

Excerpts from an Address Delivered by Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.,Minn.)

Ohio State Federation of Labor, Neil House, Columbus, Ohio

January 21, 1950.

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"Ohio Republican politics symbolizes the confusion and desperation of Republican leadership in Washington and throughout the nation.

"The G.O.P.-Dixiecrat coalition has been blessed and made legal by Republican Leadership from Ohio. The new brand of isolationism that includes no commitments to Europe but the Navy for Formosa, was conceived and brought into life on the banks of the Beautiful Ohio.

"Hysterical warnings of statism and the cries of welfare state seem to grow louder as one approaches this state.

"Yes, seldom has one State been given the dubious honor of having produced so much confusion, in so few men, in such a short period of time. But say what you will, like it or not, the Republican leadership of this wonderful State represents the dilemma, the confusion and the desperation of the G.O.P.

"The American people, however, have been given a ray of hope again under the leadership of a distinguished son of Ohio. The Republican chieftains have gathered in Washington to find a program. This within itself is a sad admission of the fact which the American people have long known. For 20 years the Republican party has had no program. It has had the gall and the effrontery to go before the American people and seek a majority vote without having a program or platform in which it believed. If this be not the case then why are the chieftains of the G.O.P. gathered in Washington to prepare a manifesto for 1950?

"Elections are not won in Washington. Elections are not won by top brass strategy. Elections are won by hard work and active participation in every voting precinct in the country. The essentials of a successful political campaign are a program that meets the needs of the people, candidates that are willing to fight for the people, a political organization that belongs to and is controlled and managed by the rank and file of the people, a clear cut statement of the issues in language that is understandable by the people. This is the job which the American Federation of Labor Political and Educational League has undertaken. It has advanced its program with amazing strides. The acid test of its effectiveness will be in the election year of 1950.

"If the Fair Deal program is to be passed, if the Taft-Hartley Act is to be repealed, if the people of this country are to get the legislation that they were promised, it is the responsibility of the labor movement and of every liberal and democratic organization to forget personal pride and petty differences and to unite behind candidates and around a program between now and the elections of 1950. The election year of 1950 is the crucial political battle in the struggle to see whether or not this country of ours is going forward in the pattern of the New Deal or backward into the confusion of the old deal. The Fair Deal program has made significant gains in the 81st Congress. However, the major issues of Taft-Hartley repeal, of civil rights, of social security extension may well be determined by what happens at the ballot boxes in 1950.

"Yes, there is a dangerous coalition in this country -- a coalition of the reactionary elements of the press, the post-war isolationists, the politically bankrupt leadership of the G.O.P., a handful of determined Dixiecrats and the soft headed, confused parlor pinks, along with outright Communists. This group represents those who have lost faith in America,

whose vision has not gone beyond yesterday, who are incapable of facing the problems of today, and shudder at the thought of tomorrow. This coalition of 'frustrated political malcontents' has set themselves up as a holding company for all and sundry persons, political ideologies and selfish forces who will join in common battle against the Fair Deal in its domestic and international program. The only qualification for admission to the 'fraternal order of frustrated politicians' is to be against your neighbor, against the British, for the Russians, against organized labor, against price supports for the farmer, against pensions for the aged, against the good life and the welfare state.

"The 'fraternal order of frustrated politicians', better known as the G.O.P. -Dixiecrat - parlor pink - Commie coalition, condemns our policy at home and abroad in the same wild, irresponsible charges. At home it is the welfare state they are against. Abroad it is our aid to Socialist Britain and Western Europe.

"These frustrated G.O.P.-Dixiecrats, in their search for a slogan, have seized upon the concept of the 'welfare state'. We accept their challenge. We will do battle with them on any issue. They say they are opposed to the welfare state, despite the mandate of the Constitution to 'promote the general welfare'. They identify the New Deal and the Fair Deal as the fabric and substance of the welfare state, and then with a flourish of their political pen, call it 'statism'. It is time the American people realized just what these frustrated political malcontents are talking about. By their logic the welfare state is the Fair Deal. By their logic the welfare state is the New Deal. Then by their own words they are telling the American people that they oppose the programs of social security, of fair labor standards, of free collective bar-

gaining, of agricultural price supports, soil conservation, farm credit, crop insurance, grain storage and agricultural research. These hungry office seekers are telling the American people in their irresponsible charges against the so-called welfare state that they want no regulation of the stock market; they are opposed to the development of our rivers and valleys; they favor the growth of monopoly and the liquidation of small business; they deplore the action of government in the field of heart, cancer and mental health research. These 'frustrated political malcontents' are seeking the confidence and the support of the American people on the basis of a program which repudiates the express desire and policy of our people. They are going before the American electorate telling our intelligent citizenry that they, the frustrated politicians of the past, the special privilege pleaders of the present, should be entrusted with political power in this critical hour.

"This sort of political leadership reminds one of the old French kings of whom it was said, 'They never seemed to learn anything or forget anything'. This reactionary leadership apparently has not learned that the American people are through with a do-nothing, backward-moving policy of government. They apparently have not learned that the people of this nation look upon government as a partner in promoting the security, the prosperity and the freedom of our economy. Two world wars and a major world-wide depression have not demonstrated to these diehard apostles of the past that we are living in a changing world."



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