

--ON TODAY'S AND TOMORROW'S PROBLEMS--

How To Meet Inflation

"These are some of the steps, direct steps that I feel should be taken to meet it, rather than relying on indirect steps of using the mechanism of taxation to meet the problem. The first direct step, realizing what purchasing does in a step toward inflation should be the reduction of 20% in non-defense federal expenditures and concurrently the reduction of 20% in non-defense state and local expenditures. These are times for sacrifice and it is not for us in the states or local governments to say "The Federal Government should cut down its non-defense spending," nor for the Federal officials alone to say that the states and localities should cut down, but together we should face the mutual problem and in a nationwide program cut down at the same time \$1 out of \$5 spent nationally and \$1 out of \$5 by local governments for items that are not essential to the defense of freedom.

Secondly we should have promptly a nationwide agreement negotiated with the leaders of organized labor placing a ceiling on wages in this country to prevent inflation.

Thirdly there should be a nationwide agreement with the leaders of agriculture, supported by public opinion from frank presentations, on a fair ratio of agricultural prices and the fixing of a ceiling in that regard.- -"-Address at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference of the National Tax Association, Oct. 16, 1941, St. Paul, Minn.

Philosophy Of Taxation

"The statement that the power to tax is the power to destroy has been oft repeated, but, bringing it up to face us tonight, it can well be said that we should not forget and neither should those in any position of authority forget that even in times of emergency the power to tax can be the power to destroy a free economy and individual initiative."-Address at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference of the National Tax Association, Oct. 16, 1941, St. Paul, Minn.

Taxation For Revenue-Not For Control

"The power to tax can be the power to install a master planned economy bearing many similarities to the Fascist controlled economy and the Nazi controlled economy.- - - It seems to me that the basic principle of our tax policy should be that the power of taxation is used primarily to raise necessary revenues to conduct government, while carefully analyzing the effect of the tax program upon the economy. The basic underlying principle of a tax program should not be viewed as primarily one to redistribute purchasing power or to develop a planned economy. The basic error of this approach, to use the mechanism of taxation to redistribute purchasing power, lies in the fact that this approach, concentrates upon the question of the distribution of that wealth that has already been produced without due regard and proper recognition of the effect of the policy upon the future production which is much more vital than the previous question.- -"-Address at the Thirty-Fourth Annual Conference of the National Tax Association, Oct. 16, 1941, St. Paul, Minn.

For A Post-War System

"The great challenge of the generation ahead is not only to restore the rule of justice and prevent the supremacy of brutal force and duplicity, but also to work out the means and the machinery for the functioning of a system of justice between the peoples of all nations in keeping with our fundamental principles of the rights of each individual human being, and in keeping with the injunction of He who said, -"Go Ye into all nations."-Address at the 38th International World's Christian Endeavor Convention, Atlantic City, N.J. July 8, 1941.

--TO YOUTH--

A Challenge To Youth

"As young men, we tonight send out a challenge to the young men and women of the nation, to step forward to mend these front line trenches of democracy. We challenge them to approach with us the vital problems before the nation with a vigor and an earnestness that will give the best promise of constructive steps toward their solution. After all, youth has a greater stake in the future of this democracy than any have. They will suffer the greatest from the loss of any liberties or freedom. They will bear the longest the burden of indebtedness and expenditures. They will meet and feel keenest the handicaps of a stifling of individual initiative.

So we challenge the youth of the nation to arouse themselves, not on a narrowly partisan basis, but on the broad basis of the public welfare. We do further invite that they use as their vehicle the Republican Party, and that they join in making of that party a revitalized force, with its eyes to the future."-Speech over the columbia broadcasting system from St. Paul, Jan. 12, 1939 .

The Future And Youth

"Looking forward to this tremendous challenge of the future, let us invite the rising generation of America to use the Republican party as the vehicle to carry this nation forward. Let us welcome youth to use it to meet new problems with the same courage and pioneering spirit with which our forefathers determined solutions to the new problems of their day, solutions which we now take for granted. Yes, to use it, in turning adversity and darkness into progress and light for men and women and for the little children of tomorrow."-Address to the Ripon Republican Club, Cleveland, Ohio, Oct. 22, 1941.

Speaks For A Determined Youth

"This generation, for which I speak, is the youth who have reached their years of maturity during the last decade of economic depression. They have experienced the heartaches and disappointments of days and months, and even years, of vainly seeking a place in the productive stream of commerce. They are the generation that is now being called upon to man the armed forces to strengthen the defenses of this nation on land, at sea, and in the air. They are also being enrolled in large numbers as youthful and comparatively unskilled workmen to expand the production of the mechanical means of national defense. With these experiences they have been giving more than ordinary thought and consideration to fundamental concepts and basic principles of life and of action.

On their behalf I say tonight, they face the future, even in these dark days, with calm courage, with a fundamental faith in Christianity, and with a determination to preserve our free way of life in America."-Address at the 38th International World's Christian Endeavor Convention, Atlantic City, N.J. July 8, 1941.

--ON RELIGION--

Religion And Christianity In America

"We in America must guard against the encroachments of paganism and irreligion here. Democracy more than any other political society needs the help of christianity. It is on the christian concept of equality of every man before his Creator that the philosophical principle of democracy rests. George Washington, first President and great leader of the founding of this nation, grasped the importance of this need when in his farewell address he said:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political well being Religion and Morality are inseparable supports."--/- Welcome Address to His Eminence, Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, Papal Legate to The Ninth National Eucharistic Congress, June 23, 1941, Minneapolis, Minnesota.

Brotherhood And Tolerance

"Tolerance, understanding, and charity toward each others views are the very foundation of the spirit of brotherhood. We cannot have bitterness and intolerance of one minority or another minority without having the flames spread to consume the very precious foundation of liberty and justice upon which this nation has been built. Intolerance breeds intolerance. Bitterness breeds bitterness and hate breeds hate.-- - -

The practice of a brotherly kindness toward our fellowmen is the best way to promote that brotherhood that will make one nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all.-- - -

Where then shall we turn for the set of principles that will enable us to live in brotherhood?--What is the basis for brotherhood?

As I see it it is bound up in three fundamental faiths. First is the faith in our form of government--our democracy; the second is faith in our fellowmen; and the third is faith in God. Upon these three faiths we are united as a people, we are "one nation indivisible with liberty and justice for all." Without them we are distraught, vulnerable to attack from without and within--we are a "house divided", doomed to fall."
Address at the Community Brotherhood Mass Meeting, Feb. 27, 1941, St. Paul.

Religion Central in "The New Order"

"If, when the tranquility of peace again settles on this troubled world we would have a lasting peace, it must be forged in the fire of practical economic justice and christian charity, personal, national and international. These are principles with which meetings such as this must be concerned because the self restraint of free nations comes from the character of the people and not from the mandates of the rulers. States and nations can contribute externals but the incentive must come from within. The security of a brighter new world order must rest on the spirit of a personal religion."--Welcome Address to His Eminence, Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, Papal Legate to The Ninth National Eucharistic Congress June 23, 1941, Minneapolis, Minn.

Action Necessary-Not Merely Words

"As we see it, the greatest need before us is to interpret the principles of our religion and of our democracy into action in meeting the social, economic, political and international problems of the days ahead."-Address at the 38th International World's Christian Endeavor Convention, Atlantic City, N.J. July 8, 1941.

--ON EDUCATION--

On Our Educational System

"We can well ask, how can the schools of today best prepare the children of the nation to fit successfully into the social, economic and political life of tomorrow?

In the answer to this question two viewpoints are quite generally found. First, that our schools must turn the vocational training of the students for the occupations that they are to fill in the future. Second, that the schools should continue to give a general education preparing all in the broader sense for their future lives.

I should like to urge that the issues should not be which of these types of preparation should be given to the youth of America, but rather that every youth should be given both of these types of preparation as distinct phases of his or her education.

In other words, the trend of economic conditions makes it imperative that the students be prepared more specifically for their future opportunities for taking a part in productive enterprise. And secondly, the maintenance of a strong and virile democracy requires that every youth be given the broader preparation for his participation in the social and political life of the nation.--" Address to the Seventy-First Annual Convention of The American Association of School Administrators, At Atlantic City, Feb. 24, 1941

Education For Leadership

"In the conduct of general education let us not lose sight of the fact that democracy needs leadership just as vitally as it needs an intelligent citizenry. Able, intelligent, broadminded and tolerant leadership is essential to the ultimate success of a democracy. I urge upon the educators of America that they make every effort to encourage and stimulate those members of the student body that show indications of the qualities and aptitudes of leadership. The securing of decisive and efficient action with the consent of a majority of free men is in itself a challenge that must constantly be met for the success of democracy. Our schools, through extra curricular activities of a proper and varied nature and special counselling on the principles of executive action can make a very definite contribution to the qualities and abilities of the leadership of our democracy. The educators of today can do much to determine the character and value of the leadership of our democracy tomorrow." Address to the Seventy-First Annual Convention of The American Association of School Administrators, at Atlantic City, Feb. 24, 1941

--LOOKING TO THE FUTURE--

Looking Too Much To The Past

"It is my conviction that there has been in recent years too much time spent in longing for the days of '29, or of '19, or of '14. We need more a frank appraisal of the days of '39 and a turning of our thoughts to the days of '40 and '45 and '50. There has been too much of quibbling over our share of the production of yesterday and not enough concern for the production of tomorrow.- -"-Address delivered at The National Convention Of The Junior Chamber of Commerce at Tulsa, Oklahoma, June 22, 1939.

To The Future With Confidence

"It is my conviction that after our difficult years of depression, and the uncertain days of experimentation and trial, we have now reached the point where, with an attitude of mutual understanding and cooperation between government and its citizens, with a spirit of encouragement to business, but a firm protection of the citizens against abuse, with the development of tolerance of one toward another, we can set out on a steady progress toward a future of better conditions and more jobs for our people, of a higher income and an approach to parity for agriculture, of a sound and well administered social security program-all under an enlightened democracy.

While we in Minnesota have experienced the extremes of all these problems, and while we therefore are today confronted by a situation of unusual difficulties, yet by that same token we are also in the position wherein we have the opportunity to lead the way in the development of sound adjustments of these problems and to make a very real contribution not only to the welfare of our citizens, but to the nation as a whole. It is in full realization of this responsibility and opportunity that I know you join with me in this first day of our administration, setting out upon our task, with our eyes to the future."-First Inaugural message, Jan. 3, 1939.

--MISCELLANEOUS--

Peace Thru Tolerance

"In our search for peace, we must be alert and intelligent. We must recognize that war is intolerance between nations. Intolerance is an insidious vice. It has no place in a free people. It breathes strife and warfare. We must practice tolerance at home if we would expect tolerance abroad. He who talks peace and preaches hatred and intolerance of one man toward another and one group toward another cannot be sincere in waving the olive branch."-Hastings speech on November 18, 1937 to Stassen For Governor Volunteers of Dakota County.

On Subversive Organizations

"No one who instead of serving the people of the state is actively engaged in supporting either fascism or communism will be permitted on the public payroll of the State of Minnesota."-Campaign speech at St. Cloud, Oct. 31, 1938.

Interpreting Lincoln's Words For Today

"Even as Lincoln would have said, there must be even a greater devotion to duty. There must be a continuing, increasing courage and determination. The way ahead is long and hard and heavy. But we will win thru. We will win a future hope for mankind in this world just as in Lincoln's day was won a future hope for the people of America. Yes, I think that would be the message of Lincoln on his birthday to the people of Minnesota. Give an increased measure of devotion to this great task before us. Give with courage and determination for the future. Give without hatred, with reverence, with faith in God. Give with a vision of the part we are playing in the history of free men and women and children."-Lincoln Day address broadcast over a statewide hook-up, Feb. 12, 1942.

FAIR TREATMENT TO ALL *Government*

"We shall continually maintain as the cardinal principle that the governor of the state can not serve two masters. He can not serve a selfish, radical, racketeering clique of political and serve the people. Neither can he serve reactionary special interest and serve the people. A governor must maintain and shall maintain independence of domination from any source by the willingness to speak 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.

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 loose 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.

STATE GOVERNMENT'S POLICIES TOWARD LABOR

"Our administration will respect the trade union movement as an economic movement and will not seek to make of it a political vehicle. 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."- Republican key note address, Sept. 2, 1938.

RECOGNIZING LOCAL AUTONOMY *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.

POLICY OF STATE GOVERNMENT 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

SPEAKING TO THE PEOPLE OF DAKOTA COUNTY

"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 herein 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 comes through unison and the road to progress was never paved by bitterness and descension, by corrupt machine politics, by and epithets, or by wild tug 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.

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.

INDEPENDENCE OF DOMINATION BY VESTED INTEREST.

"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.

THE FREEDOM OF INDIVIDUAL FRANCHISE

The People

"It is our belief that the responsibility of leadership does not include attempting to tell themen 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.

ATTITUDE TOWARD SUBVERSIVE ORGANIZATIONS

"No one who instead of serving the people of the state is actively engaged in supporting either fascism or communism will be permitted on the public payroll of the State of Minnesota.-Campaign speech at St. Cloud, Oct. 31, 1938.

URGES LEGISLATURE TO RECOGNIZE AGRICULTURE

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 theri lack of tarity. 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.

LOOKING TO THE FUTURE WITH CONFIDENCE

"It is my conviction that after our difficult years of depression, and the uncertain days of experimentation and trial, we have now reached the point where, with an attitude of mutual understanding and cooperation between government and its citizens, with a spirit of encouragement to business, but a firm protection of the citizens against abuse, with the development of tolerance of one toward another, we can set out on a steady progress toward a future of better conditions and more jobs for our people, of a higher income and an approach to parity for agriculture, of a sound and well administered social security program- under and enlighten democracy.

While we in Minnesota have experienced the extremes of all these problems, and while we therefore are today confronted by a situation of unusual difficulties, yet by that same token we are also in the position wherein we have the opportunity to lead the way in the development of sound adjustments of these problems and to make a very real contribution not only to the welfare of our citizens, but to the nation as a whole. It is in full realization of this responsibility and opportunity that I know you join with me in this first day of our administration, setting out upon our task, with our eyes to the future."- First inaugural message, Jan. 5, 1939.

A CHALLENGE TO YOUTH.

"As young men, we tonight send out a challenge to the young men and women of the nation, to step forward to mend these front line trenches of democracy. We challenge them to approach with us the vital problems before the nation with a vigor and an earnestness that will give the best promise of constructive steps toward their solution. After all, youth has a greater stake in the future of this democracy than any have. They will suffer the greatest from the loss of any liberties or freedom. They will bear the longest the burden of indebtedness and expenditures. They will meet and feel keenest the handicaps of a stifling of individual initiative.

So we challenge the youth of the nation to arouse themselves, not on a narrowly partisan basis, but on the broad basis of the public welfare. We do further invite that they use as their vehicle the republican party, and that they join in making of that party a revitalized force, with its eyes to the

future."-Speech over the columbia broadcasting system from St. Paul, Jan. 12, 1939.

ATTITUDE OF MUTUAL UNDERSTANDING NECESSARY 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.

The following are excerpts taken from Governor Harold E. Stassen's speeches indicating his philosophy on important public questions.

An Integrity of Public Servants

"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 November 18, 1937 to Stassen For Governor Volunteers of Dakota County.

Attitude on Labor

"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 Stassen For Governor Volunteers of Dakota County.

On War

"We all hate war. We do not wish to be involved in the next war. Whether in public office, or not, I shall always oppose with all my heart and vigor our entrance into any foreign war. The people fight a war and the people should decide whether or not there should be a war. And if war does come, wealth must be drafted as well as men."

"In our search for peace, we must be alert and intelligent. We must recognize that war is intolerance between nations. Intolerance is an insidious vice. It has no place in a free people. It breathes strife and warfare. We must practice tolerance at home if we would expect tolerance abroad. He who talks peace and preaches hatred and intolerance of one man toward another and one group toward another cannot be sincere in waving the olive branch." - Hastings speech on November 18, 1937 to Stassen For Governor Volunteers of Dakota County.

On 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.

"I say that the time has come, if our democracy is to rise and meet the challenge and the threat to it, to be frank and specific about sacrifices. The leadership of America should say what sacrifices are necessary in these critical times, and public opinion of America should rise to bring them about by democratic processes.

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.

But now, labor must likewise respond. 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 have had that plan in the last two

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, Minnesota

"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 differences 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. - -

Upon this background, 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.- -

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 bitterness.

The plain facts of science in the development of communication, travel, and industry, make isolation impossible.- -

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.

Looking forward to this tremendous challenge of the future, let us invite the rising generation of America to use the Republican party as the vehicle to carry this nation forward. Let us welcome youth to use it to meet new problems with the same courage and pioneering spirit with which our forefathers determined solutions to the new problems of their day, solutions which we now take for granted. Yes, to use it, in turning adversity and darkness into progress and light for men and women and for the little children of tomorrow."-Address to the Ripon Republican Club, Cleveland, Ohio, October 22, 1941.

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. Seek to be understanding of the problems and emotions of your neighbors. 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 seek to understand the tragic internal feelings they have experienced. Let us realize that almost without exception they are here because they love America. They will do their full part in this war to defend America. Their sons will be making the supreme sacrifice under the Stars and Stripes. 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; that its lights of freedom and of opportunity that have made that possible flash out as a beacon across the war torn fields of the world. 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, given opportunity and inspiration by the freedom and liberty that Old Glory stands for. A Victory for America, as such a symbol, can well be, yes, it must be the opening door for the

establishment of a relationship between nations, based upon a system of justice, with a charter of rights, with force, not as a ruthless aggressors club, but only as a police power in a world of peace."-Address broadcast from Governor's Office over a state-wide radio network, December 18, 1941.

"Even as Lincoln would have said, there must be even a greater devotion to duty. There must be a continuing, increasing courage and determination. The way ahead is long and hard and heavy. But we will win thru. We will win a future hope for mankind in this world just as in Lincoln's day was won a future hope for the people of America. Yes, I think that would be the message of Lincoln on his birthday to the people of Minnesota. Give an increased measure of devotion to this great task before us. Give with courage and determination for the future. Give without hatred, with reverence, with faith in God. Give with a vision of the part we are playing in the history of free men and women and children."-Address broadcast over a statewide hook-up, Feb. 12, 1942

"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."-Address delivered at Grand Rapids, Michigan, Feb. 12, 1940.

"This generation, for which I speak, is the youth who have reached their years of maturity during the last decade of economic depression. They have experienced the heartaches and disappointments of days and months, and even years, of vainly seeking a place in the productive stream of commerce. They are the generation that is now being called upon to man the armed forces to strengthen the defenses of this nation on land, at sea, and in the air. They are also being enrolled in large numbers as youthful and comparatively unskilled workmen to expand the production of the mechanical means of national defense. With these experiences they have been giving more than ordinary thought and consideration to fundamental concepts and basic principles of life and of action.

On their behalf I say tonight, they face the future, even in these dark days, with calm courage, with a fundamental faith in Christianity, and with a determination to preserve our free way of life in America.

As we see it, the greatest need before us is to interpret the principles of our religion and of our democracy into action in meeting the social, economic, political and international problems of the days ahead. First and foremost, we must strengthen our churches, we must increase the number of our children and of our youth securing Christian training and education.

The great challenge of the generation ahead is not only to restore the rule of justice and prevent the supremacy of brutal force and duplicity, but also to work out the means and the machinery for the functioning of a system of justice between the peoples of all nations in keeping with our fundamental principles of the rights of each individual human being, and in keeping with the injunction of He who said, -"Go Ye into all nations."-Address at the 38th International World's Christian Endeavor Convention, Atlantic City, N.J., July 8, 1941.

"We in America must guard against the encroachments of paganism and irreligion here. Democracy more than any other political society needs the help of christianity. It is on the christian concept of equality of every man before his Creator that the philosophical principle of democracy rests. George Washington, first President and great leader of the founding of this nation, grasped the importance of this need when in his farewell address he said:

"Of all the dispositions and habits which lead to political well being Religion and Morality are inseparable supports."

Much of the barbarism of the day rampant in Godless countries has been nurtured and fed, if not in fact born of the world's economic injustice.

If, when the tranquility of peace again settles on this troubled world we would have a lasting peace, it must be forged in the fire of practical economic justice and christian charity, personal, national and international. These are principles with which meetings such as this must be concerned because the self restraint of free nations comes from the character of the people and not from the mandates of the rulers. States and nations can contribute externals but the incentive must come from within. The security of a brighter new world order must rest on the spirit of a personal religion.

Governments, while helpful and sympathetic, must direct with care because as has been said "things move and live by the soul within them and they may be killed by the grasp of a hand from without."- Welcome Address to His Eminence, Cardinal Dennis Dougherty, Papal Legate to The Ninth National Eucharistic Congress, on June 23, 1941, Minneapolis, Minn.

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.- -

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, Minn.

Republican Party Disclaims "Deals"

"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.



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