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by  
SENATOR ROBERT H. HUMPHREY  
before the  
MONMOUTH COUNTY ADA CHAPTER ANNUAL  
ROOSEVELT DAY MEETING

Thank you very much for giving me the opportunity to be your guest this evening and to celebrate with you Roosevelt Day, 1954.

Your enthusiastic spirit is indeed a breath of fresh air to me as one who spends so much time in Washington.

We meet as men and women dedicated to honorable political activity. Many of us are Democrats, a few of us Republicans, more of us independents -- but all of us convinced that our organization, Americans for Democratic Action, is an essential vehicle in the American tradition for honorable, liberal and effective political activity.

You who are associated with the New Jersey activities of ADA have proven yourselves through the fire of practical politics. You have served to quicken the conscience and activity of political independents whose only stake in politics is decency in government. You have succeeded in selecting a Governor who symbolizes your ideals, shares your aspirations and is now demonstrating the truth of the maxim that the key to the secret of American strength and vitality is the blending of maturity that comes with experience along with the spontaneity and vitality that comes from youth. Your courageous, independent-minded, liberally-oriented voters of New Jersey have demonstrated that non-professional men and women by hard work have influenced politics for the common good and find in that job personal enjoyment and fulfillment.

I speak to you this evening as one of the early participants in ADA. From personal experience I have seen ADA in my state of Minnesota strive successfully to rebuild the Democratic Party and

save it from an unhealthy coalition of Communist Party agents and unscrupulous politicians. During my tenure as chairman of ADA I saw it plant the spirit of ambition and progress and mission into the fabric of the Democratic Party in my home state.

This new youthful Democratic Party which received its inspiration from Franklin Delano Roosevelt and its maturing stability from Harry S. Truman, brought to the national political scene such men of intelligent and dedicated leadership as Chester Bowles of Connecticut, Mennen Williams in Michigan, Adlai Stevenson and Paul Douglas in Illinois, Joe Clark and Richard Dilworth in Philadelphia, Wilson Wyatt in Kentucky, Jim Doyle in Wisconsin, Monroe Sweetland in Oregon and hosts of others who are today consistently proving that politics belongs to the people.

In your own state of New Jersey this new spirit of political idealism and vision has produced not only your great Governor, Robert Meyner; the distinguished public servant and my good friend,



Congressman Charles Howell; your neighboring Congressman

Harrison Williams and your standard bearers, Archibald

Alexander and Dwight Palmer, to mention just a few.

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In recent weeks there has been a healthy discussion within the ranks of the American liberal movement as to the role of ADA in American politics. This discussion has been healthy not only because out of it has come a crystallization of opinion, but also because in it there has been a refinement of views and re-evaluation of purposes. To stop thinking and to stop evaluating is to stop growing. As was to be expected, our soul searching was exploited by our opponents in an attempt to sow seeds of disunity and division within liberal ranks. An attempt was made to separate the professional from the amateur, the intellectual from the practitioner, the officially registered Democrat from the voting Democrat. These efforts to divide us have failed. ADA is stronger than ever. Our Roosevelt Day dinners have been more successful than ever. The presence of Harry S. Truman, the ex-President of the United States, and Adlai Stevenson, the next President of the United States at Roosevelt Day dinners at New York and Illinois

are visible proof **COPY** for all to see  
that ADA, its membership and its objectives are one and the same  
with the highest aspirations and objectives of the liberal leader-  
ship of the Democratic Party.

I am certain it is not necessary for me in this audience to  
stress the importance of maintaining a relationship between political  
party organizations and political independents. Political parties  
are basic in the operations of our democracy because they are the  
instruments by which candidates are selected, issues stressed and  
elections waged. American party 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 reality of government. Effective political  
electoral activity calls for a nucleus of dedicated workers and  
dedicated leadership who look upon politics as year-round, day in  
and day out activity. Political education and political organiza-  
tion must be carried on continually if we are to be effective in  
carrying out our aims.



At the same time, while party organization is indispensable,  
independent organization and activity is equally necessary. This  
is so if for no other reason than the number of political independents,  
is very large in our nation. This is also the case, however, because  
the political "machine" once the reliance of both political parties  
is slowly disappearing from the American body politic. It is no  
more possible for the professionals and semi-pros to win an election  
by themselves without the help of the independents than it is, to use  
an analogy of my good friend, Senator Paul Douglas, <sup>the</sup> for/regular Army,  
Navy and Marine Corps to win a large-scale war by themselves without  
the help of the citizen volunteers who form the reserves and the  
National Guards. Each needs the other and there is no reason why  
the two should not cooperate and work together.

The need for this joint political activity by the American  
liberal community is vital because arrayed against it is an almost  
solid block of daily and weekly newspapers. For our story to

reach the ears, minds and hearts of American people, we must organize, work, talk, write, contribute and tax our imagination to the limit to conquer the problem of communication that we face. This means that our practical politicians must not have any fear of ideas and our men of ideas must never make the mistake of thinking they have a monopoly on ideals. To achieve an ideal we need the idea and the know-how to make the idea a reality.

Let me now say a word about ideals and idealism. These are words which unfortunately tend to embarrass too many of us. Let us restore these words to their rightful place in our political vocabulary. We should be proud to be called idealistic. The soul of democracy is its idealism. Cynicism is the black heart of totalitarianism. The political idealism which binds us together is a realistic idealism. It requires that we know ourselves -- our assets, our faults, our liabilities and our weaknesses. This realistic idealism requires that we know the community in which we live and work -- the community of our immediate environment ~~and the broader~~



and the broader world community that encompasses all of us. It

requires that we establish for ourselves a set of realizable ideals'

and that we make a realistic appraisal of what we do and what we can

do.

The American people today want and need dynamic political leadership which has mastered the formula of realistic idealism.

With such leadership our visions of greater tomorrows can become a reality. Our vision which may seem like a dream to those of lesser faith is to us of this generation, of this day and of this time a call to action, an inspiration to do more magnificently and confidently that which others have done before us for their generation.

Our country today faces the gravest challenges of its existence:

1. We are threatened by a totalitarian tyranny from without.

2. We face economic difficulties from within.

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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. You here at Monmouth have seen a vivid example of this threat.

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

The Administration must come to learn if we are to escape disaster that it will take more than an Ike button to meet these challenges. To meet these challenges we need both a positive political program and the leadership which can carry it through.

The Administration in Washington has failed to meet either of these tests. We must demonstrate to the American people that we can successfully meet both of these tests and help the American people successfully meet the great challenges of our day.

We can do so because we are not filled with the memories of yesterday alone. We are alert to the needs of today and we see visions of tomorrow. We seek to pioneer new frontiers and to win new victories. The political plasma of this youthful spirit is now permeating the leadership of our banks. We welcome such a transfusion. The door is wide open; the opportunities are unlimited and 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 hearts.

The Republican Administration in Washington has been like a Cadillac -- a General Motors product, you know -- with an engine at each end and going nowhere at 100 miles an hour.

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 ~~Mr.~~ <sup>Mr.</sup> ~~Mc~~, 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, Mr. Eisenhower is the Republican President of the United States. He was the Republican candidate for election in 1952. He had 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.

Now, the President is a kind man - considerate and friendly. However, when he joined into that hurried and harried political wedlock with the Republican high command, he apparently did not

take the time to look over the list of political relatives! He had lived so long in the friendly environment of Democratic administrations he undoubtedly thought that all people in public life were such good folks. He had never attended a Republican caucus. He had read in 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. Hardly a week passes without

one Cabinet or sub-Cabinet member saying something which another is forced to contradict.

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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 choke 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.

When he sends a message to Congress that we are in prosperity -- only we don't know it -- his own agencies submit statistics of growing unemployment and his economic advisors wear worried frowns.



I suggest the next time the Republican Cabinet has a song fest, that it adopt as the party's official anthem that great song of stage and screen, "Bewitched, Bothered and Bewildered".

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

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 American democracy today.

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 February 1954.

Let us look back to October 1952, the month before the Republicans convinced the voters that there should be a change.

There was virtually no unemployment in the United States. Everyone had a job.

The farmers were getting an average of 100 per cent of parity for their crops.

Inflation had been stopped and for twenty months the general price level had been stable.

Personal income after taxes had risen to \$235 billion a year, or in terms of real and not merely dollar income \$31 billion more than it had been in 1946 and nearly \$100 billion more than in 1939. The increase since 1950 had indeed been more than enough to meet the added costs of the Korean war.

Business was very profitable and prosperous -- although you would be led by advertising techniques and sales hoopla to believe that the GOP discovered and patented private enterprise. The corporations made after taxes no less than \$18.6 billions and were investing in industry at the rate of \$26.5 billions.

Automobiles were still selling, and so were farm implements; the sales lots were not stacked with unmovable merchandise.

Steel was operating at 107 percent of capacity.

The railroads were moving a vast volume of goods to consumers, carloadings were high, and employment was stable.

That was October, 1952. Now let us look at February 1954:

Domestically, the number of unemployed has reached 5 percent of our total labor force. The farm equipment industry is in serious trouble. So is the radio and television industry, and so are automobiles and so is steel and textiles. Our heavy goods industries are down as are railroads and mail order sales. Farm income is dangerously low and continues to fall.

Whatever the Republican blind men of "see no evil, hear no evil, speak no evil," may think of it, our economy is in a recession. Whether we are in a depression or on the way to one is a technical semantic problem which does not interest me. I remind you of the definition that a recession exists when your neighbor loses his job, and a depression exists when you lose your job.



We are this evening commemorating Roosevelt Day. Compare this record of failure and alibis with the first 100 days of the Roosevelt Administration. Franklin Delano Roosevelt did not spend his time looking for alibis and asking for more time. He and the majority of the Congress which was elected with him acted. I am really quite astonished at the claim of the GOP orators that they need more time to study and to unfold their program. Why, they have had 20 years to prepare one.

It is altogether fitting on this Roosevelt day that I suggest to the present Administration in Washington that they try to emulate the noble example of the man whose life and record we commemorate this evening. He acted constructively and in the public interest. The committees of the Congress which the Democrats controlled during the days of the New Deal did not subpoena the former President, Mr. Hoover, and did not spend its time attempting to relive the past. The dignity of the Presidential

office was respected. Instead of trying to stir up confusion, conflict and diversion the Democratic leadership acted to meet the real challenge and to build solidly for the future.

I know that the campaign speeches of 1952 have been filed away in the archives of the Republican National Committee. I serve notice on the Republican Party, however, that there is in my office a thick file of those campaign speeches and pledges. I consider it my duty just as I know it is the duty of all of us in this audience tonight to act like the Big Ben alarm clock and firmly awaken the Administration to its daily tasks.

The budget still remains unbalanced. When our red-faced Administration friends are asked about their pledge to balance the budget, they bring forward a new alibi. "There are two kinds of deficits," they solemnly state, "namely, bad deficits and good deficits. Bad deficits are Democratic deficits. Good deficits are Republican deficits. Under the bad Democratic deficits, the expenditures are more than the receipts. Under the good Republican

deficits, the receipts are less than the expenditures." They  
will not sell this palaver to the American people!

The Republican goal of reduced national debt has been inundated in the request for raising the debt ceiling. If they think they can and will carry out this promise, why are they asking for \$15 billion more spending authority?

The promise of reduced taxes for the American people brings forth the proposal to reduce the taxes of those who obtain their income through stocks and bond dividends and clipping coupons while the Administration leadership in the Congress firmly and energetically oppose the Democratic suggestion that we raise personal exemptions from \$600 to \$800 and thus lighten the tax load on most Americans.

The only tax reductions that have taken place are the elimination of excess profits tax and  $2\frac{1}{2}\%$  increase in the basic income tax -- proposals which the Democrats have provided in the



original legislation.

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To list the domestic campaign pledges of this Administration is to list a series of failures by this Administration. I am reminded of the old Chinese saying: "Fool me once, shame on you. Fool me twice, shame on me." The American people will not be fooled twice.

We need an immediate program to meet the internal threat of economic recession. We must have a reduction of taxes on the lower income groups so that they may have more income to spend and thereby build up a demand for production and employment. This we can do by raising the exemption limit on income taxes immediately from \$600 per independent to at least \$800 and later \$1,000. We must also decrease taxes on non-luxury items and reduce and perhaps eliminate excise taxes as much as possible.

Secondly, we must insist upon speedy action of a program of public works to build up employment and purchasing power. This

is basic to a healthy economy. Our construction programs should concentrate on slum clearance and housing for our urban dwellers and on roads, schools, hospitals everywhere. These public works projects are on the shelves ready to be used if there is a will to use them. We drew up these project plans in 1945-46. They should be begun and committed as economic conditions call for their use.

Let me say at this time from the bottom of my heart that our job is to prevent a depression from happening. I take no personal or political solace in the thought that a depression is good politics for the Democratic Party. We must seek to regain prosperity under this Administration at this time even if it means keeping the Republican Party in power. The human consequences of a depression are too severe for us to go through once again.

But no one can prevent a sickness from developing into a chronic disease if the man who is sick insists that he is well.

and needs no treatment or medicine. Unless we face the facts

we are not ready to act. That is what I and my colleagues in ADA

and the Democratic Party have been trying to do. We are describing

what we see without fear or hesitation, and we are prescribing

a solution in a positive and constructive fashion. We do not propose

to stand by while increasing numbers of Americans lose their jobs

and homes and their security simply because the Republican Party

refuses to face the facts for fear it may cause them political

embarrassment.

I listed two great challenges: economic difficulties from within; and the threat of totalitarian tyranny from without.

Let me say a few words about the problems we face in our international relations. This is a subject which occupies most of my time and energies in the Congress for I serve as a member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

I approach the subject of our international affairs with a deep sense of humility and nonpartisanship for these problems are complex and affect each and everyone of us and our families vitally.



For that reason my record shows a greater record of consistent support for the policy recommendations of the Republican Administration than can be shown by a majority of the Republicans in the Senate. I intend to continue to support the Administration's foreign policy when I think it is correct, and to oppose it vigorously when I believe the Administration is succumbing to the Neanderthal prehistoric wing of the Republican Party.

I would be less than candid with you, however, if I did not openly express my concern over some of the developments in the international field that our government is inaugurating.

The first serious mistake that the Administration made arose out of its grandiose and irresponsible campaign pledge that it could preserve our national security and our national defenses and still spend less money. The Administration, therefore, insisted on cutting the Air Force by \$5 billion last year. They reduced the

number of wings from 137 combat units to 110; cancelled orders for over 700 combat planes and discontinued the pilot training of thousands of reserve officers. This was a most unfortunate and perhaps tragic mistake. It is true that the Administration is today tacitly admitting that it was wrong and announces that it is now going to restore the 137 wing schedule and rely for defense predominantly on air borne atomic bombers, but we have lost a year's time from the cancellation of the planes and it will take us at least two years to train the pilots whom they let go.

This irresponsible sense of false economy led the Administration to reduce the Armed Forces by 200,000 last year, and it announces that it wants to cut the Armed Forces by nearly 300,000 next year. This is a reduction of 10 percent for Army, Navy and Marine Corps. The new budget would cut the Army 17.5 percent, from 20 to 17 divisions; the Navy 7 percent; the Marine Corps 4.5 percent.

My close and intense questioning of the Administration's representatives who appeared before our Senate Foreign Relations Committee has so far failed to reveal any reason for optimism which would tend to make our nation relax its defenses. I need only remind you that there are in Europe 175 Russian divisions and some 90 in the Satellites, let alone the armed forces of Red China.

This is no time to let our guard down. The Administration program for our Armed Forces will mean fewer men in our combat units and less strength on land. I see nothing in the military or diplomatic picture of today which should permit us to run such a grave risk.

The Administration appears willing to take this risk because of its reliance on the use of atomic strategic weapons. I speak in all candor to you when I say I do not share that reliance. Such a reliance not only fills the people of the world with dread and



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fear, and helps the Communists sell their false vision of us as a calloused aggressive nation, but it is in my judgment also militarily unwise. It is also particularly dangerous when we consider our own vulnerability as a nation to atomic attack. My point of contention is not directed at our emphasis on nuclear weapons, it is rather more directed on our de-emphasis of conventional weapons.

Let us never forget that the chief object of our military preparedness is to dissuade other nations from aggression and to thus make aggression unprofitable. That is why we helped create the United Nations, establish the Greek-Turkish aid program, strengthened the economies of our allies, created the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, provided a military assistance program and mutual security program and are today striving to implement a European Defense Community. That is why we moved to check Communist aggression in Korea, a step which may well be referred to in history as the turning point in the struggle against Communist totalitarianism.

Lowring our ~~share~~, reducing conventional armaments, weakening  
our Army, Navy and Marine Corps -- these run counter to our ob-  
jectives as a nation. These tend to introduce doubt and insecurity  
and thus undermine the firm will of our allies.

There are other danger signals in the international picture.  
Our Point Four program designed to win us friends in Asia and help  
those yearning millions to achieve dignity and stature in the world  
is today living an uneasy existence thoroughly surrounded by the  
overpowering influence of the military. Our Point Four message  
of good will is barely heard for the saber-rattling and atomic  
explosions that smother its sound.

Our friendly relations with the people and government of India  
are under intense crisis. We have failed to make our military  
objectives understood and we have failed to gain their confidence.

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

high places in our government. They are frightened by threats emanating from our small but active band of political irresponsibles.

There are also signs that the Soviet Union is attempting to win a trade victory over the United States. While we undermine our reciprocal trade program, the Soviet Union signs one trade agreement after another with the nations of the world.

If ever there was 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 in the world and against ignorance and intolerance among <sup>peoples</sup> ~~peoples~~. We must be a friend of freedom-loving people everywhere who seek the same goals and have the same desires. We must never waiver from our inter-



nationalist commitments which represent the brotherhood of man  
and the dignity of the individual.

I have spoken to you of politics, of international policy  
and of domestic issues. I have spoken as a Democrat and as an  
officer of ADA to a friendly audience, but I have also spoken as  
an American seriously concerned with the safety of his country  
and for the future of our people. I have spoken as an American  
aware of the fact that the future challenges us.

We still have to advance and achieve a full measure of civil  
rights for our people.

We have not yet discharged our responsibility to shelter and  
care for the refugees from Communism and Nazism.

We have not yet done full justice to our schools, our hospitals,  
our aged and handicapped.

We have not yet successfully met the threat to civil liberties  
which prevails in and out of the official halls of government.

Our job is not yet done.

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We must stand firm against Communism and against any other force which seeks to take away our freedom -- we must stand for freedom of speech, of press, of worship.

We must stand for freedom of conscience.

Only by adhering to those principles can we serve our country and only by adhering to those principles can our nation serve the world.

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

We need a government with more callouses on its hands, a bigger heart for its people, and a greater vision for the possibilities of tomorrow. You and your constant and continued efforts can help make that ideal a reality.



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