

From the Office of  
Senator Hubert H. Humphrey  
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Washington 25, D. C.  
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FOR RELEASE  
Friday, November 13, 1953 - PM's

Lack of leadership and lack of a program are "twin failures" of the Eisenhower administration, Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D.-Minn.) charged today (Friday, Nov. 13) in a keynote address before the annual national convention of the Young Democratic Clubs of America at St. Paul, Minn.

"The Administration has sought to cope with the pressing problems the country faces by turning government into a sort of super study hall," he declared. "It has been referred to as government by commission. It ought to be called government by omission."

Failure to keep campaign promises has been "a slap at the intelligence of the American people," Senator Humphrey declared.

"It implies that the Republicans thought the people were not wise enough to remember promises, and would not care if promises were not kept," he said. "Well, the American people are wiser than they think - and are beginning to prove it."

Recent off-year elections, Senator Humphrey added, should teach the Republicans "that it takes more than an Ike button to win an election."

"They should know now that the great majority of Americans will not long be propagandized into believing that the GOP is something which it is not."

Senator Humphrey added a word of caution, however, against thinking that recent Democratic victories mean "it is all over but the shouting" in either 1954 or 1956.

"We Democrats are regaining the confidence of the people because we have demonstrated that we are the party of the people. We have profited by the contrast offered by the Republicans in power.

"We will make further gains only if we continue to demonstrate that we deserve the people's confidence. We dare not forget that the American people demand both a positive political program, and the leadership which can carry it through. We must show that we can give them both. They are certainly not getting either in Washington today."

Lack of Republican leadership, Senator Humphrey said, has placed "added responsibility" on the Democrats in Congress.

"Our country today faces the gravest challenges of its existence. We are threatened by a totalitarian tyranny from without. We face economic difficulties within. We are tormented by a small but insidious minority which seeks to hammer us into conformity by destroying our self-confidence and our belief in individual liberty. And, unfortunately, we are saddled by a Republican administration in Washington which has done little -- very little -- to meet many of these threats.

"Our responsibilities as Democrats would be great even if these threats do not exist. They are even greater because they do exist, and because the Republicans have failed to rise to the emergency.

"There are those who have tried to apologize for the lack of leadership in the White House. Poor Ike, they say, is caught between the two wings of the Republican party. Well, he IS caught. He's caught between those reactionaries who would turn back the century, and those so-called 'liberals' who would simply turn back the clock. But that neither excuses him from the role of leadership, nor does it add anything to the luster of the Administration's record -- such as it is.

"The hopes and aspirations of November 1952 have turned to fears and frustrations in November 1953."

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TOWARD GREATER TOMORROWS

Keynote Address by U. S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D. Minn.)  
before Annual Convention of Young Democratic Clubs of America  
at St. Paul, Minnesota, 11:00 A.M. November 13, 1953.

It is a pleasure for me to address this great gathering of young men and women from all parts of the United States.

It is inspiring to see your enthusiastic spirit. It reaffirms my own faith in our country's future.

A meeting of young men and women dedicated to honorable political activity is fully within the American tradition. This is a young country. We are a nation of youthful spirit. A spirit of ambition, of change, of progress and mission.

A key to the secret of American strength and vitality is that natural blend of maturity that comes with experience, along with spontaneity and vitality that comes from youth.

We Americans are proud of our youth. Thomas Jefferson, when only 32, gave to us the immortal creed of democracy, so brilliantly stated in the Declaration of Independence. We know it is the young who inspire our nation in every activity from the 4-H Clubs, the Community Chest, the scientific laboratory, the world of business and finance--and, yes, the area of politics.

These are the days that require youthful spirit. The spirit of optimism, the spirit of courage and of persevering determination.

Thank God, we live in a country where young men and women are accepted as equal partners in the realization of the great American dream of an expanding democracy.

Our task is not easy, but who would want it so? The thrill of life comes from its challenges - challenges that are met and overcome - problems that are solved and understood. Our vision of a brighter tomorrow may seem like a dream to those of lesser faith. But to us of this generation and this day and this time, it is only a call to action, an inspiration to do more magnificently and confidently that which others have done before us.

What is it that seems to set our country apart from others? In one phrase, it is our idealism.

In many parts of the world, and even in some of the gentlemen's clubs of America, this spirit of idealism, of high moral purpose, of youthful exuberance is criticized and deplored. But it is our idealism which has saved us from the bitter cynicism that has gripped far too many in this day and age. It is our

idealism which has motivated us to undertake great works and to fulfill great deeds in behalf of people here and everywhere.

We should be proud to be called idealists. An overdose of idealism in one's youth will stand us well in the days to come when the pressures of life often turn those of lesser idealism and faith into skeptics and cynics.

The soul of democracy is its idealism. The black heart of totalitarianism is its cynicism.

Yes, youth is idealistic and proudly so. But we must also be realistic. The realism of which I speak requires that we know ourselves - our assets, our virtues, our liabilities and our weaknesses. It is a realism that requires we know the community in which we live and work; the community of our immediate environment and the broader world community that encompasses all of us.

It is a realism which requires that we know our job and our responsibilities; that we make realistic appraisal of what we do and what we can do.

As delegates of the Young Democratic Clubs of America, you are young people destined for leadership in the political life of this nation. Leadership calls for a deep sense of humility that comes from knowing one's community and one's responsibility.

Leadership necessitates a spirit of confidence that springs from a knowledge and understanding; a sense of persistence and determination; is derived from a realization of the justice of our cause and the imperative necessity of victory.

This is what I mean by being realistic as well as idealistic. Yes, we must know and understand the dark clouds we now face before we can hope to achieve the greater tomorrows.

Our country today faces the gravest challenges of its existence.

We are threatened by a totalitarian tyranny from without.

We face economic difficulties within.

We are tormented by a small but insidious minority which seeks to hammer us into conformity by destroying our self-confidence and our belief in individual liberty.

And, unfortunately, we are saddled by a Republican Administration in Washington which has done little --very little-- to meet any of these threats.

Our responsibilities as Democrats would be great even if these threats did not exist. They are even greater because they do exist.

American politics is not a game; it is not a national sporting event to be entrusted to those who merely enjoy the competition.

American politics is a fundamental part of representative government. The two-party system represents the arteries and veins of the body politic. It is the connecting link between the theory and the reality of government.

The great virtue of the Democratic party - yes, indeed, its secret to life - is its ability to adapt itself to changing conditions to meet the needs of the people in this day, and in each and every generation.

We are not a party of rigid government. We do not ask from those who join with us blind obedience and disciplined reactions. Our party is not motivated by the frustrations of class warfare. It is a party of all the people. It has grown with this great Republic. It is a national party, bringing into its confines every section and every interest of the nation.

Let me take a moment to make a few observations on the political party system of this country.

I shall use as my example the Democratic Party, the party of Jefferson, of Jackson, of Wilson, Roosevelt and Truman. The names of these great men reveal the dynamic nature of our political party, its responsiveness to the needs of our nation, its long line of life in the history of our country.

What a sense of pride we have inherited realizing that out of the ranks of this great political party have come leaders who have guided us through the most turbulent periods of our nation's existence.

Your party, and mine, is organized in each of the 48 states and territories. It embraces every section of the nation, both geographic and economic. It then becomes obvious that there will be differences - differences based on economic development, social customs and political practices.

Our constitutional system is known as a federal system. The party structure is related to that federal system. A division of powers between the national and state governments. While, indeed, we have one great national party, it is well to remember that it constitutes, and is in fact, a confederation of 48 separate state parties. By climate and geography, by historical development and custom, our nation has diversity of interests, but a diversity which blends into a great society with a common purpose and a national destiny.

A truly national party must represent all interests, all regions, and have that political mobility and flexibility that accommodates all.

Therefore, let us be tolerant with one another. Let us recognize that our differences are the differences of degree, not of basic principles. They are the differences that are normal and healthy, springing from a great and bountiful nation.

Let us be thankful we are not in a party narrow in vision, strict in discipline - moulded into a stereotype pattern and gripped by theoretical doctrine that leaves no room for individuality. Whether we be from the north or the south, the east or the west, we have as our purpose and our objective the general welfare. A general welfare that leaves room for the welfare of a specific region or a particular area.

The general welfare, in fact, is the sum total of the welfare of each and every individual - the strength and the development of every state and section. Our nation is like a magnificent and beautiful symphony orchestra: when broken into its component parts it may seem out of harmony, without rhythm or beauty, without cadence or melody. But when all sections are blended together, it is a sight to behold and an institution that commands the respect and affection of freedom-loving people everywhere.

Unity of purpose does not require unanimity. It needs only cooperation and accommodation. Let this Convention dedicate itself to that spirit of cooperation and accommodation. Let its spirit of unity be directed toward the great and international goals of freedom, peace, and prosperity.

A nation that split the atom, should not belittle itself by splitting hairs. Let us set our eyes on goals and objectives worthy of our attention and our efforts. Let us light a candle of hope and direction, rather than curse the darkness of despair and disunity. We owe it to the party, to ourselves and to the nation to set a good example - to prove that the youth of our day can reconcile its differences without compromising principle.

Our work is cut out for us. The road ahead is not easy. We suffered a major political defeat in 1952 and we must recognize it as such. That defeat was not due entirely to the popularity of President Eisenhower. If we were to compare candidates, and if one were to have made a political prophecy on the basis of candidates, victory would have been ours.

The stirring and beautiful messages of Governor Stevenson re-awakened in America a sense of political consciousness and morality. We were blessed with a magnificent candidate. We drew strength from a great program of twenty years of accomplishment and a political platform designed to meet the challenges and the needs of today and tomorrow.

The candid truth is that we had grown soft from repeated victories. Our organization had broken down in state after state, in city after city. We let those who would divide us consume our time in a fruitless effort of reconciliation.

The blaring propaganda trumpets of our Republican opposition filled our ears and our minds with doubt and defeatism. We were just plain out-worked and worked-over.

The Republicans were organized, and <sup>we</sup> were disorganized. The Republicans were confident and <sup>we</sup> were complacent. Add to this one of the most unhappy and sad commentaries on American politics, namely the Republican leadership was irresponsible - promising all things to all men - victory at any price.

We can be proud that our candidate for the Presidency, Governor Stevenson, talked sense to the American people. The Republican nonsense has come home to plague them. It was as if it were a political dope that inspired them during the race, now leaving them miserable and weak in their victory. Every one of us in the nation suffers. Propaganda was substituted for facts; drama and hero worship were substituted for statesmanship and good judgment. The golden political promises of the GOP in 1952 have turned to counterfeit hedges of 1953.

The people are reacting. Witness the results in places like the Ninth Congressional District of Wisconsin, and the key contests of New York, New Jersey, and Virginia--yes, even in California, where the Democratic candidate in a traditionally Republican district made a remarkable race.

The Republicans know now that it takes more than an Ike button to win an election. They should know now that the great majority of Americans will not long be propagandized into believing that the GOP is something which it is not.

Now, I would not suggest that what happened in the recent election races necessarily means that it is all over but the shouting, in either 1954 or 1956.

I don't think that is the case.

We have our work cut out for us indeed. We must rebuild the Democratic Party from the precinct to the City Hall to the State House to the Nation's Capitol. The Old political machine based on patronage and privilege is dead and gone. I regret to say that in some places it has not been buried. Its decaying body lies awaiting a timely funeral.

The elections of 1954 and 1956 will not be won by everyone spending his time on strategy. Few elections are won in hotels and at banquets. Elections are won in the precincts.

The first law of politics is work - detailed, devoted and persistent work. And if we are going to know the people, we better know where they live. Many of them have moved to the suburbs. I regret to say our party did not move with them. When thousands, yes millions, of people moved from the cities to the new developed suburbs, they were met and greeted by those who had moved there first - in most instances by a charming lady or an energetic young man, proudly displaying their Ike Button and their GOP membership card.

The third law of politics is program and policy. The great accomplishments of the New Deal and the Fair Deal have become a matter of American history. They are accepted - they are a part of the fabric of our political economy. It is not enough merely to point to what we have done. We must do as Governor Stevenson pointed out - to what we will and can do.

Effective political leadership calls for clearly stating the problems of today with practical solutions and answers at hand. It calls for pointing to greater tomorrows, with confidence and optimism that the tomorrows will be better.

Many of us were trapped by the Republican strategy of fighting yesterday's battles over and over again. We were snared into a contest of hind sight when ours is the party of foresight. We were fighting on the opposition's battleground, and all too often on his terms.

This is why youth is needed in politics. Because young men and women of this generation are not filled with the memories of yesterday. They are anxious for today and tomorrow. They seek to pioneer new frontiers, to win new victories.

The Democratic Party needs the political plasma of this youthful spirit. The leadership of our party welcomes such a transfusion. The door is wide open; the opportunities are unlimited. There is plenty of room for everyone. We need not crowd out those who have carried the banner for years. Our responsibility is to help hold high that banner; to relieve tired hands, and to inspire willing hands.

We Democrats are regaining the confidence of the people because we have demonstrated that we are the party of the people. We have profited by the contrast demonstrated by the Republicans in power.

We will make further gains only if we continue to demonstrate that we deserve the people's confidence.

The job ahead for us will be a difficult one. It will be particularly trying for you-- the Young Democrats of America. Your energy, initiative and convictions will be basic ingredients in any Democratic victory of the future.

We Democrats dare not succumb to over-confidence. We dare not forget that the American people demand both a positive political program, and the leadership which can carry it through.

We must show that we can give them both.

They are certainly not getting either, in Washington today.

The Republican Administration in Washington has been like a Cadillac-- a General Motors product--with an engine at each end going nowhere at 100 miles an hour. It has sought to cope with the pressing problems our country faced by turning itself into a sort of super study hall.

It has been referred to as government by commission. It ought to be called government by omission.

There are those who have tried to apologize for the lack of leadership in the White House. Poor Ike, they say, is caught between the two wings of the Republican Party.

Well, he is caught. He is caught between those who would turn back the century, and others who would simply turn back the clock. But that neither excuses him from the role of leadership nor does it add anything to the luster of the Administration's record.

Mr. Eisenhower is the Republican President of the United States. He was the Republican candidate for election in 1952. He has made it clear that he thinks of himself as a Republican. And he gave a blanket endorsement to all Republicans running everywhere prior to the most recent elections.

He and the Republican Party cannot be separated.

I guess there are times when the President wishes he could be separated from his party - or should I say from his several Republican parties.

The President is a kind man - considerate and friendly. However, when he joined into hurried political wedlock with the Republican high command, he apparently did not take the time to look over the list of relatives! You see, President Eisenhower had lived so long in the friendly environment of Democratic administrations, knowing and meeting such great men as General Marshall, General Bradley, Dean Acheson, Paul Hoffman, Robert Lovett, and other great leaders of the Roosevelt and Truman administrations, he undoubtedly thought that all people in public life were such good folks. He had never attended a Republican caucus. He of course had read the American press about American politics, but that press with its Republican objectivity, made most all Republicans appear as "kind hearts and gentle people".

The political honeymoon was such a delightful experience, but like other honeymoons, it had to come to an end. And then the President carried his Republican bride over the threshold and met the family! Poor man! Such an experience should not have to happen to one who was so well treated by the Democratic Presidents!

The word is out that things are not just right in Washington. The crusade has yielded to confusion. Everybody seems to be talking, but no one seems to be talking to the other fellow. Hardly a week passes without one Cabinet or sub-cabinet member saying something which another is forced to contradict.

Thus, we have had Messrs. Wilson and Dulles in conflict over whether or not we were planning to withdraw some of our troops from Europe. We have had no fewer than four varying Administration statements on Soviet atomic capacity and ability to deliver the atomic bomb.

Most recently, the press has reported Administration officials in public disagreement on whether or not we are committed to storing atom bombs in Spain; a subject, incidentally, that should not have been discussed publicly for security reasons.

The President is constantly having to "clarify", "correct", or "spell out" something he said "last week". He seeks to have harmony in a party of conflicts. When he gets in tune with the Majority Leader, he is out of tune with the Secretary of State. When he supports Ezra Taft Benson, his Midwest Republican contingent calls for the Secretary's scalp. When he condemns book burning, the smoke screen of Congressional bonfires compels him to shoft and run for cover - but the bonfires still burn. When he assures the public that inflation is checked, his own Administration announces that the cost of living is at an all-time high - and the cost of living still goes up.

Not too long ago, Mr. Eisenhower said that he considered himself the President of all the people and left the impression that he considered the Presidential office above local politics. This statement was made only a few days before the crucial elections in New York, New Jersey and Virginia.

Within another forty-eight hours -- just prior to the elections -- the White House issued one of its "spell-outs". Mr. Eisenhower, it was stated, did not mean to leave the impression that he was above politics. And he was firmly behind all Republicans running for office.

It is comforting to note that most of the Republicans running, wound up firmly behind.

So, it goes in Washington, where sits an Administration lacking both program and leadership.

If campaign promises were achievements, the Republican Administration would today have the most glorious record in history.

The Republicans promised the American people virtually everything for which the New Deal and the Fair Deal have always stood.

They promised an expansion of social security programs, sound farm price supports, fair labor relations, decent housing, aid to small business, public power and other progressive programs which are the very fabric of the American democracy today.

They have delivered on none of these promises.

They have delivered only dismay and disillusionment to the great majority of Americans. The hopes and aspirations of November, 1952, have turned to fears and frustrations in November 1953.

The first session of the Republican controlled 83rd Congress ended with little accomplishment. The rule of the day was put off and back off - a record of omissions and the appointment of Commissions. The Republican reply to the put-off and back-off criticism of the new Administration was "give us more time - things are much worse than we ever suspected".

Imagine the GOP that had been criticizing the Democratic Administrations for 20 years, now confessing that it did not quite know what was wrong. Listen to the GOP orators crying for time to unfold their program when they have had 20 years to prepare one!

I ask the American people to compare this record of postponement and delay, of faltering leadership and a disorganized majority, to the record of Franklin Roosevelt. Turn back the pages of history and review the record.

Our Republican friends talk about a mess in Washington in 1952. Let them reflect on the mess of 1932. A nation prostrate on the verge of bankruptcy, 12 million unemployed, a farm economy on the verge of ruin, the young people walking the streets, and the old and needy asking for relief. If ever there was confusion, despair and collapse, it was after 12 years of Republican rule.

Yet, the then newly elected President Roosevelt moved with speed and decisiveness. The first "Hundred Days" of the New Deal Administration brought forth an era of memorable legislation. The American people, with the help of their government, began to lift themselves out of the mire of depression and chaos. The man in the White House, by his every word and every action, revealed himself as a dynamic leader. The American economy began to move ahead. We were on the road to recovery.

Mr. Roosevelt and his associates did not ask for more time. They did not apologize for delay. President Roosevelt and his Administration used

the time they had to move ahead, to act to relieve the suffering and to inspire confidence.

I suggest that this Republican Administration try to emulate his noble example. Nor did the Committees of the Congress subpoena the former President, Mr. Hoover. The dignity of the Presidential office was respected. The Democratic Congress applied itself to the business of legislation. Instead of trying to stir up confusion, conflict -- and diversion -- the Democratic leadership acted to meet the real challenge and build solidly for the future.

The headlines coming from Democratic Administrations were headlines of achievement, of new goals and new accomplishments. The record of Democratic Administrations is one of revival and hope for America, of progress and prosperity, of a constructive program and purpose.

It is the philosophy of the Democratic Party to "light a candle rather than curse the darkness", to create rather than to wreck, to build rather than to destroy.

We had reason to hope that the grouchy old pessimists of the GOP in 1932, when honored with victory, would become the friendly optimists of 1952. But, apparently, the elephant does not change its habits. It takes so long to grow so big that it is hard to forget and difficult to learn. The grouchy old pessimists have just become the grumpy old cynics. New faces but old habits. Such is the profile of modern Republicanism.

The campaign speeches of 1952 were quietly filed away in the archives of the Republican National Committee with the apparent hope they would soon be forgotten. It has remained the repeated duty of the Democratic National Digest, like the Big Ben Alarm Clock, to firmly awaken our Republican friends to their daily tasks.

The great secret of the Republican program is yet to be told. Desperate efforts are being made to justify the retreat from promises to the recognition of realities.

The unbalanced budget still remains unbalanced. The Republican goal of a reduced national debt has been revealed in the request for raising the debt ceiling. The promise of reduced taxes brings forth the proposal of a national manufacturers sales tax. The assurances that inflation would be stopped is met with the Administration's announcements of an ever-rising cost of living. The politically calculated GOP promise of full parity for American agriculture is being fulfilled by a critical decline in farm prices. The farmer's share of the national income is now at 1932 levels.

Compare this with the pledge President Eisenhower made at Kasson, Minnesota, and I quote: "I firmly believe that agriculture is entitled to a fair, full share of the national income...and a fair share is not merely 90 percent of parity... but full parity."

Compare the policy for a greater rural telephone service with the appropriations being trimmed 23%. The promise of greater soil conservation with the President's budget request trimming soil conservation payments by 44% and the soil conservation service by 9%.

With American agriculture in economic trouble, the Administration says it is studying the problem.

I ask the Republican leadership how long a study did they give to the Administration's policy of higher interest rates - a form of price supports for the money lenders, the commercial banks, the investment trusts and the large insurance companies.

This Administration can act with dispatch when it wants to. It can even act without a Commission study. It did not seek a Commission to study the removal of price control; it did not need a Commission to study the rise in interest rates. Nor did it ask for a Commission to study the off-shore oil proposal.

All of these are complicated subjects, and all of them vitally affect the national welfare.

Compare the action of the Republican controlled 83rd Congress with the Democratically controlled 81st Congress.

In the 81st Congress we moved to raise minimum wages, we adopted a comprehensive housing program, we doubled the benefits of social security, we enacted vital foreign policy legislation--just to mention a few of the larger accomplishments.

But the Eisenhower Administration, after having promised the extension and expansion of social security, has turned it over to a committee for study--and the Chairman of that Committee is a Congressman who in 1949 called social security unmoral.

The Republican promise for a better housing program again has taken the form of a Committee. The housing agency is under the direction of a former Congressman who has a record of vigorous opposition to slum clearance and low cost housing. It is like putting a fox in charge of the chicken coop!

Then listen to the Republican promise on TVA. The Republican candidate said: "If I am elected President, TVA will be operated and maintained at maximum efficiency...TVA will continue to preserve and promote the prosperity of this great section of the United States."

After his election, Mr. Eisenhower was reported in the press as having referred to TVA as "creeping socialism". Reactionary Republicans in Congress are quietly preparing for the early passing of the great Tennessee Valley Authority.

Mr. Eisenhower told the AFL National Convention in New York last year that he stood for amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act.

He said he knew that the law - as it stood - might "be used to break unions". He promised labor an "equal voice" in considering its amendments.

Today, Taft-Hartley is exactly where it was prior to Eisenhower's election.

The only man in his Cabinet with Labor's interest truly at heart has left. The "equal voice" which Labor was promised is now no voice at all.

These, then, are some of the many Republican promises - promises which have not been kept.

The Republican record in Washington to date has been one of premeditated delay, confusion, and ineptness.

That failure constitutes an insult to the people's intelligence.

For it implies that the Republicans thought the American people were not wise enough to remember promises, and would not care if promises were not kept.

Well, the American people are wise enough.

Furthermore, they recognize that there are danger signs - signs of economic difficulty ahead. They recognize that a so-called "adjustment" can turn into a recession, and a recession into a depression, if prompt action is not taken.

Consider some of these storm warnings:

Total factory output, as measured by the Federal Reserve Board, is down four percent from its peak 1953 month. Economists are forecasting an additional drop of as much as ten percent between now and the middle of next year.

Automobile production - to cite one example - is 'way down. The auto industry last month was producing 21 percent fewer autos than it produced in its best 1953 month.

Major retailers are cutting down on their orders for durable goods. Inventories on the shelves are not being rebuilt to the normal levels.

The cost of living is higher than it has ever been before. The average American is paying more money for less goods than ever before.

Mortgage money is tight almost everywhere. Interest rates are up. The Republican "hard money" policy has made money harder to get for those who need it.

The farmer is being squeezed by the still-increasing spread between what he receives for his production and what he pays for the things he needs. Beef cattle - one of the perishables which the Republicans refuse to support at any price - brought the raiser only 79 percent of parity in October 1953, as compared with 111 percent a year earlier.

The drought is one thing which I hesitate to blame on the Republicans. But it must be admitted that the Administration's tardiness and inefficiency in moving to help the drought-stricken areas certainly did not contribute to the farmer's well-being.

These, then, are some of the economic storm signals. They demand action. And the demand is now.

What kind of action?

The Administration might begin by keeping a few of its campaign promises. It might stop thinking about the bankers and the large corporations, and do something for the working man, the farmer and the small businessman.

These are some of the specific lines of action I would recommend:

Farmers ought to be guaranteed a minimum of ninety percent parity price for their perishables as well as for their non-perishables. The farmer is entitled to a fair return for his product. It is the consumer's only assurance of continued abundance at fair prices.

Existing public power programs should be strengthened and expanded. Public power should be made easier to get and cheaper - not harder to get and dearer.

Drastic action is required in the social security field. Our senior citizens have earned the right to a decent standard of living. Their plight today is shameful. The social security system ought to provide universal coverage at a minimum of \$100 a month.

The Taft-Hartley Act ought to be replaced by a new law fair to labor as well as management. I am convinced that any patching that this Administration does will simply make Taft-Hartley more unwieldy, without removing basic inequities to labor.

Small business ought to get some consideration in Washington. It is getting little today. The so-called Small Business Administration needs to be revamped and given authority to really help small business. It must be headed by somebody who understands and is sympathetic to small business' problems. Further, the current trend whereby various federal regulatory agencies are being packed with big business enthusiasts ought to be halted. Regulation administered by those to be regulated is sham and mockery.

Every level of government - federal, state and local - should dedicate itself to fostering equality of economic opportunity for all Americans. The issue of civil rights for all our people cannot be ignored - it cannot be side-stepped. Our party is pledged by convention and conviction to the realization of full equality for all Americans. We are proud to proclaim our determination to rid this nation of bigotry and prejudice, of discrimination and intolerance.

FOREIGN POLICY RECORD

I have spent a good deal of time talking about domestic economic issues. They needed to be talked about. But I should now like to turn to the Republican record in foreign affairs.

The Republican Administration has, in general, been adhering to the broad foreign policy principles laid down by the Truman Administration. The Democrats in Congress have supported the great majority of the Administration's foreign policy and economic aid programs. We have been a good deal more consistent in that support than has Mr. Eisenhower's own Republican party.

In fact - on a number of key votes - we have saved the Administration's foreign policy from being gutted by the Republican reactionaries and isolationists.

We Democrats have taken this constructive approach because we have recognized that the foreign policies which Mr. Eisenhower took over from Mr. Truman represent the key to our national survival.

History will record that the great decisions in the field of foreign policy making during the Truman Administration represent American statesmanship at its best.

The leadership in the creation of the United Nations, the establishment of the Greek Turkish Aid program, the relief and rehabilitation of the suffering millions following World War II - these achievements alone will command the respect and the admiration of people everywhere. The generosity and compassion of the American people was formalized into official government policy.

The Marshall Plan, a product of the great vision and understanding of General George Marshall, and supported and implemented by President Truman, represents an unprecedented development in international policy.

The creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, the extension of military assistance to our allies, the mutual security program with its economic aid and technological and scientific assistance, buttressed by military aid, represents a national policy the like of which no other nation on the face of the globe has ever even dared dream, much less execute.

These great accomplishments fall under the banner of Democratic leadership and administration. The courageous decision to check Communist aggression in Korea may well be referred to as the turning point in the struggle against Communist totalitarianism.

Imagine the effrontery to the people's intelligence when our Republican opposition accuses the Democratic Party of being soft on Communists! Every move and step of our foreign policy has been directed to stop and roll back Communist infiltration and aggression.

The rebuilding of our defenses, the mobilization of world opinion against Communist totalitarianism - these were the results of great leadership. Then, add to this remarkable record such significant programs as the exchange of students, the program of information and truth, the generous gifts of food and fiber, and the record of decency of statesmanship, and of unrelenting opposition to Communist brutality and aggression - the record becomes unmistakably clear.

Such are the policies that have served humanity in these difficult post-war years.

Yet, at every step along the way, a vocal minority of reactionaries and isolationists has harrassed our leadership, falsely accusing such great men as George Catlett Marshall and Dean Acheson - and heaped their abuse on Mr. Truman.

It was this firm foundation of foreign policy that was passed along to the Republican Administration. As Americans and as Democrats, we stand ready in Congress and before the American public, to support it. We call upon President Eisenhower to lead the fight in strengthening these programs and policies; to chart new courses if they are found necessary. We implore the President never to yield to that harping, barking, criticizing minority in his own party that would wreck all that has been painstakingly established at such great sacrifice.

There is need for bi-partisan support of our foreign policy. But that bi-partisan support can come only when the President exercises leadership and rebukes and repudiates those who jeopardize our progress.

The President is the chief spokesman in foreign policy, and he must speak out - speak plainly and convincingly.

There are signs of the times that should deeply concern us.

The reduction in our Airforce in light of Soviet air power and atom and hydrogen bomb developments, This should be of concern to every American.

Sometimes it appears as if the desire for tax reduction is greater than the desire for security and defense.

Our Point IV program is living an uneasy existence. The program has been thoroughly submerged in the overall concept of military and economic aid. Key executives who know most about Point IV have been summarily dismissed from their jobs.

Yet, this great program of scientific and technological assistance is one of the best weapons we have for combatting Communism.

Point IV is not only a humanitarian concept. It also operates to strengthen the economies of backward areas so that they can contribute more to a healthy world trade. And it helps the hungry, the sick and the illiterate to develop a reasonable standard of living - the kind of standard which will make defense against communist subversion possible.

I have said it before - and I say it again - we must concern ourselves with empty stomachs as well as with full cartridge belts. Our national security requires that we do so.

Other danger signals indicating a weakening in our foreign policy are the breakdown in morale in our State Department and Foreign Service employees; the double talk of a Secretary of State, who in his press releases seems to be laying down the law to our European allies, but who in fact advised them to set their own pace on rearmament. He has been neither stern nor demanding.

The truth is that our NATO alliance is weaker today, and there is deep concern in western European capitals over the loose talk about American withdrawal of troops from the European area.

There is an uneasiness among our allies - an uncertainty. They wonder about the many conflicting statements that come from high places in our government.

Are we going to store atom bombs in Spain, or aren't we? Who knows? Already there have been conflicting stories reported in our press.

Are we going to reduce our divisions in Western Europe? Who knows? One day maybe; the next day maybe not; and the third day we are studying it.

Are we on friendly terms with India, or aren't we? One day high Administration officials condemn her, and the next day the President meets with Madame Pandit.

And what about foreign trade? Are we asleep at the switch? Are we losing the economic struggle? The Soviet Union is signing one trade agreement after another. Our Secretary of State gives assurances to Congress that if the reciprocal trade agreements act is extended for one year no new agreements will be signed.

This is not leadership. This is not a policy. It is standing still and doing it in a vibrant, volatile world moving relentlessly to an uncertain future.

The truth is that the Republican leadership has no foreign policy. It has only the foreign policy which was created to meet the needs and the facts of the world situation - the policy created under President Truman.

The Republican dilemma is quite obvious. For years the Republican spokesmen have assailed the Truman-Acheson policies. They not only convinced many voters that these policies were wrong, they even convinced themselves.

Now, the Republican Party is the majority party. It has the responsibility of government. Its difficulties in foreign policy arise from the reality that the facts that faced Mr. Truman are the facts that confront Mr. Eisenhower. The problems require the same sort of solution - but the Republican promises just do not match with the facts. The Republican propaganda just does not match the realities.

So, here you see an administration compelled by the facts of the situation to carry on the same policies, but without the will to do it. The lack of leadership is a result of the frustration and the realization of how wrong they have been so long.

Let us hope and pray that the Republican leadership can cleanse its mind of its own fallacies. Let us hope it can settle down to the hard but necessary task of leading America in the paths of peace and strength.

We dare not fail. Everything is at stake. The Communist aggressor is relentless. The Communist leadership is stern and brutal. It seeks to divide

us from our allies. Regretfully, it finds aid and comfort in the actions of some - thank God only a few.

It is time that we reaffirmed our faith in ourselves and in our partners, in the great world alliance against Communist oppression. Let us never forget that we have allies, not satellites. We have partners, not slaves.

And let us be ever mindful of the fact that psychological warfare should be waged against the enemy and not our friends and ourselves. If there was ever a time for firm and strong leadership it is now. We must not content ourselves with doing less or lowering our guard in the hope it will cost less.

We must not relax in our efforts to build a shield of strength that is impregnable. Then, from behind that shield of strength, let us move out to fight the war against poverty and disease, against ignorance and intolerance.

Our party has a solemn duty to be responsible. Our party has proven itself to be a friend of the American people in their hour of need and in their desire for progress.

We must also be a friend of freedom-loving people everywhere who seek the same goals and have the same desires. We have no apologies for being what some people call internationalists. Isolationism is nothing more nor less than mass selfishness, greed and arrogance.

Internationalism, as we know it, represents the brotherhood of man and the dignity of the individual.

#### DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S CHALLENGE

I have spoken of broken Republican promises and of Republican blunders. I have spoken of foreign policy and of domestic issues.

I have spoken as a Democrat, to a Democratic audience.

But I have also spoken as an American seriously concerned for the safety of his country and for the future of our people.

I am a Democrat because I think ours is the party which can and will lead the way to peace, security and a better life for the American people.

As we democrats approach the next electoral campaign, I think we need to keep in mind the grave challenge that faces us.

We want victory. We can achieve victory.

But we must achieve it honestly, and in keeping with the great free traditions of our country.

Earlier, I spoke briefly of the vicious few who seek to use the Communist threat to whip up our fears and thus to turn us into cringing creatures of conformity. I spoke of the threat to those liberties which are basic to the structures of American democracy.

The Democratic Party must stand firm against Communism, and against any other force which seeks the destruction of our freedom.

We must stand for freedom - freedom of speech, of press, of worship. And we must act accordingly.

We must win at the polls on a clear-cut platform dedicated to the dignity of the individual as well as to the social and economic progress of the group.

We must stand for freedom of conscience even as one of our party's founders stood for it. It was Jefferson who said - and I quote:

"It behooves every man, who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own."

To that, I would say only "Amen".

Upon such principles our country was created.

For the furtherance of such principles our party is dedicated.

Only by adhering to those principles can the Democratic Party most usefully serve the country.

And only by exerting our leadership, our energy, and our intelligence toward wiping out the dark clouds of today, can we achieve the greater tomorrows that we all seek.

Keynote Address by U. S. Senator Hubert H. Humphrey (D. Minn.)  
before Annual Convention of Young Democratic Clubs of America  
at St. Paul, Minnesota, 11:00 A.M. November 13, 1953.

It is a great pleasure for me to address this great gathering of young men and women from all parts of the United States, dedicated to searching for the brighter tomorrows that must lie ahead -- and determined to help shape those brighter tomorrows.

It is inspiring to see your enthusiastic spirit. It reaffirms my own faith in our country's future.

I have great faith in the brighter tomorrows ahead because of my faith in people. I'm convinced the Democratic Party will lead the way toward those brighter tomorrows because of its faith in people, and its devotion to serving the people -- all the people.

Youth has always made a tremendous contribution toward all progress through its always restless insistence that we go forward, not turn back. The aged can reminisce and live in the past, perhaps, but youth's only hope and only challenge lies in the future ahead. It is only right, then, that each generation seeks to create a better country, a better world, to pass along to those who may follow. It is only right that you insist upon

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greater opportunities for your children, than your parents were able to provide for you.

Your task is not easy.

Before you reach the silver lining of the brighter tomorrows that lie somewhere ahead, you must face squarely the dark clouds that now blacken our horizon.

Youth must be realistic, as well as idealistic. We must know and understand the dark clouds we now face before we can hope to penetrate to the silver lining we seek.

Our country today faces the gravest challenges of its existence.

We are threatened by a totalitarian tyranny from without.

We face economic difficulties within.

We are tormented by a small but insidious minority which seeks to hammer us into conformity by destroying our self-confidence and our belief in individual liberty.

And, unfortunately, we are saddled by a Republican

Administration in Washington which has done little --very little--  
to meet any of these threats.

Our responsibilities as Democrats would be great even  
if these threats did not exist. They are even greater because  
they do exist, and because the Republicans have failed to rise to  
the emergency.

We Democrats have operated as a constructive minority  
in Congress. Unlike the Republican minorities of the recent  
past, we have not sacrificed the interests of our country to  
pure partisanship.

It is our intention to become the constructive majority  
in the near future, and to operate on this same patriotic  
principle when we do so.

The Democratic Party is the party of progress. It is  
the party of the people. We believe that the people will verify  
that fact in the elections of 1954 and again in 1956. We believe  
that they already have verified it, in places like the ninth

- 4 -  
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Congressional District of Wisconsin and in key contests in  
New York, New Jersey and Virginia.

The Republicans know now that it takes more than an Ike  
button to win an election. They should know now that the great  
majority of Americans will not long be propagandized into  
believing that the GOP is something which it is not.

Now, I would not suggest that what happened in the recent  
election races necessarily means that it is all over but the  
shouting, in either 1954 or 1956.

I don't think that is the case.

We Democrats are regaining the confidence of the people  
because we have demonstrated that we are the party of the  
people. We have profited by the contrast offered by the  
Republicans in power.

We will make further gains only if we continue to demonstrate  
that we deserve the people's confidence.

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The job ahead for us will be a difficult one. It will be particularly trying for you -- the Young Democrats of America. Your energy, initiative and convictions will be basic ingredients in any Democratic victory of the future.

We Democrats dare not succumb to over-confidence. We dare not forget that the American people demand both a positive political program, and the leadership which can carry it through.

We must show that we can give them both.

They are certainly not getting either, in Washington today.

#### LEADERSHIP LACKING

The Republican Administration in Washington has been like an automobile with an engine at each end going nowhere at 160 miles an hour. It has sought to cope with the pressing problems our country faces by turning itself into a sort of super study hall.

It has been referred to as government by commission. It ought to be called government by omission.

- 6 -  
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There are those who have tried to apologize for the lack of leadership in the White House. Poor Ike, they say, is caught between the two wings of the Republican Party.

Well, he is caught. He is caught between those reactionaries who would turn back the century, and those so-called "liberals" who would simply turn back the clock. But that neither excuses him from the role of leadership nor does it add anything to the luster of the Administration's record -- such as it is.

Mr. Eisenhower is the Republican President of the United States. He was the Republican candidate for election in 1952. He has made it clear that he thinks of himself as a Republican. And he gave a blanket endorsement to all Republicans running everywhere prior to the most recent elections.

He and the Republican Party cannot be separated.

One of the most painful evidences of the lack of leadership in the Republican Administration lies in its failure to coordinate

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the statements of its various spokesmen. Hardly a week passes without one Cabinet or sub-Cabinet member saying something which another is forced to contradict.

Thus, we have had Messers. Wilson and Dulles in conflict over whether or not we were planning to withdraw some of our troops from Europe. We have had no fewer than four varying Administration statements on Soviet atomic capacity and ability to deliver the atomic bomb.

Most recently, the press has reported Administration officials in public disagreement on whether or not we are committed to storing atom bombs in Western Spain. A subject, incidentally, that should not have been discussed publicly for security reasons.

Mr. Eisenhower himself seems to have developed a sort of schizophrenic personality. He is constantly "clarifying", "correcting", or "spelling out" something he said "last week".

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Not too long ago, Mr. Eisenhower said that he considered himself the President of all the people and left the impression that he considered the Presidential office above local politics. This statement was made only a few days before the crucial elections in New York, New Jersey and Virginia.

Within another forty-eight hours -- just prior to the elections -- the White House issued one of its "spell-outs". Mr. Eisenhower, it was stated, did not mean to leave the impression that he was above politics. And he was firmly behind all Republicans running for office.

It is comforting to note that most of the Republicans running wound up firmly behind.

So, it goes in Washington, where sits an Administration lacking both program and leadership. Its record of achievement -- a very elusive thing-- is by far the best evidence of that lack.

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## THE DOMESTIC RECORD

If campaign promises were achievements, the Eisenhower Administration would today have the most glorious record in history. For, during his campaign for the Presidency, Mr. Eisenhower was all things to all men.

Today, he is all things to a few men -- a very few.

Mr. Eisenhower promised the American people virtually everything for which the New Deal and the Fair Deal have always stood.

He promised an expansion of social security programs, sound farm price supports, fair labor relations, decent housing, aid to small business, public power and the other positive and progressive programs which are the very fabric of the American democracy today.

He has delivered on none of these promises.

He has delivered only dismay and disillusionment to the

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great majority of Americans. The hopes and aspirations of November, 1952 have turned to fears and frustrations in November, 1953.

In a campaign speech in Jefferson City, Missouri, Mr. Eisenhower said "we can reduce our budget". And in Columbia, South Carolina, he said it was "time we had an Administration which knows how to keep spending down".

Today, the budget shows absolutely no sign of being balanced nor is the Administration claiming that it is going to be next year. Newspaper headlines report that "the present Administration is spending money faster than the Truman Administration was a year ago."

The 1952 Republican platform stated that "our goal is a reduced national debt". Only a few months ago, the Administration asked Congress to raise the legal debt limit by billions of dollars. The request was turned down.

In Chicago, the Republican candidate for President pledged himself to "foster rural elec<sup>tr</sup>ification". The Republican

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Administration has kept that pledge by cutting REA loan funds by 42 percent.

At Kasson, Minnesota, the Republican candidate for President promised the farmers that he was going to concern himself with "developing rural telephone service". The funds for telephone loans to farmers have been trimmed by 23 percent.

Also at Kasson, Eisenhower said -- and I quote:

"I firmly believe that agriculture is entitled to a fair, full share of the national income... and a fair share is not merely 90 percent of parity -- but full parity."

Mr. Eisenhower's Secretary of Agriculture has since made it clear that he would like to abandon the 90 percent support program -- the program which bolsters the farm economy and has raised the dignity of the farmer and his family. When popular indignation forced him to go slow, Mr. Benson -- I assume it is

- 12 -  
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safe to mention his name here -- Mr. Benson flatly refused to extend even 90 percent parity guarantees to a number of commodities.

In Omaha, Nebraska, the Republican candidate for President said that the only trouble with "soil conservation work is that it is moving too slowly".

Today, chances are that it won't move at all. The Republican Administration has organized the basic regional soil conservation offices out of existence in the face of protests from farm and soil conservation groups. Further -- in budget requests submitted following its election -- it trimmed agricultural conservation funds by 44 percent and soil conservation service work by nine percent.

In Denver, Colorado, the Republican candidate stated that social security ought to be extended and improved. How has the Eisenhower Administration handled that extension and improvement?

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Why, it has turned the matter over to a committee for study.

The chairman of that committee: A Congressman who in 1949 called social security "immoral."

Mr. Eisenhower told the AFL National Convention in New York last year that he stood for amendment of the Taft-Hartley Act.

He said that he knew that the law--as it stood--might "be used to break unions". He promised labor an "equal voice" in considering its amendment.

Today, Taft-Hartley is exactly where it was prior to Eisenhower's election .

The only man in his Cabinet with Labor's interest truly at heart has left in <sup>protest</sup> disgust.

The "equal voice" which Labor was promised is now no voice at all.

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During his presidential campaign, Mr. Eisenhower said -- and I quote - "We must endeavor constantly to raise the standard of health." Upon reaching the White House, he began his endeavors by submitting a budget that cut the public health service nineteen percent.

In Boston, the Republican candidate pledged himself to a program of better housing and slum clearance. The man he appointed to head up this "better" program is a former congressman with a record of vigorous opposition to slum clearance and low rent public housing.

Toward the end of his campaign, the Republican candidate said: "If I am elected President, TVA will be operated and maintained at maximum efficiency....TVA will continue to preserve and promote the prosperity of this great section of the United States."

After his election, Mr. Eisenhower was reported in the press as having referred to TVA as "creeping socialism." And reactionary Republicans in Congress have done their level best to make it impossible for TVA to exist -- much less creep.

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The Republican platform of 1952 -- and we assume that Mr.

Eisenhower has read it - stated that "we shall aid small business in every practicable way."

Today, the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its program of small business aid have been abolished. A new so-called Small Business Administration has been set up. Its aim appears to be to prevent adequate assistance to small business. Some idea of its effectiveness may be gleaned from the fact that its newly-appointed Republican Administrator departed rather hurriedly after only a few months in office.

These, then, are some of the many promises which Eisenhower made during his campaign -- promises which have not been kept.

The Republican record in Washington to date has been one of callous disregard for the people's welfare.

In failing to keep his campaign promises, the President has made it clear that the Republican party was and is interested in political power for power's sake.

That failure constitutes an insult to the people's intelligence.

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For it implies that the Republicans thought the American people were not wise enough to remember promises, and would not care if promises were not kept.

Well, the American people are wise enough.

Furthermore, they recognize that there are danger signs -- signs of economic difficulty ahead. They recognize that a slide can turn into a recession, and a recession into a depression, if action is not taken in Washington.

Consider some of these storm warnings:

Total factory output, as measured by the Federal Reserve Board, is down four percent from its peak 1953 month. Economists are forecasting an additional drop of as much as ten percent between now and the middle of next year.

Automobile production -- to cite one example -- is 'way down. The auto industry last month was producing 21 percent fewer autos than it produced in its best 1953 month.

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Major retailers are cutting down on their orders for durable goods. Inventories on the shelves are not being rebuilt to the normal levels.

The cost of living is higher than it has ever been before. The average American is paying more money for less goods than ever before.

Mortgage money is tight almost everywhere. Interest rates are up. The Republican "hard money" policy has made money harder to get than ever.

The farmer is being squeezed by the still-increasing spread between what he receives for his produce and what he pays for the things he needs. Beef cattle -- one of the perishables which the Republicans refuse to support at any price -- brought the raiser only 76 percent of parity in September 1953, as compared to 111 percent a year earlier.

The drought is one thing which I hesitate to blame on the Republicans. But it must be admitted that the Administration's tardiness and inefficiency in moving to help the drought-stricken areas certainly did not contribute to the farmer's well-being.

These, then, are some of the economic storm signals. They

demand action. And the demand it now.

What kind of action?

#### SPECIFIC PROPOSALS

The Administration might begin by keeping a few of its campaign promises. It might stop thinking about the bankers and the large corporations, and do something for the working man, the farmer and the small businessman.

It is too late to undo all the damage that has been done by the Republican failure to keep campaign promises. But it is not too late to do a great deal of good, by living up to at least some of them.

These are some of the specific lines of action I would recommend:

Farmers ought to be guaranteed a mandatory ninety percent parity price for their perishables as well as for their non-perishables. I favor a ninety percent parity support program for dairy products, poultry, eggs, cattle and hogs. The farmer is entitled to a fair return for his

product. It is the consumer's only assurance of continued abundance.

Existing public power programs should be strengthened and expanded. Public power should be made easier to get and cheaper -- not harder to get and dearer.

I believe that drastic action is required in the social security field. Our senior citizens have earned the right to a decent standard of living. Their plight today is shameful. The social security system ought to provide universal coverage at a minimum of \$100 a month. And it ought to be financed on a pay-as-you-go basis whereby everybody contributes in accordance with ability to pay.

The Taft-Hartley Act ought to be repealed and replaced by a new law fair to labor as well as management. I am convinced that any patching that this Administration does will simply make Taft-Hartley more unwieldy, without removing basic inequities to labor.

Small business ought to get some consideration in Washington. It is getting very little today. The so-called Small Business Administration ought to be revamped and given authority to really help small business.

It ought to be headed by somebody who understands and is sympathetic to small business' problems. Further, the current trend whereby various federal regulatory agencies are being packed with big business enthusiasts ought to be halted.

The government should do what private enterprise has shown it cannot do to stimulate mass purchasing power, to permit social progress and to foster equality of economic opportunity for all Americans. Equality of opportunity is an American tradition. We have but to live up to it.

FOREIGN POLICY RECORD

I have spent a good deal of time talking about domestic economic issues. They needed to be talked about. But I should now like to turn to the Republican record in foreign affairs.

What I am about to say is not likely to be confirmed by Mr. Eisenhower at his next press conference. But I think he would have a hard time denying it.

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The Republican Administration has, in general, been adhering to the broad foreign policy principles laid down by the Truman Administration. The Democrats in Congress have therefore supported the great majority of the Administration's foreign policy and economic aid programs. We have been a good deal more consistent in that support than has Mr. Eisenhower's own Republican party.

In fact -- on a number of key votes -- we have saved the Administration's foreign policy from being gutted by the Republican reactionaries and isolationists.

We Democrats have taken this constructive approach because we have recognized that the foreign policies which Mr. Eisenhower took over from Mr. Truman represent the key to our national survival.

I would not leave the impression, however, that the Republican foreign policy is beyond criticism. And I would certainly not agree that it has been well-administered.

For one thing, I fear that the Administration is slowly but surely undermining the technical assistance program.

"Point Four" is actually a bad word for the State Department today. It is seldom -- if ever -- referred to in public speeches by Administration spokesmen. The program has been thoroughly submerged in the over-all concept of military and economic aid. Its administration is no longer under a separate head with specific responsibilities for technical assistance only. Key executives who knew most about Point Four have been summarily dismissed from their jobs.

To my way of thinking, Point Four is one of the best weapons we have for combatting communism. It is not only a humanitarian concept. It also operates to strengthen the economies of backward areas so that they can contribute more to a healthy world trade. And it helps the hungry, the sick and the illiterate to develop a reasonable standard of living -- the kind of standard which will make defense against communist subversion possible.

I have said it before -- and I say it again -- we must concern ourselves with empty stomachs as well as with full cartridge belts. Our national security requires that we do so.

Another thing that disturbs me greatly about the Administration's foreign policy is the manner in which it has allowed State Department and foreign service morale to deteriorate. Morale among those who must make our foreign policy work today is as low as it ever has been. And if Mr. Dulles thinks that is not the case, he ought to talk to someone besides his executive vice presidents.

An equally serious fault, I think, has been the Administration's lack of candor in presenting foreign policy issues to the American people.

For example, the word "containment" is no longer in the official Republican vocabulary. Is that because we are no longer "containing" the Russians? Hardly! That is exactly what we are doing.

The word "containment" has been consigned to the outer darkness because the Republicans made it a campaign issue in 1952 -- an issue upon which they attacked the Democratic Administration. They are currently using new words to describe that very same "containment" policy which they assaulted during the electoral campaign.

The Republican Secretary of State's penchant for saying one thing and doing another provides us with other distressing examples of this lack of candor.

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Shortly after he became Secretary of State, Mr. Dulles went to Europe to confer with European foreign ministers. While abroad, Mr. Dulles say to it that American correspondents got the impression that he was laying down the law to our European allies -- that they had better deliver on their European Defense Community and NATO commitments or else.

Naturally, the newsmen saw to it that the American public was informed as to the stern attitude Mr. Dulles was allegedly taking in Europe.

Strangely enough, Mr. Dulles was actually being the soul of conciliation in his conferences with our European friends. He was neither stern nor demanding.

The truth is that Mr. Dulles was delivering one message to the people back home and a somewhat different one to the European foreign ministers.

This disturbing lack of candor is more than matched by the Administration's lack of tact and blunders in the foreign policy field.

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Only a few days before the very vital West German elections earlier this year, Mr. Dulles, in effect, shook his fist at the German voters. He indicated that America would be most displeased if they did not vote for Chancellor Adenauer and his supporters. Fortunately for America and for Mr. Dulles, the voters did that very thing despite Mr. Dulles' threat.

But the Social Democrats -- Adenauer's strongest competitors -- did everything possible to capitalize on the Secretary of States's blunder the day prior to election. There is no telling what might have happened had they had more time in which to exploit the Dulles statement.

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A very similar thing occurred shortly before the Italian elections of 1953. Mrs. Luce, Time Magazine's gift to the Republican Ambassadorial corps, made a speech in which she hinted strongly that further American aid to Italy might well depend upon how the Italians behaved during the elections.

What happened?

The Christian Democrats -- our best friends in Italy -- took a beating. Their total vote dropped some nine percent from what it had been in the preceding national elections. The Communists and their extreme left-wing allies gained. And the current pro-Western Italian government is literally hanging on by its finger-tips.

I don't say that Mrs. Luce -- potent though she is -- was solely responsible. But she certainly did not

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help matters.

Take the joint U.S.-British note of October 8 in which we made the much-publicized decision to award Zone A of Trieste territory to Italy. The decision -- whatever its merits -- was obviously made in a most irresponsible manner.

The newspapers report that neither the Yugoslavs nor the Italians were given adequate opportunity to discuss the matter. The Yugoslavs were apparently given only a few hours advance notice that the decision was about to be made public.

What has been the result of this undiplomatic diplomacy?

Zone A has not yet gone to Italy. The Yugoslavs are up in arms and threaten to march if it does. The Italians are clamoring for the decision to be implemented.

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There is rioting in Trieste itself. And, according to a recent New York Times report, there is a real question whether the majority of Zone A's people favor the decision which was so unceremoniously made for them.

I have already noted the furor which was created here at home when Administration spokesmen disagreed publicly on whether or not we were planning to store atom bombs in Fascist Spain. We may take it for granted that the statement created a little frenzy abroad too.

Our friends in France and in the Benelux countries had good cause to wonder whether we intended to keep our commitments to them in the event of a Soviet attack. They have heard more than one American advance the idea of a "last-ditch" defense in Spain should such an attack occur.

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Yes, the Republican Administration has committed blunders -- some of them very dangerous ones. I hope that it will do better in the year ahead. I pray that it will continue to adhere to the sensible, carefully-thought out foreign policy principles laid down by its Democratic predecessor.

RECOMMENDED AIMS

I should certainly like to see continued efforts to help the German people unify their country by peaceful means. I believe that should be done in a manner which will assure Germany's neighbors that they have nothing to fear from a revival of German militarism. I am not so naive as to think it can be done, however, unless the Russians are willing to talk to us in specific terms.

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I think that the Republican Administration ought to make this clear to the American people.

I believe that a treaty for Austria is long overdue. The Soviet Union has persistently blocked all reasonable efforts to achieve such a treaty. But we must be equally persistent in our efforts to break the log-jam.

A third objective I favor is making more of America's surplus food available to our friends overseas while at the same time providing a market for our domestic farmers. I have joined with Senator Murray of Montana as co-sponsor of a bill designed to achieve this end.

We should like to see an International Food Reserve created under the auspices of the United Nations. Our resolution does not commit Congress to any specific plan

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for such a reserve. It simply seeks to allow other peoples who need our food products but lack dollars with which to buy them to do their buying from the Reserve with their own currencies.

Such an international food reserve would be a positive contribution to peace and to our domestic well-being. It would ease the burden on the farmer. It would take some of the pressure off of the drive to raise our tariffs -- a move which would be most harmful to our foreign relations. And it would help other peoples to raise their living standards.

A fourth foreign policy approach which I should like to see taken concerns the millions of people enslaved behind the Iron Curtain. I think we must do everything in our power to help these people maintain their hope for and faith in freedom.

- 32 -  
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We must make it clear to them that we Americans have not forgotten them. And -- if a way can be found to do it without resorting to open conflict -- we must certainly help them to secure their freedom.

At the same time, we must avoid like the plague the ill-conceived "liberation" slogan which the Republicans used so callously during the 1952 campaign.

As usual, they traded in the currency of false hopes. For Republican "liberation" promises were never designed to be implemented by concrete action. The Republicans knew it in the fall of 1952. And the Administration knows it now.

A fifth and most important course of action which I support is -- strangely enough -- one of the few on which the Administration has taken a similar constructive position. I refer to the defeat of the so-called Bricker Amendment.

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I am convinced that adoption of this amendment would thoroughly cripple the foreign policy process. It would handcuff the President. It would make it impossible to enter into many of the types of treaties we are party to today. It would virtually destroy the power to make executive agreements.

From my point of view, the Congress today has adequate authority to make itself heard in the treaty-making process. No treaty can become law without the approval of two-thirds of the Senators voting. And -- in most cases -- both Houses of Congress must pass supplementary legislation to make the treaty effective. Any treaty can be nullified -- from our point of view -- by a simple act of Congress. And, of course, the Supreme Court has the power to invalidate any treaty or agreement which goes contrary to our Constitution.

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I cannot --- for the life of me --- see the argument that the treaty power as it now stands is any threat to our basic rights and liberties.

It is my intention to vote against the Bricker Amendment in the Senate if it comes to a vote. I sincerely hope that the Administration will continue to stand up against the amendment, no matter how loud the clamor from the Republican reactionaries becomes.

## DEMOCRATIC PARTY'S CHALLENGE

I have spoken of broken Republican promises and of Republican blunders. I have spoken of foreign policy and of domestic issues.

I have spoken as a Democrat, to a Democratic audience.

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But I have also spoken as an American seriously concerned for the safety of his country and for the future of his people.

I am a Democrat because I think ours is the only party which can and will lead the way to security and a better life for the American people.

As we Democrats approach the next electoral campaign, I think we need to keep in mind the grave challenge that faces us.

We want victory.

We can achieve victory.

But we must achieve it honestly, and in keeping with the great free traditions of our country.

Earlier, I spoke briefly of the vicious few who seek to use the Communist threat to whip up our fears

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and thus to turn us into cringing creatures of conformity. I spoke of the threat to those liberties which are basic to the structure of American democracy.

The Democratic Party must stand firm against Communism, and against any other force which seeks the destruction of our freedoms.

We must stand for freedom -- freedom of speech, of press, of worship. And we must act accordingly.

We must win at the polls on a clearcut platform dedicated to the dignity of the individual as well as to the social and economic progress of the group.

We must stand for freedom of conscience even as one of our party's founders stood for it. It was Jefferson who said -- and I quote:

"It behooves every man, who values liberty of conscience for himself, to resist invasions of it in the case of others; or their case may, by change of circumstances, become his own."

-37-  
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To that, I would only say "Amen".

Upon such principles our country was created.

For the furtherance of such principles our party  
is dedicated.

Only by adhering to these principles can the  
Democratic Party most usefully serve the country, in  
facing up to the dark clouds confronting us today.

And only by exerting our leadership, our energy,  
and our intelligence toward wiping out the dark clouds  
of today, can we achieve the brighter tomorrows that  
we all seek, in the silver lining ahead.

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EXCERPTS FOR USE BY SENATOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY ON TELENEWS  
FILM RE: KEYNOTE ADDRESS BEFORE YOUNG DEMOCRATS CONVENTION,  
NOVEMBER 13, 1953

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The Democratic Party has a tremendous responsibility. It is clear to me that we represent majority opinion in the United States. The American people believe in the way of life represented by the program of the New Deal and the Fair Deal. They voted for a Republican President and for a Republican Congress because the Republican candidate for President pledged a continuation of those programs of social security, farm price supports, fair labor relations, decent housing, aid to small business, public power and the other programs which provide the fabric of American life and democracy today.

But the American people are today disillusioned and disappointed in the Republican Administration. Their hopes have turned to fears. ~~They have learned that the philosophy of their government has changed so that dedication to the general welfare has been lost in the pursuit of more profits for General Motors.~~

The American people have been led to expect performance from campaign promises and not the cynical disregard for those promises.

They remember that the Republican candidate for President at Jefferson City, Missouri said "we can cut down our taxes". They now read the headlines which tell them "Ike dooms tax cuts", and press conferences whereby he states that he, in fact, never promised reduction in taxes.

They remember that in the same Jefferson City speech he said "we can reduce our budget". Today they read the headlines "budget can't be balanced".

They remember at Columbia, South Carolina the Republican candidate for President said "isn't it time we had an Administration which knows how to keep spending down". Today they read in their newspapers that the "present Administration is spending money faster than the Truman Administration was a year ago".

They remember that the 1952 Republican platform said "our goal is in reduced national debt". Today they read in the newspapers "Eisenhower asks rise of 15 billion in U.S. debt limit".

They remember that at Brookings, South Dakota the Republican candidate for President said that he was "pledged to the sustaining of the 90% parity price support". Today they read that his own Secretary of Agriculture with the President's support wants to abandon this 90% price support

program which bolsters the Agricultural economy and has raised the dignity of the farmer and his family.

They remember that in Chicago during the campaign the Republican candidate for President said that his Administration would be pledged "to foster rural electrification". They today are faced with the hard facts that the Eisenhower Administration cut REA electric loan funds by 42%.

At Kasson, Minnesota the Republican candidate for President said "we must always be concerned with developing rural telephone service". They today are faced with the hard facts that the Eisenhower Administration cut funds for telephone loans to farmers by 23%.

At Kasson, Minnesota the Republican candidate for President said "we must give high priority to the expansion of farm research". After the election, however, he proposed drastic budget slashes in marketing research, animal research, animal disease research, dairy herd research.

In Omaha, Nebraska the Republican candidate for President said "the only trouble with this kind of soil conservation work is that it is moving too slowly". After getting elected to office, the Eisenhower Administration promptly submitted budget requests which cut agricultural conservation funds by 44% and the soil conservation service work by 9%.

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The American people heard the Republican candidate for President say in Denver during the campaign that the social security law ought to be extended and improved. They now learn from the newspapers that instead of action on this most significant program, the Eisenhower Administration decided to undertake a "study" under the chairmanship of a Congressman who in 1949 called social security "unmoral".

During the campaign the American people heard the Republican candidate for President say "we must endeavor constantly to raise the standard of health". He promptly forgot his campaign pledge and submitted a budget which cut the public health service by 19%.

During the campaign the American people heard the Republican candidate for President pledge in Boston, a program of better housing and slum clearance. He promptly failed to fulfill that pledge, appointing to head up the public housing program a former member of Congress who during his service opposed slum clearance and low rent housing. During this Eisenhower Administration public housing was cut from \$135,000 provided for by the Democratic Administration to \$20,000.

During the campaign the American people heard the Republican candidate for President pledge an improved program of medical care for our veterans. They today read in our

newspapers of reductions in the veterans hospital program and read headlines "thousands lose chance to get free dental service from V.A."

During the campaign the American people heard the Republican candidate for President pledge a fearless, impartial and energetic program against monopoly. Today they read in the newspapers that the Administration has cut the Federal Trade Commission's budget by 28%.

The American people were told by the Republican platform of 1952 "we will aid small business in every practicable way". Today they learn that the new Administration abolished the Reconstruction Finance Corporation and its program of small business aid and set up a new program designed to prevent adequate assistance to small business.

During the campaign the American people heard the Republican candidate for President say "if I am elected President, TVA will be operated and maintained at maximum efficiency ... TVA will continue to preserve and promote the prosperity of this great section of the United States". Today they read in the newspapers: "Eisenhower points to the TVA as "creeping socialism".

The American people heard the Republican candidate for President say in Boston during the campaign: "I pledge that the full resources of our new Administration will be thrown

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into the battle against inflation". Today the American people face the hard facts that the cost of living has reached the highest level in our history.

The American people were told by the 1952 candidate of the Republican Party "we favor immediate statehood for Hawaii". I now read you a headline from the June 24, 1953 issue of the Washington Post: "GOP planning to shelf bill for Hawaii". I charge that this is duplicity and a calous disregard for campaign promies. The American people are repudiating this Administration.



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