of the Pews and the Grundys. We have some weak spots to fill up. But I know we are prepared for that task ahead; that we are in politics to stay; and that in 1950 we are only going to continue and go forward to the job which we did so well in 1948.

Thank you.

PRESIDENT GREEN: We are going to have some good friends in Congress. I can see that.

COMMUNICATION

President Green read the following communication:

Washington, D. C.
William Green
Netherlands Plaza Hotel
Cincinnati

Will advise tonight approximate time of arrival Saturday.—Alben W. Barkley, U.S.S.

ESCORT COMMITTEE

The following were appointed a committee to escort Vice President Alben W. Barkley: George M. Harrison, Charles J. MacGowan, Edward Weyler, Lawrence P. Lindelof and Martin P. Durkin.

PRESIDENT GREEN: The Chair recognizes Chairman Woll of the Committee on Resolutions.

SPECIAL ORDER OF BUSINESS

CHAIRMAN WOLL: The Committee on

Official Year Book

OF THE

Minnesota State Federation of Labor

*History of the Labor Movement
of Minnesota*

CONTAINING A COMPLETE LIST OF ALL
TRADE UNIONS IN THE STATE OF MINNE-
SOTA AND ALL INTERNATIONAL ORGAN-
IZATIONS AFFILIATED WITH THE AMER-
ICAN FEDERATION OF LABOR, WITH THE
NAMES AND ADDRESSES OF SECRETARIES.

1949

The "YEAR BOOK" is owned and controlled by the MINNE-
SOTA STATE FEDERATION OF LABOR and published under
direction of its officers and Executive Council.

EXECUTIVE OFFICES: 416 Auditorium Street

St. Paul 2, Minn.



Preface

THE PURPOSE of the publication of this Year Book is to present reliable information in regard to the labor movement in Minnesota, to tell something of its early history and the struggle through which it has passed to reach the position it occupies in the great social and economic movement of the times. The aim has been to have the book contain a complete list of the trade unions in Minnesota. Some unions may be omitted, and if any have been, it is due either to oversight or to the fact that the Secretary-Treasurer was without knowledge of their existence. The directory is published for the convenience of those having business relations with the trade unions of Minnesota.

In addition, various articles dealing with the American Federation of Labor coming from various sources, addresses delivered on subjects that relate to the many activities of the labor movement will be found. They are included, both to preserve them as historical documents, and for the information and education of the membership of our trade unions, as well as the general public, as we believe they contain knowledge and information which is worthwhile.

It is the purpose of this publication to set forth these various matters from year to year so that not only the members of the unions but the general public may have a better conception of the aims and objects and policies of this movement.

GEO. W. LAWSON,

Secretary.



One of the addresses delivered to the 1948 convention of the American Federation of Labor that aroused considerable interest and was listened to with great attention was delivered by Senator-elect Hubert Humphrey of Minnesota. It was natural that the delegates to this convention would be interested in hearing and seeing the candidate who defeated Senator Joseph A. Ball in whose defeat the American Federation of Labor throughout the nation was vitally interested. We are printing Senator Humphrey's address as it was delivered to the delegates and visitors to the convention:

Thank you very much, President Green.

I just had my first opportunity to meet a distinguished gentleman in the service of our country, Mr. Averell Harriman. I looked forward to it a long time.

I don't suppose any newcomer to the halls of Congress has had a more cordial greeting coming to this State of milk and honey and four leaf clovers than I had when I was met out here in the lobby of this fine hotel by the President of our own State Federation of Labor, Mr. Olson, and by Mr. Tobin, that grand gentleman of the International Teamsters, and Mr. Petrillo of the Musicians organization and other distinguished men who were here to say hello. I have never been escorted by so many people to one room in my life. I have watched men in court houses and city halls that had a certain number of men in blue coats escort them to small rooms, but no amount of escorting was ever done so well or so cordially as that which was mine today. Thank you, thank you very much.

Now, this is my vacation period. I have been telling Mrs. Humphrey for nigh onto five years that sooner or later I was going to take a vacation so she said the best way that we could possibly take it was for her to stay home so she wouldn't have to be bothered with me for a while and me to run around and do just what I wanted to do. That's what we have been doing. I told Mr. Dubinsky that I went up to New York last Tuesday just to make sure that the International Lady Garment Worker's union was getting along all right while the boss was out of town. I can report to him that the dues are coming in well. The membership is thoroughly loyal. I understand that two or three of them are back to work since election day, November 2nd, which is, of course, a great accomplishment.

I have been down in Washington, D. C., house hunting and I want the delegates to this honorable body and this great organization to know that after five days of house hunting, you see a Senator-Elect who is going to be a devil on wheels when it comes to housing, believe me.

I don't know what has happened to this country. Because

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we have four children is no reason people shouldn't want us to have a house. Every place I go they say, "We have two-bedroom houses, we have three-bedroom houses." And I say, "No, I need a four-bedroom house now, and I'm only 37 years old, and I give you no guarantee for the future."

This is a great day for optimism and confidence. I don't know how Mr. Green and Mr. Tobin and Mr. Petrillo and the rest of these people feel about it, but I have a little confidence that the population is going to go right ahead, see.

Really, there is so much on my heart and so much to say that I scarcely know where to start. I told some of my friends that I brought a manuscript along. This is unusual. I suppose it is almost a sign of weakness, maybe a sign of mental fatigue, but I did want to be prepared to say what was on my heart and to talk to my friends, because I can honestly say I have never had finer friends who have asked less from me and who have given more to me than my friends in the American Federation of Labor, and I want to thank you.

I was trying to think just how we might get going, and I thought I had better tell you about the visit of Mr. Green, your great President, to the Twin Cities area. He spoke at our big auditorium in Minneapolis and gave one of the most brilliant speeches of this entire campaign. I am convinced that the people of Minnesota were pleased and surprised that here, one of the great statesmen of the labor movement of this world, spoke out to the people of Minnesota, not just about the issues of labor, but spoke to them in a spirit of understanding, with information, with competence, with intelligent understanding, of the problems of the people on the farms in that great Midwestern state.

And, Mr. Green, I want you to know that wherever I went in Minnesota—and believe me, I went a lot of places—I found people saying that they were tremendously pleased, and that they were inspired by your words the evening that you spoke in the Auditorium in behalf of my candidacy, the candidacy of the President of the United States, and of the liberal Democratic Congressmen that you and your organization did so much to help elect. God bless you! Boy, that was good.

You will permit me, won't you, to be just a little provincial and tell you how much I appreciated the work of Mr. Olson, our State President, Mr. Lawson, our State Secretary of the Federation of Labor, and every one of the union officers, all of the business agents, and of the rank and file. I think I can honestly say that we in Minnesota will take a back seat for no one when it came to the teamwork that was so vital to winning this election, a teamwork, if you please, between labor, businessman, and farmer, where our friends in labor took their message not just to the union halls. It doesn't take too much courage to speak to the fellow workers in the union halls. Or, let me say, even too much in-

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formation, because they already have the information by being a member of the organization. But we concentrated our fire and we concentrated our information and our energy and our time on the Main Streets of Minnesota. We let the Republican Party have Wall Street, and we took Main Street, and we got the vote.

I might say, too, that the Taft-Hartley Act was a campaign issue. My opponent in this election said that there were just two campaign issues—the Taft-Hartley Act and OPA. Apparently he didn't know that OPA was dead, and he apparently did not know that Taft-Hartley soon would be dead.

I think this ought to go down into the record, at least in the memory of every good citizen in this nation, that in a state that is predominantly agricultural, in a state that prides itself upon an intelligent citizenry, upon a decent, wholesome citizenry, that where the Taft-Hartley Act was made an issue of the campaign, where it was hotly debated, where one of those that had been the champion of the Act went up and down the state with every weapon at his command and told thousands and thousands of people, almost 3,000,000 people in our community, the importance of that Act as he saw it, and that it was the issue upon which this election should be decided, that not only did the folks in the cities turn that kind of argument aside, but put it down, ladies and gentlemen, that only 10 counties out of 87 counties cast a vote in favor of the candidates that were for Taft-Hartley. Ten out of eighty-seven. That's all!

The men and the women that were out on our farms—and, listen, we have good farms, almost as good as they have in Ohio and Kentucky. We have wonderful farm people. And their sons and daughters have gone into the cities as sons and daughters from all farm families have gone into the cities, and the young men and women in the unions wrote letters home to their parents of the farm, to their brothers and their sisters on the farms, and in the garages and the filling stations. We had a letter-writing campaign.

Mr. Harriman, they tell me it worked with America and Italy in the elections. I was told that one of the great weapons that we had in winning those Italian elections for freedom and democracy was the fact that Italian-Americans in this beloved nation of ours took time out to send a letter to their kinfolk, to their relatives, beyond the sea, and told the story of American democracy, and told the story of the value of freedom.

Well, I'm happy to say that we followed suit. Hundreds upon hundreds of our young men and women, and our older men and women, in the unions, took time out to sit down around the family table, or desk, or somewhere in the shop, and to pen a little postal card or a letter, and to send it out into the country-side to their brothers and their sisters, their aunts and their uncles, their mothers and their fathers, and told them the story of the relation-

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ship between labor and the farm, told them the story of the economic dependence between a worker in a shop and a factory and a man out on the farm tilling the soil to produce the goods that are so necessary for the well-being of this nation.

If this election, my friends, told us one thing, it was that we don't need to get up here and boast about labor did this, and that the Democratic Party did this, and that this fellow did that, and so on. I'll tell you what this election was. This election was the greatest testimonial to freedom and to free people and freedom of thought and freedom of assembly and the freedom of the ballot that the world has ever known—the greatest testimonial to freedom!

Good grief, the newspapers were loaded! You talk about an Iron Curtain. Well, I grant you that the Iron Curtain is rough, and believe me, its something that I hope that we can pierce with the philosophy of freedom. But I also want to point out to you that the "paper curtain" can be almost equally difficult when it comes to blocking out what is impartial, objective information.

Why, many people were just getting ready to move in, you know, down around Capitol Hill. I was out with a real estate agent just the other day that told me that a certain person from New York made a down payment on a house that was now available for the Senator-Elect from Minnesota.

Actually, the story was told so often of the inevitable victory of Republicans, the story was told so often that the election was all over, that even the people who thought up the darned-fool story began to believe it.

But the people didn't. The people said, "Let's think this one out. Let's talk about this a little bit. Maybe let's pray about it a little bit, too, because this world is in trouble. Let's think about who our friends are. Let's think about the kind of America we want."

And in the process of that thought, I say to you that this election was on the basis of principle, not just personality. This election was won on the basis of a platform, clear-cut issues, not glib generalities. This election was won because working people had learned the cruel lesson of 1946.

Just as I said to you good folks in San Francisco, in November of 1946 you went fishing, and believe me, you almost turned out to be a sucker for two years afterwards.

In 1948 you put away the vacation clothes early. You put up the fishing tackle and put it back in the cupboard. You even locked up the canoe and the boat and put down the gun and didn't even go hunting. You went precinct working. You went block by block. You registered the voters. You talked to them. You got out little pamphlets, few as we had. You were on the

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radio. You went out and shook hands with them. You showed them that we, too, are people.

And, isn't it wonderful, people that you and I were often told would never vote our way, would never vote for a labor-endorsed candidate, never had anything in common with labor—what did they do? They put out their hand of fellowship and they said to the people in the shops, and the factories, and the cities, these good farm people said, "Join with me, John. We are going to the ballot box and we are going to re-elect the President of the United States and we are going to give him a Congress that will work with him and we are going to tell the people of the United States that we want action."

That's what I am here to talk to you about—action, performance.

You know I thought of a story on the way coming down here that I want to inject right now.

Some of the opponents, the reactionaries, the people who have little faith and who have lost their faith in democracy—I think some of these people have learned a lesson.

I think this lesson is well described by a story I heard about some years ago. There was a traveling salesman. This was before the days of the airplane or the modern train. I think this driver, however, of the coach was a member of the Teamsters. I didn't check into the story but I am quite positive he must have been, knowing how well they can organize.

The salesman got into this stage coach and he was driving across the countryside sitting back there jumping over the roads. The driver was very adept with the whip. As they were going along the driver was taking the whip out, you know, and, bang, he would take a rose right off the side of the road. A little later he would take the whip and, bang, a pebble would fly up in the air. A little later there would be a bird over on the fence and, bang, he would just take the tail-feathers right off him.

The salesman looked up at that driver and said, "You are pretty good."

"Oh," he said, "I have been doing this for years."

Finally they came along and there was a hornet's nest hanging from a tree.

Oh, boy, the salesman pulled the blinds down of the stage coach, locked the door good and tight. Here was the driver sitting up there, clearly exposed. The salesman said, "Oh, this fellow is really going to learn his lesson."

So the salesman was sitting there in the stage coach and he was patiently waiting. He was looking up at the driver and he wanted to be sure that this driver would take that whip out, you

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know, and bang at the hornet's nest. But, so help me, the driver drove right on by, no whip, no nothing. He just drove right on by. About five minutes later the salesman said to the driver, "Mr. Driver, look, I saw what you did to that rose, I saw what you did to that pebble, I saw you take the tail-feathers out of a sparrow," he said, "what is the matter with you? Why didn't you take that whip out and crack that hornet's nest?"

He said, "Oh, no, brother. They're organized."

Now, I think that's a great lesson. They're organized. And when we stay organized, when we stay united, when we have a common bond and understanding and an appreciation of each other's problems, nobody is going to come around with that cracking whip. Yes, individually, they will pick you off one at a time. That is what the farmers were worried about this last time. They thought they were going to get a Taft-Hartley Act, too, that's what the cooperative movement was worried about. They thought that next time they might be the next victim of a new kind of Taft-Hartley Act. So they didn't sit around like the sparrow and the pebble and the rose. They joined themselves into a hornet's nest.

You will notice that the driver passed them by, and the driver is no longer on Capitol Hill. The drivers of the 80th Congress are out and the 81st Congress is in, at least it will soon be in on the third day of January. And, I say to this fine assemblage of good people that the 81st Congress is going to be a Congress that represents every American citizen, not just some—every single citizen in this country. It is going to be a Congress, I know, that will fulfill its promises. It will be a Congress that will support the militant, challenging program of President Truman. It will be a Congress that will give him unstinting support in every liberal piece of legislation that he presents to it.

I said something about the forces that directed that last Congress, the 80th Congress. You have heard so much politics, I suppose a person ought not to talk about them, but, after all, I said to you in San Francisco a year ago that the time to start politics is right away. Elections are up every two years and anybody who goes to sleep just because he has won an election is surely going to oversleep the next one and he won't be there when the votes are counted.

I was pleased to see that the Political Education organization of the A. F. of L. is going ahead and not resting on its laurels. I was pleased to see that we have learned the lesson of the importance of continuing political action.

I am grateful for a six-year term. It is wonderful, I want to tell you. I had to run every two years as mayor in my city, and that is hard work, believe me it is. But I would like to point out to you that there are elections coming up two years from now and already the plans are under way on the part of the opposi-

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tion to overturn the political applecart. Already they are starting to reorganize their forces. They have been put into retreat but they have not been thoroughly defeated, when the real estate lobby, my friends, meets in New York two weeks after the election to plan its program. You may want to bask in the sunshine of your victory. You may want to say: "Isn't it wonderful?" But I warn you and I don't want to be accused of being a pollster—I am not a prophet. I have never taken a sample poll in my life. I come to you with clean hands. But I just want to warn you that history does repeat itself, particularly if we do not learn from the lessons of history.

I have been trying to think about how we might term the new era of politics. I have said some things here that I hope will stay with you quite a while. I say this was a great personal triumph for the President of the United States. When some of us didn't have faith, he had it. When some of us didn't have courage, he had it. When some of us thought he couldn't win he said, "I will." At least he was the kind of person that was willing to carry the fight, and isn't it wonderful to live in a country where they still like champions and they still like fighters.

There were some great speeches given in that campaign—the speeches, you know, of the team, team, team; love, love, love. I heard that one—Mr. Ickes' speech. But there were some other great speeches given, too,—the speeches where the President of the United States talked on the specific issues, the speeches where the President of the United States pledged to the people of organized labor the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act; the speeches where the President of the United States pledged a minimum wage that was adequate and decent and not the kind of a miserably kind of a fair labor standards act wage that we have today and which means little or nothing; speeches where the people of this country know that a political party and the forces that make up the political party pledged effective action in a host of fields. This election was won on the basis of issues, and we better remember it right down the line.

One of the great issues of our time, one of the greatest issues of all times, is foreign policy. It surely is just a little bit—what should I say?—it may be foolish on my part to talk about foreign policy after you have had the wonderful opportunity that has been yours to listen to Mr. Harriman. But I suppose I will now have to know something about foreign policy. I have tried to over the years in some little way. I have long been interested in it and I know that it is a great program, it is a great issue of our time.

We do not just want peace. We want peace with liberty. We want peace with freedom, we want peace with hope. We are not the kind of a people, and I hope the world has caught on by now that we are not the kind of a people that is going to Berchtesgaden or Munich. We are not the kind of a people that

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will just back up and give away all the principles upon which this country has been founded and dedicated.

I think there are some things in the field of foreign policy that we could do. I have been a supporter of the Marshall program. I want to see the voice of America carried to the world. Believe me a country that can sell tomato soup ought to be able to sell democracy to the people who are hungry for spiritual freedom.

Never in the history of the world have we had a commodity so good and so much desired, and the fact that we haven't sold it better than we have is only sort of a testimonial to our ineptness as political salesmen. One of the greatest forces this world has is the democratic forces of labor. I would say that on the continent of Europe the cooperative movement, and the labor movement are the greatest social democratic forces of Europe, the people who are liberal and progressive in their political thinking but who don't go down the slavish line of regimentation for Communism. Let's call it what it is. There are great ranks of people in Europe that have joined themselves together in unions and groups and they are hungry for the chance that we have in this nation.

I want to say that I think one of the greatest things that this country could do to prove our good faith is to establish in the great State Department of ours an assistant secretary post filled by a member of organized labor who comes from the rank and file of our membership. Why? Because it will revolutionize our policy? Oh, no, I don't think it will necessarily do that. Because it will maybe bring peace tomorrow? I don't think it will do that. But because it is now crystal clear to the world that labor in America is an essential factor in our economic, political and social life, and believe me, it also ought to be clear to every American that Labor in the rest of the world, the decent democratic forces of labor—one of the hopes that they have is to be able to keep a peaceful world. I want direct communication with them. I want the kind of understanding that comes only when people have been in labor. I will say very candidly that a person who hasn't grown up with the labor movement, one that hasn't been on the picket line, one that hasn't known the struggle and strain and sorrow that it has taken to build labor, can never understand it. You just can't.

You can read all the text books until you are blue in the face. You can be filled with do-goodism. You can have the love of humanity in your heart until its bulging, but until you have been a part of it, until it has been a part of you, and until it is a part of your very being you cannot understand it.

I wish that I could understand it better, but I recognize my limitations, and I know if we had in our State Department, for example, that kind of a post, it would help us in our relations. At least, I feel that way. It is worth thinking about. I don't sup-

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pose it will be adopted overnight, or anything—I am not so foolish as that—but I believe we ought to have a few new ideas. I honestly believe that we could make headway at a more definite and rapid pace than we are at the present time if we had such a post.

I know we have done much. We have labor members like Boris Shishkin here who is working with Mr. Harriman. He is the Labor Consultant. He is the one that is speaking for American labor, interpreting the voice of labor in Europe. What a wonderful thing! It is good to see him, too. He is a good friend of mine, and I know he is doing a great job. I know Mr. Harriman feels he is doing a great job. We need more of it—not just a little bit.

I said something about the minimum wage law. Now let me say a few other things here. I said a year ago in San Francisco to two great conventions—the Teamsters and the A. F. of L. at its 66th Convention,—that labor must take a broad view. I don't believe there is very much room in America for a sectarian type of view. I think the election has proven that there is a community of interest that goes far beyond any one particular group. In other words, we don't need to judge each other class by class,—the little class, and the middle class, and the big class, and so on down the line. We can better judge ourselves by the decent people that believe in the present way of life and the people that do not. That is the cleavage that is in the world today and we had better keep that cleavage and adjust ourselves on that basis.

It seems to me, now, that labor has got its great opportunity. It didn't win this election alone. We know that. It was part of a team. I think Mr. Olson, our State President, would agree that in our state the farmers had about as much to do with winning the election as anyone else, and I think we found out after looking over the votes of the cities of five and ten thousand population, that a lot of druggists, filling station operators, and grocers had just about the same ideas as the steam fitters and the sheet metal workers and the teamsters. They seemed to have a community of interest.

All right, then labor must be the advocate of a great program—not just the repeal of the Taft-Hartley Act, but a great embracing, comprehensive program. What kind? Well, to work with the Party that won this election, or at least that was given the privilege of serving the people as a majority Party in this country—to work with that Party now.

I know there are some of you in the room who say, "Well, we can't tie up too close to a political party." But I want to tell you something. Every time you don't somebody comes around and ties you up. Every time! Don't misunderstand me, I don't say you have to come in lock, stock, and barrel. I still believe that it is good to be able to have an independence of action, to act as your conscience sees fit in American politics. You don't

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need to sell your soul, nor will you, to any political party. You can say, "Well, we will be the balance."

Don't get too far away so when we need a little balance you are not there. Be close at hand. And remember sometimes the weather gets a little rough and we may arrive an hour late. Be very close.

Now, I said that the Party platform pledged the extension of Social Security. The field of Social Security is the interest of organized labor and of all the rest of the people of America, white-collared workers, farmers,—it doesn't make any difference who they are. It is of great interest to America. Isn't it crystal clear that in these elections the people wanted something done about Social Security except what was being done? The Republican Party was doing something about Social Security. They were starving it to death. They were slowly but surely cutting the very flesh off the bones.

You remember one of the reports that was presented. The Gearhart resolution took about a million men and women out of the coverage of Social Security. Do you think the people of America don't know that? They maybe didn't know who Gearhart was, but the people in California did, so he isn't going back to Congress. That is all that is important on that!

But I tell you that the millions of people that went to the polls back on November 2nd said, "Listen, we don't want to stop the program of Social Security. We want to go ahead with it." They don't want the millennium tomorrow. There isn't one American in a million that expects to have a Utopia tomorrow. We wouldn't want it even if we could have it. It wouldn't be any fun. We wouldn't have anything to gripe about. What we want is a chance to work towards a better America.

We want to know that each year we can make a little progress. We want to know that we can push ahead a few feet each year, even if we do get shoved back a few inches. That is what I am talking about, and I want to say to my friends who are going to serve with us in the Congress—I am a new one, and I am only talking about the young ones now—the first-termers—I think that I can hear a voice from the people of America that says, "Listen, Democratic Party, we intend that the old people of America shall be treated as human beings and that they shall be given an adequate pension for their basic human needs." I think they want that. And I think they want the kind of a friendly government that will see to it that the workers in their unions go ahead on their own great program of Social Security and of human welfare and do everything to encourage it and nothing to hamper it.

I think the people of this country are interested in the kind of unemployment compensation that will work for the needs of our people, aid to dependent children. Now, that doesn't have to

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be a labor program. That is a program of the people of America, and the labor movement of this country can endear itself to the hearts of millions of American people by championing that cause, pointing out to the people that are depressed, and the people that are unemployed,—those few that we have—to the people that are on relief, to the people that are in need, to the children that need help that the arm of American labor is an arm of humanitarianism and of love and understanding. Yes, it is an arm with a clenched fist when it needs to fight for its rights, but it can be an arm that will embrace the people of this nation, as well, in a spirit of affection, and association, and fellowship.

Well, I said something about the housing problem, and I have a little note here. I want to read this. It is an American tragedy that this nation, with all of its great wealth, cannot provide decent homes for the people. To the veterans who are doubling up with relatives—and to the relatives—there is no greater need. For the millions of American workers still living in trailer camps, organized labor must write a script that members of the Congress cannot ignore for an instant.

The National Association of Home Builders had better limit their efforts to building houses and not to blocking or trying to block legislation to put a roof over every citizen. I know very few young men who are looking for hand-outs, I got so darned sick and tired in this election, hearing some hide-binder running around talking as if we wanted a free ride. I never wanted a free ride in my life, and I don't intend to ask for one.

I think I personally represent the thinking of millions of young men and women in this country who don't want anything handed to them on a platter. We are perfectly willing to work for it. All we want is the opportunity. All we want is to be sure that this America of ours is as free to the interplay of economic forces just as much in this year 1948 as it was in the year 1895, 1896, '97, '98 and in the year 1922, '23, and '24. That is all we want,—the same opportunity. We want the Congress of the United States that saw fit in times of emergency to build barracks, that can see fit in times of emergency to put men in uniform,—we want the same Congress that sees fit to harness the industry of this nation and labor of this nation in times of emergency to clearly understand that the people of America want legislation that will at least facilitate and make more readily available the opportunity of home ownership and of rental units in housing for every American family. This is a must. We are not going to horse around with it.

Now, I want to give a charge to my friends in the labor movement. Will you think up new ideas on this? We are a little bit exhausted on the "idea" stage. We have had the Wagner-Ellender-Taft legislation. It is good, basic, fundamental, but it is just a beginning. It isn't enough. You can't win wars with the weapons of the days of the Revolution. You can't lick the

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housing problem by just talking about things as they come up. Think up new ideas. Your sons and daughters need places, too.

Come to the Congress with a plan. The Real Estate Board isn't the only one, you know, that can get in to Congress. They were rejected on November 2nd. The welcome mat is out for the building trades. It is right there. The hinges have been greased. The doorbell works, and some of us will be there to greet you and offer you all the courtesies of the house. But don't just come for a visit. Come prepared to advise and consult, to plan, and to achieve. Give us help. Give us the men that will give us the help which you are so capable of giving.

I know that you have the ideas that will work!

Well, I said something about tax legislation. I think you realize that taxes is an important question. I am not going into it. I just want to say that there was a tax bill passed by the 80th Congress, and the author of that rich man's tax bill undertook to give aid and comfort to my opponent in the recent election. I call it the horse-and-rabbit tax bill—50-50. You know, the horse is what some people get, and the rabbit is for the others. Sometimes the rabbit was a little elusive. You could hardly see it.

Well, the author of that tax bill undertook to give political aid and comfort to my opponent in the recent election. He was not in danger in his own Congressional District. Of course, the people there would re-elect him, so he said, and the newspapers said. So this elder statesman of the party, the GOP reactionary wing, decided all at once that he would come to the defense of the Senator,—the former Senator of the State of Minnesota. So he traveled up and down the State, county to county, and carried the message of the Knutson tax bill, carried the message of the importance of the tax bill, carried the message of how this government of ours was just wasting money—all this terrible waste. And while he was out saving Rome, or something, there was a young man on a farm in Minnesota by the name of Fred Marshall that had never been in politics in his life, and who was just a good, God-fearing, decent, understanding, intelligent, respected American citizen who had been sick and tired of the kind of representatives that come out of the sixth Congressional District in the State of Minnesota. So on November 3rd—after they got over the shock, after they were able to clear away all the secret polls, and all the election promises, and they had been able to make over the newspaper headlines, after they had all the smoke screens and the trouble and the rubble of the election out of the way—the author, the Chairman of the House Committee on Ways and Means was permanently retired from the House of Representatives and was supplanted by a citizen and a man that is going to make an outstanding record for liberal democracy in the halls of Congress.

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Speaking of taxation, I just want to pay my respects to Mr. Matthew Woll and Mr. Arthur Elder. I think Mr. Woll was the only member of that Magill Special Tax Study Committee, which was primarily made up of people on the other side of the so-called political and economic fence—I think there were some fifty special relief provisions that were studied and recommended by that special committee, and it is to the eternal credit of Matthew Woll, the Vice President of the American Federation of Labor, ably assisted by Mr. Arthur Elder of the American Federation of Teachers, that they filed a sizzling dissent which fully exposed the loopholes that were planned and ultimately adopted. I think that organized labor and the American people owe a particular debt of gratitude to Mr. Elder and Mr. Woll for their magnificent contribution in reporting to the American people the scheming and of the loopholes that were planned.

Yes, we want federal aid to education, and I don't mind telling you that we want to see things done to improve the schools of this nation. How many of us in this room know that there were more men rejected for military service in World War II because of their lack of a fourth grade education than all the men who were involved in the combat theatre zones of the Pacific. More men rejected because of their lack of education; than the total number of men that were used in the combat areas of the Pacific.

American education isn't just something now that we can talk about for the peace of this country. American education is a vital weapon of our American national defense. The education of our people is vital to our productivity. It is vital to our health, it is vital to our salvation, and it is vital to the future of American democracy.

The labor movement of this country pioneered in public education. Labor carried the cross for public education for better than half a century, and I call upon my friends in labor to lead the fight in their local communities on the state level, and in the halls of Congress, for America to go forward with the greatest program of public education the world has ever known.

Yes, there are other things. We have almost quit talking about atomic energy, but we want to keep on with that, too. I don't want any playboys getting hold of that pill, nor any of the exploiters. The harnessing of atomic power is the result of the most daring and imaginative expenditure of money and scientific talent. Yet one prominent presidential candidate, who I doubt will run again, referred to the dangers of the cold, dead hand of government upon progress in the atomic field in one of his speeches.

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the atomic energy of this country, that the atomic energy field should be farmed out to somebody. Now, it is all right to farm out jet propulsion. It is all right maybe to farm out the small arms ammunition. I suppose we can even farm out a few block busters, but pray God we never farm out atomic energy. No! That belongs to the people of this country and it belongs under civilian control, and I remind you to keep your eye on it, because in atomic energy and its peacetime uses are some of the greatest developments that the world has ever known. In its wartime uses if we ever need it again it needs to be guarded and perfected with all the security measures that this country can possibly devise. It can't be left open to what we call the free market. No free market on atomic energy at this date!

Well, some of you were at Philadelphia when I participated in a national convention, and what a great historic occasion it was, and what an opportunity. Many things were said about that. Some people didn't like it, but I would remind some of my friends that some people didn't even like the Sermon on the Mount. Some people didn't even like the Ten Commandments. Some people didn't like the Sermon on the Mount enough, didn't like the Ten Commandments, didn't like the Gettysburg address and some of them didn't like the Declaration of Independence. So help me God, if we have got to wait until we have unanimity before we can act then I can say that there will be no action in democracy.

Yes, I believe in civil rights. I believe in them because they are morally right, and I will continue to believe in it. I know it isn't easy. I know that the problem of civil rights is basically a problem of human understanding, and I know also that our democracy will not long survive unless we know how to live together as men and women. It is kind of foolish, isn't it, and it sounds a little bit hypocritical when we want to build a brotherhood of man in the world when we can't even get the brotherhood of man in America. I say that we have got to have moral armor, moral armor that is so strong and so irresistible that no one can attack us. That is part of our weapon. That is one of our secret weapons of our democracy, our moral strength; not just our material strength.

You can build battleships and you can build air groups and you can build an army. You can build the greatest military machine that the world has ever known, but I remind every American citizen that the strength of this nation is basically in its integrity, its decency and its honesty, and, let me say, the wholesomeness of the American people. That is our basic strength.

I know it isn't easy. It isn't easy to live like a Christian, either. It isn't easy to follow the rules and the laws of Judaism. It isn't easy to follow the law of any faith, but I want to tell you the law is the truth. The truth either will be abided by, and therefore

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we will have our triumph, or it shall be denied and therefore we will have our disaster.

You can't deny the truth. You may want to escape it, but you can't deny it. And I only hope that we will take from the great Declaration of Independence the challenge that is ours of democracy, that there shall be equality of opportunity, that man is endowed with certain inalienable rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, that there is an equality of mankind.

I say we can't do it tomorrow morning or the next day, but it is a challenge of democracy. It is a part of the unfinished business of this country and of civilization, and as long as there is inequality in this nation there is still work to do. I plead with my friends in labor that more people today are interested in the spiritual blessing of living as they see a crazy world practically killing itself off, than they are in some of the material gains of living.

Believe it or not, there is a spiritual renaissance in the world. People are worried. They don't know whether it is worthwhile to build all these great buildings. They are not sure whether it is worthwhile to go ahead and put their labor and money and talents and energy into material productivity, because they say that maybe it will be all over because man hasn't learned how to live with men.

Our science of technological engineers has gotten way ahead of our science of human engineers, and there are a whole lot of people in this world that are concerned. They are concerned enough to get on their knees on the Sabbath and pray. They are concerned enough to write their sons and daughters letters and to tell them that they have to learn the art of human fellowship. I hope that the sons in labor will recognize that when you have been the most magnificent, when your cause has received the greatest support, when you have really spoken the minds of the people, that when you represent the people of the world, is when you speak out on these great philosophical and spiritual subjects, when you speak out in terms of the morality of men and the decency of people, and you will find out that there will be millions who follow.

I plead with my friends in the other parts of America to remember that civil rights is not just an issue of Negro and Whites. Civil rights is not just an issue of Jew and Gentile. Civil rights is not an issue of Catholic and Protestant. In the problem of civil rights we ought to remember it excludes Ku Klux Klanism, it excludes Gerald L. K. Smithism. We ought to remember that racial bigotry is eating at the very soul of America. This matter of civil liberties and injustices is not peculiar to just one region. We have it in Minneapolis. We have it bad, and we have been fighting against it, too, and not letting it grow. We have it in Minnesota. You have it in Cincinnati. This problem isn't just in Birmingham.

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This problem isn't just to be found in the South or in New York. This problem is to be found wherever there is a man who speaks out against his fellowman who belongs to a different religion or belief.

This problem is to be found wherever there is a sign put up where it says they will not permit those of Jewish ancestry to buy a house. It is found wherever there are restrictive covenants. The viciousness of anti-Semitism is something that needs to be eradicated from the minds of American people and American thoughts. That is one of the problems of civil liberties—the viciousness of anti-Catholicism. And I speak as a Protestant, not as a Catholic. The viciousness of racial bigotry wherever it may be found is an abscess that is consuming the strength of our blood, our social progress, and we have got to fight it. I hope we will have the courage to fight it. But if we fail this time we will try again. If we fail next time we will try again. It takes a long time for mankind to learn how to live decently. We have been at it now for thousands of years and look at us. But I think we will make it.

I want to conclude now by just ending up with the part that I started out with on the relationship between farm and labor, because I think that is one of the great lessons of our time. Isn't it wonderful to be elected to a public office, supported by labor, and know that you can go down to the halls of Congress and work for honest, legitimate, free enterprise, that you can go down to the halls of Congress and work for an honest, legitimate farm program? Isn't it wonderful to be a candidate endorsed by the great rank and file of labor and its membership and know that you can go down to Congress without any strings on you? What a wonderful thing!

I have not had one labor leader, not one, ask me to commit myself or sell my soul on anything that I didn't believe in. Not one thing. Somebody will say, "Well, Humphrey, if you are against the Taft-Hartley Act the labor boys are telling you what to do." I say, "No, I am telling them what to do. I was against it even before they were. I was against it three months before it was enacted."

I think we will take care of the Taft-Hartley Act.

I am also for a farm program. You know, I have yet to find a single person in labor that has told me that I can't go down to Congress and vote for the farmers. Even if you did tell me I would say that I am sorry but that I cannot listen to you. But you didn't, and no one else has. I can go down there as a free citizen like I want to, free enough to make mistakes, and you will get after me. But I will be back and we will see whether you get after me or not. Don't worry about that. I am free enough to go down there and to know that you are not going to expect miracles from any one of us, and free enough to go down there and say

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what I honestly believe, that there is such a great inter-dependency in our economy that if any one group long profits at the expense of another we are in for trouble. I said this on six hundred and some Main Street corners of my state. I traveled 31,000 miles and made 692 speeches, and shook a lot of hands and ate a lot of hot dogs and hamburgers, all in the spirit of freedom, too. I will say that some of them were a bit expensive. I wouldn't want you to misinterpret that word "freedom."

If there is any program that you ought to be interested in it is the economic solvency, the economic prosperity of the man and woman who tills the soil. The farm price program hasn't kept the cost of living up. Let us get that clear right now. The record is crystal clear on that. Maybe you have to pay a few cents more for potatoes, and that is all, and you had to do that because the Government needed potatoes during the war for production of alcohol and the production of explosives. But I say that if the Government could make a deal with the munitions manufacturers, then when the war was all done they could make a deal with the potato farmer, too. They are pretty decent people, and I think it will work out to the satisfaction of all Americans.

Farm legislation deserves as careful attention on your part as does labor legislation. Any effort on the part of other groups to deprive the farmer of the gains he has made over the past years must be resisted just as vigorously as any legislative attack on the rights of workers, so that never again will the farmer of this nation become the plaything of speculators, so that he will be able to send his children to school, and so that his wife can have electricity as a result of the rural electrification program; so that she can have an electric iron, and so that he can have an electric milking machine, too. Those things are important—rural electrification, more of it! That is good for the Electrical Workers, too. You boys put that up, you know. It is good for the hardware man who sells the tools and the supplies. It is good for America.

Reforestation program for our country; land conservation; soil conservation programs; reclamation programs, farm credit, so that the farmer in this country can own his own farm in good and bad times. That is good for America, good for every one of us, and it is good for the corner drug store and good for the corner grocery and the filling station. I speak as a past master of the pill pushers, I graduated from a pharmacy school. My father is a druggist. I know where we got our business. We didn't get our business from the people that were touring the country from some other nation. We didn't get our business from just the people who happened occasionally to come through and wanted to look at the landscape. We were able to get our business from the people that worked out in the packing plant. There was an A. F. of L. union there, too. We were able to get our business from the farmer that was out on the countryside, and when he didn't have it we didn't have it.

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I remember the days of relief. Sixty per cent of the people in my county were on relief, and the only reason we weren't on relief was because we made enough money off of those people who were on relief so that we didn't have to go on relief.

I am frank to tell you that I have learned a lot of economics in a few South Dakota dust farms. I don't have to read very many pamphlets on soil conservation. I got enough dirt in my eyes, ears, nose, and throat that I will remember it a long time.

I saw 25-cent wheat, and 10-cent corn, and 8-cent oats, and \$2-hogs, and I saw hungry people, and I saw unemployed labor, and I saw a broken American business economy, and I saw trouble as you did. That never again will happen in this nation if we set ourselves to the task of preventing it.

Now, somebody will say to me that this sounds idealistic. Idealism? Is it idealism to say somebody ought to have a minimum wage of at least 75 cents an hour? Is that idealism? Is it idealism to say that maybe an old grandpa can't live on \$36 a month old age pension? Is that idealism? Is it idealism to say a farmer ought not to be pushed down into the mire of depression and mortgage foreclosure? Is it idealism to say that workers ought to have a right to join together in an organization known as a union to defend their economic rights? Is it idealism to believe in this country we ought to search out the answers for peace?

Idealism, I want to tell you, is a basic minimum of realization—a basic minimum! Once we have accomplished that, once we have enacted the platform of the Democratic Party, every bit of it right down the line, once we have enacted that, then we can say we have a sort of social, economic, political floor for America from whence we can work. We have been in the basement too long. Let's get out of the basement and get up on the first floor!

Yes, my friends, let us get out of the ditches of reactionaryism and climb on to the high plateau of progressive democracy, and our vision will lead us to a better world.

Thank you very much. It has been nice to be with you.



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