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The Following Quotations, taken from speeches made by Governor Harold E. Stassen during the past four years, shows his social, economic and political philosophy. These statements indicate how he thinks on vital problems involving Labor, Agriculture, Business, Government and the personal rights of the individual. Harold Stassen speaks-

--TO LABOR--

His Policy As Governor Toward Labor

"Our administration will respect the trade union movement as an economic movement and will not seek to make of it the tail of a political kite.--Neither shall we seek to prostitute your organization by reaching into your ranks with the insidious hand of patronage. We shall never permit the national guardmen's bayonets to be used as an employers' weapon to crush those who labor. Neither shall we give to the irresponsible left wing of labor the support of the state government in its attempt to undermine the sound labor movement built through years of constructive leadership"--Address to delegates of the Minnesota Federation of Labor, at Mankato, Sept. 13, 1938.

Labor's Need For Responsible Leaders

"The flames of industrial warfare present one of the most serious problems facing the people of Minnesota. The twin stokers that feed these flames are the few reactionary industrialists on the one hand and the few irresponsible, radical labor agitators on the other--both are causing untold damage to the general public. The organs of government must not be used to further either of these extremes. The power of state should not be used to crush labor on behalf of an unreasonable employer, nor should it be used to encourage and incite labor racketeers.

The greatest responsibility of labor today is to recognize the qualities of its own leadership. If labor follows and supports its own sound, tried, constructive leadership, it will have the indispensable support of public opinion and great progress will be made in collective bargaining, in improved working conditions and better wages. If, on the other hand, labor follows irresponsible leadership, it will lose public support and will become involved in premature and unnecessary strikes and malicious violence."- Hastings speech on November 18, 1937 to Star For Governor Volunteers of Dakota County.

Clear Cut Labor Policy-Nationally

"Government should have a clear cut labor policy

understood by all. This policy should not include compulsory arbitration. It should not take away the right to strike. But it should include definite steps to prevent small elements of labor from causing stoppages contrary to the wishes of labor as a whole and contrary to the wishes of labor's best national leadership. Such a policy clearly defined would have strong public support. It would help labor as a whole.

In my judgment, it should be administered by men in government who have an actual background of experience in the ranks and in the leadership of organized labor. American Labor should actively cooperate in devising, developing and administering such a policy"--
Address to the Sixty First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Seattle, Washington, October 7, 1941.

A Solution For Defense Strikes

"In these past two months, there have been too many strikes in vital defense industries. These have been a very serious factor in delaying national defense.--

I suggest, therefore, that either labor and capital should agree, or legislation should be passed to bring about these solutions (and when I speak of them, I recognize that the great majority of both labor and industry has been doing a splendid, magnificent job; but we must approach the problem of the remainder):

First and foremost, that no jurisdictional disputes between branches of organized labor should be permitted to cause any stoppage even for one hour of a national defense project or production; and, specifically, the president of the A. F. of L. and the president of the C.I.O. should agree on an arbitrator; that arbitrator should decide jurisdictional disputes in defense production while the production continues.

Second, both the A. F. of L. and the C.I.O. should agree that no strikes shall be started on a national defense project without first giving thirty days' written notice to the Conciliation Service of the United States Government.--

Now, if labor and capital will not agree to such a plan, I am convinced that it should be provided for by laws of the Congress. We in Minnesota have had that plan in the last two years, and in the last four months in Minnesota, with a half-million men in the industries covered by unemployment compensation, only ninety-nine men have been involved in strikes in our state. Ninety-nine men out of a half-million workmen".--Town Meeting of the Air Speech, Mar. 20th, 1941, St. Paul, Minn.

Suggestions To Labor For Post-War Period

"The fourth challenge before labor is to prepare a program and to develop public support for it, to meet the tremendous problems of readjustment and of reaction when the emergency has passed and the defense program ends.

Clearly the problems of this period will be intense and upon the method of meeting them and the effectiveness of the solutions much depends.

Here are three suggestions for that period: To prepare and set in operation an extensive public works program, not of the W.P.A. type, but rather of contractual construction of undertakings of permanent national value such as super-highways, an advanced network of airdromes, and the harnessing of water power, with provision for revenue use of the results in a manner similiar to the Pittsburg Toll Highway.

The active encouragement of research, invention and discovery of new industrial products and of their production under favorable conditions as to taxes and other obligations during their experimental periods, with the spreading of industrial developments on a broad base throughout the nation.

The inauguration of extensive low-cost housing construction founded on private capital and individual ownership with a direct government subsidy but of the minimum necessary amount".- Address to the Sixty First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Seattle, Washington, October 7, 1941.

Urges Laborers To Be Tolerant

"I know you will also insist upon an attitude of tolerance and understanding between our people of all races and creeds and groups. He who kindles the flames of intolerance and bitterness lights a fire under his own house.

The strong reaction of the American people against recent attempts to stir up group hatreds has been one of the most encouraging indications of the real strength of unity in America."-Address to the Sixty First Annual Convention of the American Federation of Labor, Seattle, Washington, October 7, 1941.

--TO MANAGEMENT--

Government And Free Enterprise

"First and foremost, our attitude is one of a fundamental faith in the future of this nation on the basis of an economic system of individual initiative and free enterprise and a governmental system of a democracy based upon the sovereignty of the individual citizen. It is our further concept that the answers to all of our problems is not to shrug our shoulders and say "let the government do it."

We feel that the role of government should be that of aiding, but not of substituting for, private enterprise and the judgment and decisions of its individual citizens"-- Address in response to the presentation of the Distinguished Service Award of 1939, Jan. 23, 1940, St. Paul, Minnesota

Fair To Business-Mean More Jobs

"We should not and need not grant unfair special privileges to any business in Minnesota, but by fair treatment we can encourage further development within the state which will mean more new jobs for workmen still unemployed or still working on low income public works projects."- Inaugural Message Of Gov. Stassen to a Joint Session of the Fifty-First Session of the Minnesota Legislature, January 3, 1939.

Mutual Understanding Between Business And Government

"The foundation for the development of more jobs in private business must be the building up of a mutual respect of business for the government, and of government for business. It is wrong and it is unsound for business to control government, and it is equally unsound for government to control business. It appears clear that if we had to develop that respect for government which is the first requisite of a successful democracy, then abuses in business practices must be sternly checked; but they must be regulated and corrected without intemperate attacks upon all of business and without an attitude of hostility between government and private enterprise.- It is equally essential that business should not blindly fight against all attempts to develop social security, and should not take up en masse cudgels against government when the improper practices of some are corrected and regulated."-Speech over the columbia broadcasting system from St. Paul, Jan. 12, 1939.

Independence of Domination By Vested Interests

"A second major responsibility of leadership is to maintain an independence of domination or control from any source. The Governor of Minnesota can not be dominated by trusts or large corporations or men of great wealth and best serve the people of the state, and neither can a governor of Minnesota be dominated by a handful of selfish, radical political bosses and properly serve the people of the state."-Campaign speech at St. Cloud, Oct. 31, 1938.

"We have maintained an absolute independence of domination or dictation by any special group in the state. We have steadfastly refused to make deals of any kind and have refused to be drawn into

cheap, political namecalling sessions. We will continue that impartiality and that independence during the next two years. In this campaign, we will again refuse to accept any funds that have strings attached to them. We will continue to be free to serve the people of the state as a whole."- Radio address over a statewide radio hook-up, Sept. 6, 1940, St. Paul, Minn

Plan For Speeding Up War Production

"We all recognize the urgent need of speed and efficiency in building up the mechanical means of defense.- - For that purpose the greatest possible speed we can make will still be none too fast.

And what does this mean specifically? This means that capital and management must take the position that, where speed and profits clash, speed should be given the right of way. Thus, first, a larger percentage of the prime contracts issued for national defense should be farmed out to small subcontractors, to utilize the total productive ability of our country and to speed up the ultimate volume of defense production, even though that process cuts down the profits of the prime contractor.

Second, large numbers of apprentices or helpers should be placed alongside of the skilled workmen in our factories, even though their compensation takes away profit, in order to train them for future needed expansion.

Third, ordinary commercial production must be permitted to lag in order to speed defense production, even though this eats into the profits.

Fourth, capital should voluntarily agree that if their net profits in 1941, after paying increased Federal defense taxes, are larger than their net profits in 1940, they will share that increased profit through bonuses to their workmen."- Town Meeting of the Air Speech, Mar. 20, 1941, St. Paul, Minnesota.

--TO LABOR AND CAPITAL--

Curbing Extremists In Both Groups

"A great problem that must be worked out is that of the relationship between capital and labor.- - The answer does not lie with the extremists on either side of these controversies. Neither with the employer who seeks to crush labor or with the irresponsible labor leaders who foment unnecessary strikes and violence. And neither is the solution to endeavor to have government make the decisions for the employer or the employees as to what the working conditions shall be. Rather progress must be made in the curbing of the extremists on both sides and the development of fair negotiations between the representatives of the laborer and of the employer, with opportunities for conciliation and mediation, leading to a voluntary contract entered into by the parties."--
Address delivered at the National Convention Of The Junior Chamber of Commerce at Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 22, 1939.

"There Is Only Room For One United Front"

"The demagogic attempt to stir up bitterness and intolerance between labor and capital and even between groups of labor is contrary to the very foundation of a free democracy. We observe so many attempts to develop a united front of labor against capital or of employers against unions, or of one group of unions against another. Sound reflection makes us realize that there is room in our system of government and economics for just one united front. That is a united front that takes in the men and women of all occupations and all walks of life, recognizing their mutual problems and their joint interdependence upon each other and moving forward together toward better conditions for all."-- Address delivered at the National Convention of the Junior Chamber of Commerce at Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 22, 1939.

--TO AGRICULTURE--

Attitude Toward Farmer

"We shall recognize that the most important step toward improved conditions in Minnesota is to restore and build up the purchasing power of the Minnesota farmer. We shall never lose sight of the fact that the individual farmer on his farm is the very backbone of the State of Minnesota. They are the largest market for the product of our wage earners and when they have money to buy the things they want and eat, there will be more jobs in Minnesota. While this problem of raising farm income is national in scope, a state government in an agricultural state such as ours, can furnish constructive leadership and encouragement to the program of the farmers and farm organizations." -Republican key note address Sept. 2, 1938.

Legislature Urged To Recognize Agriculture

"There are certain general principles that I urge that you do not lose sight of at any time during this session of the legislature. The first is the fact that agriculture is the very basic industry in Minnesota. The farmers of the state have suffered and are suffering from their lack of parity. The low prices of agricultural products present an acute condition. The high taxes on their real estate and the high cost of interest on their mortgages and indebtedness, and the very vital place that agriculture plays in the future of the state, makes this entire problem one of major concern for us. Although this is a problem of national scope, and of necessity requires national action, it is a situation which you should never lose sight of in the consideration of any legislative proposal that affects agriculture. Likewise, you should recognize the responsibility of Minnesota as one of the outstanding agricultural states of the nation to take a position of leadership, in cooperation with its farmers, and in urging national action to meet their problems." -First inaugural message, Jan. 3, 1939.

Farm Industry Must Be Encouraged

"Here in Minnesota the production of our farms is of overwhelming importance. The broad acres of our agriculture is the greatest source of new wealth in Minnesota. Almost one-half of our people make their livelihood directly from the products of the soil. Serious and continuing lack of parity for agriculture, and the failure of the tillers of the soil to secure their fair share of the national income, is a problem of the gravest importance and affects not only those who derive their living from the farm, but indirectly vitally affects everyone within the state.

While these problems are essentially national in nature and must be solved on a national basis, there are some steps that can be taken within the state. - - All types of industry processing farm products should be encouraged, as this is a very sound type of industry for Minnesota, giving cash markets for farm products and furnishing jobs for our workmen. I trust you will give serious attention to the legislation presented to you by the farm organizations of the state." -Second Inaugural Message to a Session of the Fifty-Second Session of the Minnesota Legislature, Jan. 8, 1941.

Agriculture's Responsibilities For The Future

"Drawing from the inspiration of the past, let us turn our eyes resolutely to the future. When we do so, it appears to me that we see four major responsibilities of the Grange:

First, to contribute to the building of a strong, united America for the defense of our way of life.

Second, to join intelligently and effectively in being the "larder of the democracies."

Third, to prepare to safeguard agriculture in the years of reaction and readjustment when those days of peace, which we hope and pray are not too far distant, come again.

Fourth, to plan to play a part in working out the future relations between the nations of the world so that there might be a continuing peace, in place of these tragically recurring wars." - - -
Address delivered at the Diamond Jubilee Session of the National Grange at Worcester, Massachusetts, Nov. 15, 1941.

Need For Research in Agriculture

"It should likewise involve pushing forward in research and discovery of new uses for agricultural products. To the greater degree that agriculture can secure a part of the expenditure for industrial raw materials, such as in the soy bean and flax fibre development, to that degree can we add to the income of the farmers a part of industrial revenues as well as the food revenues." - - -
Address delivered at the Diamond Jubilee Session of the National Grange at Worcester, Mass. Nov. 15, 1941.

Agriculture After The War

"I know that you and your leadership are keenly aware of the necessity of looking ahead to the problems of readjustment of the defense program when the wars abroad are ended. Careful study should be made of the requirements for agricultural products in that period and in planning steps to prevent recurrence of the terrific blows to agriculture that followed the last World War. This means the planning of a program that will give to agriculture a just and fair share of the national income upon the products that are consumed within this country and will work out a means of marketing surpluses in other parts of the world. It may well involve new types of cooperation in the handling of surpluses with other countries of the world, but it should at the same time carefully safeguard a fair share of the income spent in the American market place for American agriculture." -
Address delivered at the Diamond Jubilee Session of the National Grange at Worcester, Massachusetts, Nov. 15, 1941.

--ON GOVERNMENT--

Integrity Of Public Officials

"The character, the stability and the efficiency of any home, of any business, of any community, rests upon the character and ability of the men and women who make up that home, that business or that community. To an even greater extent the character and conduct of a government rests upon the character and conduct of the men and women in the service of that government."-Hastings speech on Nov. 18, 1937 to Stassen For Governor Volunteers of Dakota County.

Appointment of Men of Integrity and Efficiency

"Appointments are being made and shall be made to positions of public responsibility on the basis of the fundamental integrity of the men and women appointed, their ability to fill the positions to which they are appointed and their interest in the vital policies of our administration. They shall be continued in their positions only so long as they remain faithful to their public trust."- Inaugural Message to A Joint Session of the Fifty-First Session of The Minnesota Legislature Jan. 3, 1939.

Recognizes Authority Of Local Government

"In the preservation of democracy we should oppose all steps toward the undue centralization of power in a State Capitol. The closer power is kept to the people the less opportunity there is for abuse. For this reason we must oppose the abolition of the township form of government. We must oppose the intrusion of a state machine for a governor into local election and local problems."-Republican key note address, Sept. 2, 1938.

State Government's Responsibilities To The People

"Our present joint responsibilities to the people might be divided into these main groups:

First: To do our full share as a united people in our state in the building up of our national defense and in supporting the president of the United States.

Second: To contribute toward production and enterprise by being helpful to the farmer, friendly to the laborer, and fair to the businessman.

Third: By giving the maximum amount of intelligent assistance to those who are handicapped or in need.

Fourth: To further improve the effectiveness, the integrity, and the economy of our government."- Second Inaugural to a Session of the Fifty-Second Session of the Minnesota Legislature, Jan. 8, 1941

Government A Cushion-"Not A Bed"

"We face the future with faith in the great resources of men and materials of this nation, with the realization that obstacles

cannot be overcome by traveling over an easy route, but that progress can and will be made through constructive interest in government, an attitude of tolerance and understanding between our people, a recognition of our mutual interdependence, and a realization that government must furnish a cushion against the harsher features of our free economic system, but it cannot successfully furnish a bed in which society can go to sleep."- Lincoln address delivered at Grand Rapids, Michigan, Feb. 12, 1940.

Against "Letting Government Do It"

"First and foremost, the answer to our maladjustment is not "Let the Government do it". There has never been devised a form of government that can equal or has equalled in the standards of living that it supplies to its people, the standards set by our system of free individual enterprise.- -" Address delivered at The National Convention Of the Junior Chamber of Commerce at Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 22, 1939.

Private Initiative Must Not Be Discouraged

"If it would become a settled and known governmental policy that he who saved would have it taken from him, that he who produced would be regimented and have the fruits of his production taken away, and that he who neither saved nor produced would have handed to him ample purchasing power, it would be a major tragedy in the history of this land"- Address at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference of the National Tax Association, Oct. 16, 1941, St. Paul, Minnesota .

Government By Law-Not By Men

"We meet in an hour of international crisis as the dictator-fanned flames of total war are threatening to turn the governments of the world into governments of men and not of laws.

I need not emphasize to you the importance of the principle or of the severity of the present challenge to it. The precious lights of liberty of free men are established by laws and are maintained by laws. Men are subject to whims-laws are not. Men are guilty of hates-laws are not. Men become greedy and selfish-laws do not. This is the background from which we face our responsibilities on this date.

It is well at the opening of our discussion that we re-affirm our abiding faith in our democratic way of life, in our government by law, and our united determination that those who challenge it shall fail.- -" Address to the National Association of Attorneys General at Indianapolis, Indiana, Sept. 30, 1941.

Preserve Federal System Even In War

"We feel strongly that our federal system of government with its 48 separate states, all united under the central government, each with its right and responsibilities is an additional bulwark to safeguard our future freedom and liberty. We seek to so efficiently conduct state governments, to so thoroughly cooperate in the united meeting of emergencies that the value of our federal system will be at all times clearly

recognized and preserved, and that as a united nation we will have faith, confidence, and courage in the future of America, and will keep burning the precious lights of liberty which mean so much to the happiness and progress of the men and women and little children, not only within our borders, but in the rest of the world."-Address delivered over the Columbia Broadcasting system on National Defense, Sept. 13, 1941, St. Paul.

Keeping Government Simplified

"It is our concept that as the functions of government become more complex it then becomes increasingly important that the mechanics of government be greatly simplified, its burden reduced, its trend toward centralized power reversed, and its financial stability improved."-Address in response to the presentation of the Distinguished Service Award of 1939, Jan. 23, 1940, St. Paul, Minn.

State Governments Must Be Strong During War

"While this entire defense and emergency program commands so much of our attention, there should be no let down in the efforts to constantly improve the effectiveness and strength of State Government in its own proper sphere. The efficient and economical administration of State governmental affairs ; the prompt development of State defense forces to take the place of the National Guard units called into Federal service; the enactment of necessary state legislation against sabotage and fifth column activities; and all steps that maintain the standing and respect of state governments, will not only contribute to the strength of the Union, but will also constitute added safeguards to the liberty of the individual citizens of the Union."-Address to the National Association of Attorneys General at Indianapolis, Indiana, Sept. 30, 1941

Responsibilities Of State Officials During War

"Our responsibility as representatives of the governments of the several States seems clear.

First, and foremost as States of the Union, we must give united support regardless of geographical location or partisanship to the established foreign policy of the Federal Government.

Second, we must make every possible co-operative contribution to the effective and rapid building and production of the means of national defense.

Third, we must maintain strong and efficient State governments as one of the safeguards of the future liberty of our people in face of the inevitable great concentration of Federal Executive power necessitated by the emergency.- "- Address at the opening of the Fifth General Assembly of the Council of State Governments, Washington D. C. Jan. 21, 1941.

--TO THE PEOPLE--

Progress Thru A United People

"I can see developing in Minnesota the same friendly spirit of cooperation between the men and women of all nationalities, creeds and races, of all political parties, of all stations in life, that we have witnessed together here in Dakota County.--There is a deeper realization that the men and women of all nationality backgrounds, have made a contribution that has been woven into the very fabric of this state and nation as we know it today. There is a deeper realization that progress was never paved by bitterness and dissension, by corrupt machine politics, by name-calling and epithets, or by wild talk of economic wars and gloomy prattle of the failure of the American System. It is in a humble effort to give leadership to that constructive feeling of unity, to seek to build up our state and to improve the conditions of our people, that we have carried on these past eight months."- The Homecoming Rally speech at Hastings, Oct. 29, 1938.

We Stand Together In Minnesota

"Our principal objectives and our program are not alone the program of the administration or of the Republican Party. It has been clearly demonstrated on November 8th that they are the objectives and the program of the people of Minnesota. It is a rare occasion when the people of a state, from the factory, the farm, the office and the home, of all parties, creeds and nationalities are united on a program of progress in the manner that the people of Minnesota now stand together.

We must never permit narrow partisanship, the pressure of day to day problems, or minor differences of opinion, to cause us to lose sight of this broad fundamental fact, or to dim our vision to the future."- Inaugural Message to a Joint Session of the Fifty-First Session of the Minnesota Legislature, Jan. 3, 1939.

Recognizing The Rights Of The Individual

"Let it be clearly understood that our view of one of the responsibilities of leadership is that we must practice and encourage tolerance toward the men and women of all creeds, of all races, of all nationality background; that we must defend the right of each citizen to worship as he chooses, and to meet the educational requirements for his children as he chooses. We must defend the right of each citizen to enjoy the full right of citizenship, regardless of his or her station in life. In accordance with these principles, we have never joined in or participated in any movement or organization based upon intolerance toward any race, creed or nationality, and we never shall."- Campaign address at St. Cloud, Oct. 31, 1938.

The Freedom Of Individual Franchise

"It is our belief that the responsibility of leadership does not include attempting to tell the men and women of the state how they shall vote. The individual citizen of this state, whether they be

on relief or unemployed or in organized labor or on the farm, or in business, have the right to exercise their individual right of ballot in accordance with their own judgment, and I have confidence and faith in their ability and intelligence to execute properly that right."- Campaign speech at St. Cloud, Oct. 31, 1938.

Faith In The People

"To state it clearly and succinctly, as a basic part of our philosophy in approaching a tax policy, I say I would rather trust the individual initiative and enterprise of 130 million American individuals than the greatest master plan that could be worked out by all the intellect that could be gathered in one place at one time."- Address at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference of the National Tax Association, Oct. 16, 1941, St. Paul, Minnesota.

Fair Treatment To All People

"We shall continually maintain as a cardinal principle that the governor of the state can not serve two masters. He can not serve a selfish, radical, racketeering clique of political bosses and serve the people. Neither can he serve reactionary special interests and serve the people. A governor must maintain and we shall maintain independence of domination from any source but the willingness to seek out and invite suggestions and advice of men and women of every walk of life."-Opening address of general election campaign delivered over the radio July 15, 1938.

Tolerance Of Foreign Decendants

"Men and women of Minnesota I know that you are arising as one to meet the great task before this nation. As you do it, may I add this word of caution. Seek not to sit in judgment on the loyalty and patriotism of your neighbor. Rather sit in judgment on your own contribution to this nation.- - Let us realize that while the out-break of war was sad and grim for everyone, it was the saddest and most grim for those of our fellow citizens whose ancestors came from Germany, Italy or Japan.- - Let us realize that almost without exception they are here because they love America.- - Before this war is over, its pages will record acts of heroism on our side, by men whose names will show that in their veins runs some of the blood of those very nations who now, in the diabolical grasp of the dictators Hitler and Mussolini and the Japanese Military Clique, are waging war on us.- -

Let us realize that America today is a part of all nations; that the sons and daughters of every land have played a part in building this great country. Let us demonstrate that not only do we have the blood strains of all nations, not only do we have great principles, but we also have the steely courage and strength of all nations welded together in an armor that cannot be broken. Welded together in a strength that will mean victory. And, pray God, will mean a victory, not for America alone, but for America as a symbol of the united strength of the finer qualities of all nations."- - Address broadcast from Governor's office over a state-wide radio network, Dec. 18, 1941.

--TO REPUBLICANS--

A Revitalized Republican Party

"Let us bring about the necessary change in our state government through the vehicle of a revitalized Republican party. Let us make that party a sound, liberal party with young men and young women in the front ranks. Let us make that party responsive to the just demands of those who labor. Let us make that party the spokesman for the farmers of Minnesota. Let us recognize the importance of the women to the future of the party. Let us keep that party away from Wall Street and in tune with Main Street. Let us keep that party out of the control of professional lobbyists. Let us have that party present to the people of every walk of life a sound, progressive program for the future welfare of Minnesota. Let us end the indecision and delay and backward glances and turn the eyes of the party to the future." -St. Paul speech, March, 7, 1938 at the Ryan Hotel.

Accepting Victory With Humility

"At the recent primary election almost three times as many voters cast their votes in our Republican column, as did in either of the opposition columns. This would appear to be one of the strongest showings of our party anywhere in the country. This strong support could well be the source of confidence and pride on our part. But instead let us make it the source of humility. Let us humbly be appreciative of this confidence of the people, and let us re-dedicate ourselves to the meeting of the responsibilities that this support carries with it. - "-Keynote Address to the Minnesota State Republican Convention, Sept. 21, 1940, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Do Nothing For Political Expediency

"As we proceed to adopt this platform let us make it frankly the program that we intend to carry out if we are given the support of the people. We have carried through on our pledges to the people two years ago and they will expect us to fulfill our pledges again. Let us not include anything for political expediency. The successful functioning of democracy requires forthright leadership, frank interpretations to the people, and a willingness even to be defeated, rather than compromise principles or deceive the people. The sound future of this nation under the democratic way of life will be secured if we have again the straightforward leadership that men like Washington and Jefferson and Lincoln gave to us, but democracy will deteriorate if it functions instead through clever, vote catching promises and smooth straddling and corrupt political machines." -Keynote Address to the Minnesota State Republican Convention, Sept. 21, 1940, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Some Advice For Young Republicans

"Every Young Republican in the country should make it his and her business to secure a better knowledge of the problems of other groups of the youth of the land. If you are in business or professional circles make it a point to become personally acquainted with some of the youth of organized labor in your community. Meet with them. Discuss

their problems. Learn to understand their viewpoints and their objections. Visit factories and shops so that you know what work on a production line is and so that you understand the responsibilities of the man at the work bench and at the machine.

Become personally acquainted with the young men and women of the farm. Understand their problems and their difficulties. Get to realize what the mortgage on the broad acres means and what low prices and glutted markets and high taxes mean to the living standards and the hopes and aspirations of the farm youth of the country.

If you are in either of these groups make it a point to visit the young people of the professions and of business. Get an understanding of their problems, of the responsibility of meeting payrolls and of fulfilling contracts, of the burdens of taxation and the uncertainties of new developments.

If the youth of America learns to know and understand each others problems and is tolerant of them then the day will come when we can gradually correct the maladjustments and lack of parity that exists and move forward to better conditions, holding fast to the fundamentals of liberty and freedom, but these problems cannot be solved for people living in compartments selfishly seeking their own advantage and refusing to recognize the viewpoints or the difficulties of the people across the table."-Address delivered to The Young Republican National Convention at Des Moines, Iowa, Feb. 1, 1941.

Broad Policies Of The Party During Emergency

"Permit me to state candidly what I feel the policy of our Republican party should be:

First, and foremost, it should not be obstructionist or isolationist.

Second, it should constantly make constructive suggestions for improving our defenses and strengthening our nation.

Third, it should plan a strong foreign policy for this nation to take a leading role in establishing a system of justice between nations and the maintenance of peace in the post-war period.

Fourth, it should prepare to be the reconstruction party and think through a program to anticipate and meet the acute post-war domestic problems of agriculture, labor, and business.- -"-Address to the Ripon Republican Club, Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 22, 1941.

Philosophy For Republicans In War-"No Purges"

"So far as the internal affairs of our Republican party are concerned, I am opposed to movements to either read individuals out of the party, or to engage in purges. We should recognize frankly that the Republican party should be big enough to have room within it for difference of opinion. We should realize that if it dissipates its energies in bitter internal conflict, it will fail to serve its place in the mechanics of our government. It has an underlying responsibility to maintain itself as a vehicle available in the future as an alternative for the people. The

existence of two great political parties presenting alternative choices to the people on Election Day is a very basic part of the functioning of our form of government . We have observed that the totalitarian procedure in politics consisted of outlawing all but one political party. With the consequent elimination of alternatives before the people, it is comparatively simple to abolish the basic freedoms and to establish and maintain ruthless dictatorship. Every citizen should have a continuing interest in the maintenance of two strong political parties in this country.- -"Address to the Ripon Republican Club, Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 22, 1941.

The Leaders In Peace-Reconstruction

"We should lead in those days of peace,-which we hope and pray are not too far distant,-after the totalitarian might has been defeated, in developing a system of justice between nations based upon a charter of rights, with force as a police power and not as a ruthless aggressor's club.- -

Looking forward to the post-war period, it is clear that there will be a tremendous need for a reconstruction leadership to guide this country, with its then extremely heavy debt, through the period of readjustment. By planning ahead realistically and carefully, the Republican party can be in the position to provide that leadership. It should include carefully worked out finance policies. A part of it should be the adequate meeting of the needs of the people during the readjustment. Basically it should seek to reestablish a system of free enterprise and not drift into a master controlled economy."-Address to the Ripon Republican Club, Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 22, 1941.

On Isolationism

"It is clear that this country cannot have two foreign policies. Any policy will involve serious risks in these chaotic world conditions. But those dangers will not be as grave as would be the results, if we were to tear this country internally with dissension and divide it with betterness.

The plain facts of science in the development of communication, travel, and industry, make isolation impossible.- -"Address to the Ripon Republican Club, Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 22, 1941.



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