

# MINNEAPOLIS DAILY TIMES

PUBLISHED EVENINGS - EXCEPT SUNDAY

April 26, 1943

The Hon. Harold E. Stassen  
Governor of Minnesota  
State Capitol  
St. Paul

Dear Governor:

I enclose a copy of an editorial which I wrote for the Minneapolis Daily Times of this date-- your last day in office before entering active service in the United States Navy.

I feel that I would like to have you know, Governor Stassen, that the sentiment expressed in this editorial is not merely something that the publisher desired to have printed. It is a reflection of my own personal feeling in the matter, a feeling that in fact goes far deeper than the published phrases suggest.

All of us who have known you and admired your conduct in and out of office are proud to have been in a position to know you. Their admiration is the deeper for that acquaintanceship.

As you go into the Navy, let me express once more my own best wishes for your fortune-- both in the armed forces and thereafter, I hope, in a higher office that will provide opportunity for even greater public service than the governorship of Minnesota has been able to offer.

With deepest sincerity,



ARNOLD ASLAKSON

## HAROLD E. STASSEN

Four years ago last January, Harold E. Stassen assumed the governorship. Then not quite 32 years old, he attracted some national interest as the country's youngest governor and, altogether, "quite a promising young man."

Today Mr. Stassen leaves the state's highest office for active duty in the United States navy. And today he is a national figure, not merely as "quite a promising young man," but as a young man with a record of achievement which has been marked by imagination and by the recognition of the fact that the people appreciate forthrightness instead of the double-talk and ambiguities which too many public officeholders and aspirants for public office seem to think is demanded by their ambitions.

*At the dinner given in his honor last night at Coffman Memorial union, Mr. Stassen urged his audience to be "impatient with glittering generalities," and to "brush aside double-meaning eloquence."*

Mr. Stassen is entitled to make those supplications because he, himself, has shunned them in a manner which elevates his stature in the eyes of his fellow Minnesotans and Americans.

To Mr. Stassen, as governor of Minnesota and as an earnest contender for world organization promising a better chance for maintenance of peace than the courses we have followed to date, the idea and its honest expression has been the important thing.

*That honesty of thought and purpose and execution has characterized Mr. Stassen's public life. That is what has commanded respectful attention to his words, at home and abroad.*

The pity is that such frankness is still rare enough in public office to make it news when someone like Harold Stassen puts it into daily practice.

The Stassen administration has been so permeated with this policy, however, that as he leaves for the navy there is reason for confidence in continued good government for Minnesota.

Minnesota has lost, for the time being, an official of whom it is proud. The navy, we are sure, has gained an officer of whom it can be equally proud.

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**MINNEAPOLIS DAILY TIMES**

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TUESDAY, APRIL 27, 1943

April 7, 1942

# Stassen Revelation He'll Resign Is Unprecedented

## Cases of Ramsey and Knute Nelson Are Compared

By M. W. HALLORAN  
Star Journal Political Writer

Contemplated resignation of Gov. Harold E. Stassen to enter active service in the navy naturally calls for a show of precedents.

Of the 25 governors Minnesota has had in 84 years of its statehood beginning May 11, 1858, only two have resigned—Alexander Ramsey and Knute Nelson, both to become United States senators.

Neither, however, did the unprecedented thing Governor Stassen has done, namely, announcing in advance of election his intention of resigning.

In fact that was one thing they did not want the voters to know and they went to some pains, particularly in the case of Nelson, to conceal such intentions.

Nelson had been elected gover-

nor as a Republican in 1892. In 1894 he was renominated. DURING THE CAMPAIGN HE WAS ACCUSED OF GUNNING FOR THE SEAT HELD BY SENATOR W. D. WASHBURN.

(In those days United States senators still were elected by the state legislature.)

Efforts were made by Washburn supporters, who suspected Nelson to smoke him out.

But the canny Knute outfoxed 'em. He was on pretty thin ice a time or two—was even accused of actual indorsement of Washburn at Albert Lea.

By best reports of his speech there were, Nelson had urged election of a Republican legislature so that "Washburn—or some other good Republican—may be assured of election to the senate."

Nelson was re-elected governor, started his second term Jan. 1 and RESIGNED IN EXACTLY ONE MONTH. He had been elected senator over Washburn by the legislature in a bitter contest.

His biographer, Martin Odlund, agreed today that Nelson undoubtedly secretly planned to run against Washburn, the while he was campaigning for re-election as governor.

Ramsey was second governor of the state, elected in 1859 and re-elected in 1861. The history of those times does not, so far as I have been able to find, record the senatorial aspiration issue was raised against him in the 1861 campaign.

But it became obvious early in his second administration that Ramsey hoped to get the seat of Senator Henry M. Rice. Rice was a Democrat, Ramsey a Republican, and the state had switched to the Republicans.

The time to elect Rice's successor did not arrive until 14 months after Ramsey's re-election as governor in 1861. Meantime, also, the electing legislature was chosen in the fall of 1862.

Ramsey had a hard fight of it at that, winning the Republican caucus indorsement only after 26 ballots. His election as senator followed as a matter of course.

So Stassen has precedent for resigning, BUT NONE FOR ANNOUNCING HIS RESIGNATION PLANS IN ADVANCE OF ELECTION. His friends staunchly maintain that he is being forthright about his plans—that he has taken the people fully into his confidence as to his intentions.



Ramsey

Mail to Leo Boeggs

Leo: Did you see  
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## Governor Stassen Departs

The four years and four months of Harold E. Stassen as governor of Minnesota came to a dramatic close on Tuesday, April 27, 1943, when he resigned and entered the service of his country as lieutenant commander in the navy. At the same time Ed J. Thyé, the lieutenant governor, was sworn in as governor.

Whether in the past individuals have agreed or disagreed with Gov. Stassen is beside the point here. Citizens now all join in wishing him well in the armed forces.

The writer, as a political opponent in the 1940 and 1942 campaigns, naturally is not in accord with him on many economic, social and political questions. Though the outlook for success was not bright in either campaign, there must be, in democracy, an active minority as well as the majority, for without that the same conditions would prevail as in the dictator nations—the ideology that we are now fighting.

Harold Stassen came to the governor's office in January of 1939 as a young man of 31, with the well wishes of the great majority of Minnesota's people, following the deplorable mismanagement of state affairs under the Farmer-Labor-Communist administration of 1937-38. The new leader took hold of the reins of government as an able organizer, and was untiring in his efforts and ambitions. Restoration of order was appreciated, citizens generally gave a sigh of relief, and the governor worked steady and aggressively during his more than two terms in office.

Not only is he a hard worker but an excellent speaker, and requests for his appearance on speaking engagements, far and wide, have been many.

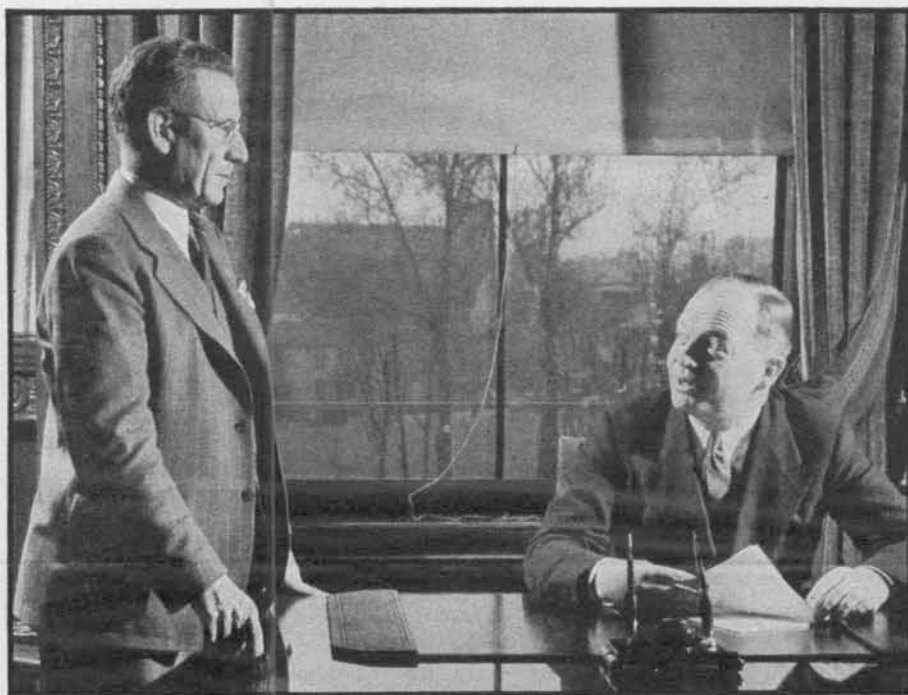
Mr. Stassen is exceptionally shrewd for his age, and it was interesting and sometimes amusing to observe his tactics toward some of the old guard leaders of the Republican party. The governor fully realized that while he irritated the old guarders, they were in the same party with him with the same sources of support, fundamentally working for the same objectives, and therefore, would not part company. Through his leadership and shrewdness, and with continued big press build-up, he was in an enviable position, and cunningly took advantage of the situation.

During the last few months especially, he gave many addresses out over the country, advocating the establishment of a world organization for peace after the war, asking that steps be taken now with that in view, and emphasizing America's opportunity for dominance in air transportation after the war.

If Mr. Stassen and the senator he selected, Joseph H. Ball, with other leaders and the support of the people, can be successful in the accomplishment of peaceful negotiations between nations instead of the barbaric resorting to arms, along with enhancing greatly improved standards of living for many, even in this country, creating equality between races, and advancing of the Golden Rule, while at the same time preventing the development and extension of Anglo-American imperialism, they will have the ever-lasting thanks and appreciation of millions.

HJALMAR PETERSEN.





MINNESOTA'S GOVERNOR THYE, EX-GOVERNOR STASSEN  
The young man wanted to be with men of his own age.

Hart Preston

## MINNESOTA

### Stassen's Farewell

For a fortnight, the husky, serious, silo-tall young man who is Minnesota's Governor had been working 15 hours a day to clean off his desk. In & out of Harold Stassen's deep-carpeted office in the State Capitol went men on last-minute business: legislators, businessmen, labor leaders, Republican bigwigs. Harold Stassen listened to all of them, between interruptions plugged away at humdrum details. On the floor above, the Legislature dragged to a close.

As soon as the Legislature adjourned, Harold Stassen would be free to keep a promise made more than a year ago, before he was elected to his third term as Governor: to go on active naval duty as a lieutenant commander. As a Governor, and an able one, Harold Stassen easily qualified as an essential civilian. As a strapping, active man of 36, he felt otherwise. He had said: "This war will be fought by young men of my age, and I want to be with them."

Legislative adjournment was set for midnight April 20. Came midnight and an apparently hopeless deadlock over taxes; the clocks were stopped. At 6 a.m. the Governor left for a cat nap at his home in South St. Paul. He was back in his office at 10; the Legislature was still wrangling.

**Wait and Work.** For the next two days, Harold Stassen followed the same routine, working and waiting all day and half the night. He signed and vetoed bills, suggested a tax compromise to top Senators and Representatives. Into his office

trooped a group of C.I.O. leaders to demand a veto of certain labor bills (outlawing jurisdictional strikes, calling for union elections at least every four years). Harold Stassen looked at the bills, said he did not think they would hamper "good unions." The conference broke up amicably; said a departing C.I.O. leader: "Sink a few Japs for us, Governor."

After three days, the tax deadlock was broken. The Governor's compromise had won. Harold Stassen drank a glass of milk in celebration. To the Governor's office came tall, husky Lieut. Governor Ed Thye (pronounced "thigh"), Harold Stassen's hand-picked successor. Said Ed Thye: "Governor, if you hadn't staked all your chips on me, I wouldn't be where I am today, and I want you to know I appreciate it." Said Harold Stassen, with proper modesty: "You did it yourself, Ed."

Next day, the Governor took a holiday. In the morning the Stassens went for a long hike along the Mississippi; at night to Good Friday services at Riverview Baptist Church.

This week Mrs. Stassen's mother and sister moved in with the Governor's wife and two children. There was a final testimonial dinner, a last confab with G.O.P. leaders. Then Ed Thye took the oath as Governor. His platform: continue the Stassen administration.

Harold Stassen packed his four Navy uniforms (one blue, one white, two khaki) and entrained for the Great Lakes Naval Training Station in Chicago. He made no promises as to when he would be back. But the political future of shrewd, steady Harold Stassen looked bright, and his action this week in no way dimmed it.

## THE ADMINISTRATION

### High Octane v. Rubber

Dogged Robert P. Patterson, Under Secretary of War, blew the bugle for battle with this charge: the super-duper, overriding priority won by "Bull Bill" Jeffers four months ago to bull through his rubber program had raised unholy hob with the 100-octane gasoline program. Training planes have been grounded in this country, said Mr. Patterson, thus delaying the day when swarms of bombers will finally smash the Axis.

Quickly Petroleum Administrator Harold L. Ickes, who had been honing up his snickersnee, slashed away, too: the rubber program was "a sock in the jaw for the 100-octane program, has already cost us 7,000,000 barrels that are gone forever."

**Preliminary Bout.** The answering roar of "Bull Bill" could be heard by 130,000,000 rubber-conscious Americans, as he intended it should. In a warm-up for Patterson, Jeffers ripped a horn into OWI's Elmer Davis for gloomily predicting that the nation was too optimistic about rubber. Jeffers harshly said that Davis didn't know what he was talking about, stuck to his previous announcement: civilians would be purchasing synthetic tires early next year. Then he rumbled about Washingtonians "sitting around desks and issuing orders and grouching about someone else taking something away. The difference is that we are getting out on the job and getting it done. The rubber program has not interfered with a single other program. In fact it has lifted along other programs and has provided additional capacities by uncovering new sources of supply. The final answer is that the rubber program is going ahead." Finally he demanded an investigation of Patterson's statement.

"Bull Bill" had already received assurances from his good friend, Senator Guy Gillette of Iowa, that his Agriculture subcommittee would do the investigating. Senator Gillette posed some pregnant questions: "Is there any truth to charges that the War Department has built munitions plants which are not in use? Was WPB presented with, or has it passed on the high-octane production program which is alleged to be so vital?"

To answer the last, no investigation is needed. Everyone in Washington knows that when Jeffers won his super-duper priority from WPB, last December, the high-octane program suffered. Just how much is a military secret. But privately Washington whispers that monthly production falls thousands of barrels below requirements. So far, the shortage has not interfered with overseas operations; the danger is in the long-term outlook.

**Again, Senator Truman.** Hardly had Patterson and Ickes finished mortaring on Jeffers when the Navy let go a torpedo, too. The condensers, valves and

## LABOR

### Lewis and The Champ

To Franklin Roosevelt the hulking form of John L. Lewis is like an ominous figure in a recurrent bad dream. This week the dream and the figure were back again in their most nightmarish aspect. With a coal strike threatened next weekend, John Lewis had once again maneuvered the President of the U.S. into a head-to-head personal fight.

For seven weeks John L. and the mine operators have presented the nation with their usual spring show, war or no war. To outsiders the show seemed to follow the routine peacetime patterns: offers, counter-offers, the appearance (and failure) of a Government conciliator, the transfer of New York negotiations to Washington. John Lewis stood fast: he wanted to crack the Little Steel wage formula with a \$2-a-day raise for his men and to torpedo WLB (as he had sunk its predecessor, the National Defense Mediation Board). But what he was really after was a showdown with the President. John Lewis is not at all afraid of the Champ; the Champ, after years of trial bouts, is not so keen for the battle.

Last week John L. took on the Champ in a minor, preliminary bout: U.M.W. strikers (members of his catch-all District 50) went back to work at Celanese Corp.'s big plant in Newark. Carefully they proclaimed that they had won a "Victory" because the President himself had stepped into the fracas, ordered their return. But last week, as WLB took over his big show, John L. was not at the coal hearings: he was ensconced in Manhattan's Roosevelt Hotel, holding a watch on the White House and ticking off the hours until his May 1 deadline. And already idle were 14,000 overzealous miners in Pennsylvania, Kentucky and Alabama.

The crisis in coal was far more serious than a bout between two well-known champions. If John L. Lewis' 450,000 men strike, and are allowed to stay out, they will in due course bring the bulk of the U.S. war machine to a grinding stop by cutting off two-thirds of the nation's electric power, stopping most of its railroads and steel mills. And if they win, they will spearhead the forces that may smash the President's Maginot Line against inflation.

## COLORADO

### Statesmanship

Colorado's Anglo-Irish Governor John C. Vivian permitted a bill designating Oct. 9 as Leif Ericson Day, in honor of the "discovery of North America in 1,000 A.D.," to become law without his signature. Reasons: 1) Colorado's Scandinavians would be mad if he vetoed it; 2) Colorado's Italians would be mad if he signed it.



MINERS' BOSS  
*He waited at the Roosevelt.*

## THE CONGRESS

### Labels

In the midst of debate in the House last week, on a resolution asking an investigation of an OPA consumer-goods labeling program, up rose New York's Ham Fish (R).

Solemnly he proposed an amendment: "That the Republican Party shall hereafter be known as the Liberal-Conservative-American-Constitutional Party, and that the New Deal Party shall henceforth be known as the Bureaucratic-Totalitarian-Radical-Socialist Party."

Mr. Fish, glaring around him, observed: "I want honest labeling of our parties . . . in 1944," and sat down. This was a big order, for although many have tried, no one has yet even been able to think of an exact label for Mr. Fish.

## FOREIGN RELATIONS

### Bertie Has a Plan

Tall, dour, diffident Publisher Robert Rutherford ("Bertie") McCormick and his arch-isolationist, Roosevelt-hating Chicago *Tribune* have been, in the year and a half the U.S. has been at war, active obstructionists. They have sniped and ranted ceaselessly at the President and every phase of the war effort, have publicly doubted the necessity of rationing, have insisted that the U.S. is giving up strawberry jam to assure jam for British breakfasts, that OPA is spying on merchants, that England wants empire-as-usual, that the European war is not our first concern.

Always belittling, always knocking, Publisher McCormick has never offered a plan of his own. Last week, and with his tongue bulging his cheek, he offered one. In an editorial called "States Across the Sea," the *Tribune* pointed out that the U.S. Constitution provides that "new states may be admitted by the Congress." Then the Colonel said:

"If the British Commonwealth and the nations of Western Europe wish to enjoy closer association with us, and if for our part we wish similarly to link ourselves with them, the way . . . is clear. All they need to do is adopt written constitutions and apply for membership and all we need do is accept them. . . . Great Britain could come into the union, for example, as four States. . . . Canada could constitute another State. Australia, New Zealand and the contiguous islands might form still another. . . ."

"For the people of Britain, particularly, statehood would have many advantages. American manpower, industry and wealth would be instantly and automatically available if British territory were threatened with invasion. . . . Britain would have to give up its king, but as his constitutional powers are said to be merely nominal . . . the change to a republican form of government could be made without difficulty. The hand-kissers in this country should welcome the closer relationship if only because it would strengthen their representation in Congress. . . ."

"The more advanced states of Western Europe that show aptitude for constitutional government might also be included."

No man alive can tell when the gangling, wrangling Colonel is being sincere or just peculiar. His editorial meant probably 1) that he was doing his wanton best to discredit all plans for world cooperation, 2) that he was trying again to offend the British.

The British seemed not so much offended as amused. Said the London *Observer*: ". . . the Colonel's brave new thought is far from original. In his play *The Apple Cart*, produced nearly 14 years ago, Bernard Shaw made exactly this suggestion. *The Apple Cart* was voted quite good comedy."



WS



## From St. Paul

Union depot, Lt. Comdr. Harold E. Stassen departed for Great Lakes Naval Training station. A few hours before, he resigned the governorship of the state of Minnesota to go into active service. Heading for the gate with him are his son, Glenn, and Mrs. Stassen.

# Stassen to Resign

## At 2:30 Tuesday

*Despatch 4-26-43*

Gov. Stassen will hand his resignation as governor over to Lt. Gov. Ed. J. Thye at 2:30 p. m. Tuesday in the rotunda of the State Capitol.

Thye then will be sworn in as governor by Chief Justice Henry M. Gallagher of the state supreme court.

Promptly afterward, the governor will leave the Capitol, go to his home, put on his Navy uniform and leave the St. Paul Union depot on the Burlington Zephyr at 4:30 p. m. for the Great Lakes Naval Training station.

A farewell dinner for Stassen will be held at 6:30 p. m. today at the University of Minnesota.



# Carry on for Peace, Stassen Address Theme

Pioneer Press 4-27-43

The text of the address of Gov. Stassen, delivered at a farewell dinner in his honor in Coffman Memorial Union, University of Minnesota, Monday night, follows:

You will never know how much this evening has meant to me. It has lightened the memory of many heavy hours. It has brightened the recollection of a number of dark days.

Your joint action as officials of 45 diverse state-wide organizations — farmers and merchants — labor and industry — men and women — barbers and bankers — in presenting this plaque, means more than any other presentation could mean.

There have been so many times that I have said "no" to something that one or more of your respective organizations wanted, or when I have said "yes" and you wished for a "no". Frequently when you were contending with each other, I have taken a course that pleased none of you.

When organizations of citizens whom we respect are contesting with each other, public officials experience their most difficult days and most trying hours. There are times when it appears that all organized groups have been alienated. Thus it is that the joining together of all of these state-wide organizations tonight is of such encouraging significance.

It seems to me that it has an importance far beyond the personal note, which I so

deeply appreciate. I should like to interpret it as convincing evidence that a public official in a democracy does not need to mortgage his judgment to any special unit in order to secure their support.

It means that a servant of the people need not straight-jacket his discretion through binding it to any particular group to maintain their confidence. Substantially all are willing, in perspective, that the common good be emphasized. They are tolerant of mistakes if they are made in search for the sound middle ground and if they are told frankly the answers and the reasons.

## Warns of Pressure For Special Interests

This simple principle is of extreme importance in our way of government. The right to organize in groups, to freely express views and advance programs is one of the great strengths of democracy. But it can become a weakness if efforts are made to advance special interests through pressure methods in disregard of the welfare of the people as a whole.

May I say to you tonight that in my judgment the future success and well-being of the people of Minnesota will depend in large measure upon the degree to which each of you give consideration to the common good as you proceed upon your own problems and your own individual activities. It has been my observation in recent years and in the sentiments expressed tonight that our people will go forward in units expressing their views on all subjects in the truly American way of life.

In response to your reference to accomplishments in Minnesota, permit me to stress that our accomplishments in Minnesota these years have not been a one man job. They have come through the working together of an unusual number of men and women as citizens, as party leaders, and as public officials, legislative and executive, local and statewide.

You have also been kind in your reference to overcoming obstacles. Let me respond that I have had the basic advantages of having a truly great father and mother, a childhood home of fundamental religious convictions, a good education in an

atmosphere of academic freedom, a beloved partner at my side whose contributions words cannot describe, and residence in a country in which freedom and liberty and opportunity have real meaning down through the years. Measured alongside these advantages, nothing is worthy of being called an obstacle or a handicap.

I should like to make a parting request.

## Winning of War Termed First Responsibility

As you know, when I enter into active service in the Navy, just as every other member of the armed forces, I will have just one primary responsibility. It will be to do my duty to the best of my ability, toward the winning of the war. I will no longer express my views on social, economic, governmental or international problems. Except insofar as something I have already said or written is printed or restated, my views will not be given. That is as it is to millions of other men already in service. This is right and it is essential. There must be a singleness of purpose in the armed forces.

Thus it is that I make this parting request. The peace that is to follow this war will take form while the war is being won. Out of the relations to the other United Nations during the war, out of our temporary policies in occupied or liberated territories, the outlines of the peace will be made.

## 'Walls of Isolation Are Gone Forever'

I urge, therefore, that you carry on. That you carry on, giving to the people the information of the need of developing a new and higher level of government to keep pace with the developments in aviation, in radio, in mass production, and in modern science.

Emphasize in the days ahead that the walls of isolation are gone forever. Join in a search, a frank and open search, for the best answers of the means and methods of establishing a definite organization of the peace-loving nations of the world.

It must be based upon the cornerstone of basic human rights wherever men are found. You must not become discouraged, even though your leadership frequently lags behind you. Follow through persistently, facing facts, spreading the truth, either convincing your elected representatives or, in the right of democracy, changing them.

You who are in civilian life have as a first responsibility, of course, the backing up of the drive for victory in the war, but you also have the responsibility to follow through to win-

ning the peace. You are the custodians of the civil rights and the future hopes and aspirations of the millions of men in uniform.

According to the wisdom, the courage and the perseverance that you demonstrate, the future strength of America in the maintenance of our free way of life, social, economic and political, and the future leadership that America gives toward a just and durable peace, will be measured.

Be impatient with glittering generalities. Brush aside double-meaning eloquence. Seek resolutely victory both for our arms and for our principles, cost what it may, lest through the sacrifice of our principles in search of an easy victory in the war, we lose the peace.

Insist on the application of the hard, practical experiences and principles of government to the new and higher plane of world government. Emphasize the common stake, the joint interests, the mutual advantage, of all peoples in a just peace, in increased world trade and in the development of world government.

Only thus can we hope to substitute a lasting peace and a road of progress for devious diplomacy, international intrigue and recurring wars.

I humbly appreciate the honor you have extended to me this evening. May I ask that you translate it into definite continuing action, in tribute to the millions of men who are now in our armed forces, by striving unceasingly to secure a strong, free America, an America joining with other nations in traveling together the difficult road of peace, progress, and liberty for mankind.

# Stassen Yields Reins of State To Thye Today

*Dispatch 4-27-43*

## Governor to Leave For Duties as Lieutenant- Commander in Navy

Harold E. Stassen who, at the age of 31, started a political career that has embraced three successful elections as governor and frequent mention as a presidential possibility, today served his last day as governor of Minnesota.

Shortly after turning the reins of government over to his chosen successor, Ed J. Thye, this afternoon, he planned to go to his home in South St. Paul, don his military uniform as a lieutenant commander in the United States Navy and depart on the Burlington Zephyr at 4:30 p. m. for the Great Lakes naval training station. He reports for active duty Thursday.

Earl Haskins, now state liquor commissioner, who served as his personal aide and chauffeur when Stassen entered the Capitol as governor for his first term was to be his chauffeur again to drive him from the Capitol to his home and then immediately to the train.

Chief Justice Henry M. Gallagher of the Minnesota Supreme court was to administer the oath to the new governor, on whom Stassen put all his "chips" last Fall, and won. Stassen, now 36 years old, still is the youngest governor in the nation.

Major Gen. Ellard A. Walsh, adjutant general, was to turn over to the new governor the state's colors at a brief ceremony, starting at 2:30 p. m. in the rotunda of the State Capitol.

The Republican State Central committee honored the Governor at a luncheon this noon in the Athletic club. The affair also was in the nature of a farewell to Dr. R. C. Radabaugh of Hastings, who is to resign as committee chairman and be succeeded by George C. Jones of Minneapolis, vice chairman.

Radabaugh, who recently was named secretary of the Midwest Republican State Committee Chairmen, is to devote most of his time to formulation of a farm program to be submitted to the next national convention.

# Throng Hails Stassen as Great Leader

## Statewide Groups Join in Tribute on Eve of Resignation

(Text of Gov. Stassen's Address on Page 5. Text of President Coffey's address on Page 4.)

Gov. Stassen, resigning today from the governorship to become a lieutenant commander in the Navy, was lauded Monday night as one of Minnesota's greatest governor's as more than 1,000 persons gathered at a dinner honoring him in Coffman Memorial Union on the University of Minnesota campus.

Telling his audience that "the walls of isolationism are gone forever", Gov. Stassen voiced a plea that his hearers carry on the fight for a lasting peace at the end of the war. The governor's plea followed a talk by President Walter C. Coffey of the University who lauded Stassen as possessing "an imaginative insight into our course of history".

The dinner was sponsored by 45 statewide organizations, who joined under the leadership of the Minnesota Junior Chamber of Commerce to stage the affair, with Jack L. Robinson, president of the Junior Chamber and general arrangements chairman, presenting the governor with a plaque commemorating his service to the state.

The dining hall was filled and more than 2,000 persons who sought to purchase tickets were turned down. John McGovern of LeSueur was toastmaster, and an invocation was spoken by Capt. Lewis F. Foltz of Ft. Snelling.

The principal address was given by President Coffey, who declared that "among the qualities that characterize the man we are honoring are the understanding and sensitivity of mind that prevail because he possesses a perspective that enables him to see the problems of today in the light of the past, and hence in the light of the probable future. He possesses what might be termed an imaginative insight into our course of history."

President Coffey, saying that "the lives of men cannot be dissociated from the times in which they live", reviewed the status of the world at four different dates, that on which Gov. Stassen was born in 1907; when he entered the University of Minnesota in 1923; when he was given his first degree in 1927, and when he was elected governor in 1938.

Referring to the files of the Pioneer Press and Dispatch, President Coffey found that Gov. Stassen was born on a wintery day with the temperature ranging from 22 to 36, but chided the papers because when announcement of his birth was made April 22, it chronicled in the birth statistics column "Mrs. W. Stasen, boy" — the name spelled wrong.

The Legislature then was in session, and the papers reported as a major item of contention "a bill providing a penalty for inducing a mother not to nurse her child", with the Dispatch reporting it recommended to pass. Other important measures considered, he added, were a bill to prohibit transfers of liquor licenses, providing they be issued only to men of good moral character, and extension of

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# Stassen Honored at Dinner

Continued From Page 1

the primary system to all state offices, reported passed by the House:

"One other item," President Coffey said, "suggests the relative simplicity of the world of April, 1907. The Legislature was fretting about automobiles, and on the day we are especially considering it heard a report from a special committee on automobile registration. This is the way the Pioneer Press summarized it:

**'Automobiles must not pass teams, animals or persons on foot at a greater rate of speed than eight miles an hour.'**

"The problems of 1943," President Coffey declared, "cannot be resolved successfully by minds steeped in the attitudes of 1907 any more than 1907 automobiles can meet the automotive transportation requirements of 1943. Unless men as individuals are sensitive and alert to the transformations that have created the new environment in which they live, they will fail in their attempts to live successfully. Unless groups of men, especially those groups we call nations, recognize that new conditions necessitate new ways of cooperation, we shall be doomed to endless years of bitter struggle and chaos."

He added that the Dispatch editorial column remarked the Legislature was slow, with "more lung power than brain power", and characterized by a "hair-brained desire to reform as much of the universe as can be brought under control".

Other events he listed as chronicled in the Dispatch included another President Roosevelt having his hopes of a third term polted by Southern Democrats, vaudeville at every theater, and a flourishing cultural life of music and plays.

"But relatively little of the news was of a disturbing nature," he said. "The years of Harold Stassen's infancy were, taking the nation as a whole, calm and unruffled. Europe existed, but it was a long way off. The Orient was, for most people, as remote as a dream. No radios were undermining national frontiers; no moving pictures brought to mass audiences some conception of a distant world; no airplanes were shrinking the map and building a new geography."

Following the first World war, President Coffey said, the nation failed to grasp the truth that a new kind of world was coming into being, and he termed the year 1923, when Governor Stassen entered the University, as "the year of frustration".

"Yes," he said, "the war had been won, but already the flowers of victory were wilting. Men still refused to face the changes that were transpiring around them."

The outer world, too, was intruding on Minnesota, President Coffey said with Minnesota congressmen beseeching President Coolidge to increase the tariff on wheat; pictures of a Japanese earthquake in the papers; stories of revolt in Bulgaria, and a collapse impending for Germany with a "Hitler Fascist chief" planning a march on Berlin.

Radio had become a reality then and autos were blamed for three deaths in a day. Three U. S. senators who had favored the League of Nations returned to the country, President Coffey found, declaring that after an enthusiasm for it, implying America would be better off

to leave the rest of the world alone.

"This was the changed world," President Coffey said, "in which Harold Stassen began his academic career."

**At Gov. Stassen's graduation, Lindbergh had just returned to this country after his trans-Atlantic flight, dramatizing new possibilities in trans-ocean communication.**

"It should have been a symbol of new things to come," the speaker said, "of old barriers removed; of new bonds drawing the nations together."

Instead, he said, it was merely a matter for hero worship.

But clouds were beginning to form, he said, with deep murmurings in Russia and Col. William Mitchell berating the Navy for conservation in not more freely adopting the airplane.

Then in 1938 when the governor was elected, Nazis were storming the Munich cardinal, firing synagogues and looting Jewish stores, while the Japs were blasting deeper into China and revolution was under way in Spain.

"The world in which Harold Stassen was born is gone forever," President Coffman declared, "So also is the world of the year he was graduated from the university. Do we in our attitudes of mind, comprehend this fully? . . . Unless men as individuals are sensitive and alert to the transformations that have created the new environment in which they live, they will fail in their attempts to live successfully. . . . Nations today can be great only as their collective attitudes are tolerant, only as their outlook is inclusive, and only as they are characterized by cooperative mindedness."

"These observations are not irrelevant to our purposes this evening, for it has always seemed to me that among the qualities that characterize the man we are honoring are the understanding and the sensitivity of mind that prevail because he possesses a perspective that enables him to see the problems of today in the light of the past, and hence the light of the possible future."

**A final plea that his hearers carry on the fight for a lasting peace at the end of the world war was made by Gov. Stassen.**

Pointing out that while in the armed forces he will no longer be able to voice his views on social, economic, governmental or international problems, the chief executive added that out of the temporary policies in occupied or liberated territories the outline of the peace will be made.

"I urge, therefore, that you carry on," he said. "That you carry on, giving the people the information of the need of developing a new and higher level of government to keep pace with the developments in aviation, in radio, in mass production, and in modern science. Emphasize that the walls of isolation are gone forever. Join in search for the best answers of the means and methods of establishing a definite organization of the peace-loving nations of the world."

"It must be based upon the cornerstone of basic human rights wherever men are found. You must not become discouraged, even though your leadership frequently lags behind you. Follow through persistently, facing facts, spreading the truth, either convincing your elected representatives or changing them."

"You who are in civilian life have as a first responsibility, of course, the backing up of the drive for victory in the war, but

you also have the responsibility to follow through to winning the peace. You are the custodians of the civil rights and the future hopes and aspirations of the millions of men in uniform."

"According to the wisdom, the courage and the perseverance that you demonstrate, the future strength of America in the maintenance of our free way of life, social, economic and political, and the future leadership that America gives toward a just and durable peace, will be assured," he said. "Be impatient with glittering generalities. Brush aside double-meaning eloquence. Seek resolutely victory both for our arms and for our principles, cost what it may, lest through the sacrifice of our principles in search of an easy victory in the war, we lose the peace."

"Insist on the application of the hard, practical experiences and principles of government to the new and higher plane of world government. Emphasize the common stake, the joint interests, the mutual advantage, of all peoples in a just peace, in increased world trade, and in the development of world government. Only thus can we hope to substitute a last peace and a road of progress for devious diplomacy, international intrigue, and recurring wars."

Declaring that at times various of the 45 organizations sponsoring the dinner had been at odds on matters he had to decide, often to the satisfaction of neither of the disputants, the governor said the joining together of "all these state-wide organizations tonight is of such encouraging significance".

His accomplishments, referred to by other speakers, Gov. Stassen said, "have not been a one man job. They have come through the working together of an unusual number of men and women as citizens and as public officials, legislative and executive, local and statewide".

He paid impressive tribute to his parents in replying to references to obstacles he had overcome.

"Let me respond," he said, "that I have had the basic advantages of having a truly great father and mother, a childhood home of fundamental religious convictions, a good education in an atmosphere of academic freedom, a beloved partner at my side whose contributions words cannot describe and residence in a country in which freedom and liberty and opportunity have real meaning. Measured alongside these advantages, nothing is worthy of being called an obstacle or a handicap."



# COFFEY'S TEXT: 'Stassen Possesses Insight Into Our Course in History'

Following is the address of Walter C. Coffey, president of the University of Minnesota, at a recognition dinner Monday night in honor of Gov. Stassen on the eve of his retirement as governor to enter active service in the Navy as lieutenant commander.

If you had been living in the city of St. Paul during the Spring of 1907 you would, in all probability, have gone to your door on Saturday, April 13, to pick up your customary newspaper. It had been a hard and trying Spring. On that very day, for example, you would have read that the Northwest once more had been caught by a belated Winter. "This community," so it stated, "has been grumbling on the weather the past week or so," as if grumbling on Minnesota weather was a news-worthy subject, even in 1907.

On this particular Saturday a coldish north wind was blowing, even though the sun was shining bright. All day long the temperature hovered between 22 and 36 degrees.

You would have taken your paper inside, and most of you under a gas light, would have turned its pages to scan the news.

Now the remarkable thing is that you would not have found one word about the birth of our guest of honor this evening! He had been born that day, and not a line of type recorded the fact. Both the PIONEER PRESS and the DISPATCH overlooked completely that a new and vigorous personage had arrived!

As a matter of fact, it was not until a whole week had passed that the Governor first made the press. You'll find the historic item on Monday, April 22, recorded in the birth statistics column of the DISPATCH: "Mrs. W. Stassen, boy." No name, no mention that the baby had a suggestion of reddish hair, not even the customary "mother and baby are both doing well"—much less any reference as to how the father was doing. And worst of all the name STASSEN was misspelled, with only one "s". Thus, in complete anonymity our friend and associate first appeared in print.

My reference to newspapers in what I have just said was not intended only as a means of light introduction, nor was it merely a matter of chance. Rather, it was deliberately calculated, for I am of the conviction that the lives of men cannot be dissociated from the times in which they live.

It, therefore, seems to me appropriate that I should, in attempting to make certain observations that are pertinent to this occasion, look briefly, if sketchily, at the world into which Harold Stassen was born just 36 years ago this month. And if we can follow some of the changes that have taken place in that world during three and a half decades, we shall be in a better position to understand and interpret some of the problems that confront us today.

We can perceive at least a fragment of that world if we turn back to the pages of our local newspapers of the period. In many respects it is a world in which we shall feel quite at home. To begin with the Legislature was in session when Harold Stassen was born. On the previous day, a major item of contention had been a bill (how strange it seems to look back upon) providing a penalty for inducing a mother not to nurse her child—a bill, said the sen-

ator from Hennepin that made him blush.

I do not know what the issues were, nor why so much blushing had been engendered, but there it was. Let me say only that the Dispatch of April 13, 1907, adds that the bill was recommended to pass.

The Legislature of that session was concerned with liquor problems, too, and if Harold Stassen's father, to take his mind off other responsibilities newly acquired, had glanced at his newspaper, he would have learned that there were "skirmishes" on a bill to prohibit the transfer of licenses, and to provide that they should be issued only to men of good moral character. He would, likewise, have read that on the day before his baby was born, the House had passed a bill to extend the primary system to all state offices.

One other item suggests the relative simplicity of the world of April, 1907. The Legislature was fretting about automobiles, and on the day we are especially considering it heard a report from a special committee on automobile registration. This is the way the Pioneer Press summarized it:

"Automobiles must not pass teams, animals, or persons on foot at a greater rate of speed than eight miles an hour. The speed must be reduced at crossings, while passing churches during the usual hours of worship, or while passing schools at school hours. A maximum speed of eighteen miles an hour is provided. . . . Chauffeurs after running over people must stop and give their number."

Yes, we would have felt at home, even in the editorial column, for on this same Saturday evening we can read in the Dispatch that the Legislature was slow, with "more lung power than brain power" and characterized by a "hairbrained desire to reform as much of the universe as can be brought under control."

But the aging pages of those newspapers reveal other interests, too. Harry Thaw had killed Stanford White and the jury that tried him had been unable to reach a decision. Archbishop Ireland had not received the cardinalship it was thought the Pope should have bestowed upon him. The Metropolitan Opera was coming to St. Paul the following week with Caruso and Emma Eames.

The cultural life was flourishing: Creator and his band were to give a concert, Rose Caughlan was lifting St. Paul eyebrows with her prospective performance of Bernard Shaw's controversial "Mrs. Warren's Profession", and there was vaudeville at every theater.

Incidentally, fresh-laid eggs were 17½ cents a dozen, Palmer House coffee was advertised at 25 cents a pound, creamery butter (fancy) at 33 cents, and extra fine shoulder of roast lamb at 10 cents a pound. Hamburg, one reads, could be had three pounds for a quarter!

A Roosevelt was President and of him on Harold Stassen's day of birth, the Dispatch reported, "President Roosevelt's hope that the Southern Democrats may force his renomination for a third term received a jolt yesterday. . . . Somehow, that, too, has a familiar ring!"

## Terms Stassen's Horizons Limited in 1907

There was a larger world, but it did not intrude oppressively. Even in 1907 horizons were limited. The Standard Oil Co., it was reported in the Pioneer Press had been found guilty by Judge Kenesaw M. Landis of receiving railroad rebates and faced a fine of \$29,280,000—a sum that in those days must have seemed like the national debt.

There were but two or three straws in the wind that get in our eyes as we glance backward. A famous English editor, W. T. Stead, was in this country crusading for the cause of international peace, and his fervor had aroused stampede enthusiasm at a meeting in Pitts-

burgh on the day Harold Stassen was born. A minor item called attention to starving millions in China who needed America's help, and the Kaiser, it was said, had traveled to Denmark to confer with the Czar of Russia.

But relatively little of the news of 1907 was of a disturbing nature. Surely, had Mr. W. Stassen pondered over his newspaper on that eventful April day, he would not have discovered much of anything to suggest to him that the crying infant in the next room was years later to be plunged into the midst of momentous problems.

Perhaps Mr. Stassen, father, could see disturbing trends that would later involve his most recent heir, but more likely he turned to the marketing column and contemplated wholesale prices. Or he may have chuckled with the editorial note in the Dispatch, which read: "Vale (that is to say goodbye) women's suffrage. The Senate completed the slaughter Friday, and the agony is over."

The years of Harold Stassen's infancy were, taking the nation as a whole, calm and untroubled. Europe existed, but it was a long way off. The Orient was, for most people, as remote as a dream. No radios were under mining national frontiers, no moving pictures brought to mass audiences some conception of a distant world, no airplanes were shrinking the map and building a new geography. There were enough machines and mechanical devices to provide for a comfortable life, but not so many as to complicate the daily round of existence.

But infancy gradually changed into childhood. And then the child became the young man. Those were momentous years, the happenings of which cannot be traced here, nor need they be, for in the minds of us all they remain as vivid memories. The gentility and complacency of life so characteristic of the first years of the century were transformed by the chaos of war. The war was fought, and won. The world, we dreamed, had been made safe for democracy.

## U. S. Failed to Grasp Truth of New World

And yet, somehow, the great Democracy—our United States—failed to grasp the simple truth: that a new kind of world had come into being; a world in which new concepts of time and space were to dominate, and in which a new order of international relations must prevail if peace were to endure.

The old order had passed, yet we as a nation resisted the fact. It is one of the tragedies of history that the fundamental truths embodied in the League of Nations idea became merely a noble experiment rather than a glorious reality. For that failure, we see now, meant that the conflicts and struggles of 1914-1918 were inescapably to be repeated at a later date.

The year 1923, it seems to me as I look back upon it, might aptly be termed "the year of frustration." Yes, the war had been won, but already the flowers of victory were withering. Men still refused to face the changes that were transpiring around them.

It is, in retrospect, difficult to understand why this was so. The record of what was happening is clear, as we can see by turning once again to the newspapers men were reading.

In the Fall of 1923 radio owners were being queried by the Minneapolis Journal as to whether they preferred crystal or tube sets; and the headlines could say, "Radio Features for Coming Week Range from Jazz Piano Tilt to Business Talk." There were editorials on collecting income taxes from bootleggers. The automobile by now had really become a problem: "Three Killed in One Day." The Ku Klux Klan was spreading terror and prejudice and the American Bankers' association at its annual convention in Atlantic City was hearing from its president that "socialism, communism, anarchism, syndicalism and IWW-ism are threatening the foundations of our government."

There were other signs of change: Jackie Coogan was at the peak of his movie popularity; fresh eggs were advertised at Powers Market for 36c a dozen, creamery butter was 48c a pound, and a blue ribbon cut of porterhouse steak cost 45c.

## Traces Course of Farm Depression

The outer world, too, was intruding. The Minnesota congressional delegation, moved no doubt by the severe agricultural depression in the Northwest, was beseeching the president, Calvin Coolidge now, to increase the tariff on wheat, and Mr. Wallace was proposing a Wheat Export commission. On the Sunday before Harold Stassen started college, there were in all the local papers, the first pictures of the earthquake in Japan. And in Bulgaria, revolt was flaring, Sofia was under siege and Communist posters were urging the people to arise and proclaim a general strike.

(Labor on the home front, too, was attracting attention. On this same day, Samuel Gompers passed through the Twin Cities, and stopped long enough to voice his opposition to the formation of a national third party, with labor at its core.)

Classes began for Harold Stassen at the University of Minnesota on Wednesday, Sept. 26, 1923. It was unquestionably a momentous day for him. It was a momentous day for all of us. This point requires elaboration.

On Sunday, Sept. 23, the world was startled with the news that collapse in Germany was imminent. The struggle in the Ruhr was over—a passive resistance that had cost a hundred billion dollars and was bringing the German republic to the brink of chaos. "Chancellor Stresemann and his Aids," said the headlines, "Yield to Allies to Save Country from Economic Disaster and Revolution."

On Monday and Tuesday, additional news of impending collapse in Germany was spread in the columns of our papers. Editorially, too, there were hints that all was not well in Europe or at home. Said the Minneapolis Journal: "Throughout Europe it is the twilight of the emperors, but the dawn of the dictators. The war to make the world safe for democracy does not on its conclusion find that democracy, made safe, spreads."

## Newspapers Stressed Tumult in Germany

If on Thursday morning, Sept. 27, as Harold Stassen came to the campus to attend the freshman convocation, he had stopped to buy a newspaper, this is what he would have read: "Dictator Named for All Germany—Gessler Given Wide Powers to Prevent Civil War in Reich—Whole Nation Virtually Placed Under Martial Law as Result of Bavaria Plotting."

And then, notice this, "Hitler Fascist Chief, Plans March on Berlin." As he read on, the freshman would have learned how the little-known Bavarian leader had called upon all of the fascists to join his "storm sections." "Hitler," said the press, "also summoned his horsemen and automobile owners to stand ready for duty, presumably for a coup."

Strange indeed that the career of Adolf Hitler should have reached the public attention on the very day that Harold Stassen started his career as a student at the state University of Minnesota.

If Harold Stassen did read of these uprisings and rebellions, he must have wondered deeply at the words of Lotus Delta Coffman who spoke that morning to the incoming class.

"In these perilous times," said President Coffman, "with the world rent with discord and dissension, and with thousands of panaceas and intellectual nostrums being laid upon the doorstep of institutions of higher learning, as well as advocated for society, it is all the more important that universities rediscover and reemphasize their true function—truth-seeking and truth-impartation."

"In this truth-seeking," President Coffman continued, "the university period should be regarded as an integral part of life, the part in which the habits, standards of judgment and attitudes of mind shall be so developed in truth-seeking that students shall remain truth-seekers for life."

On the following day the world learned, and I quote the Journal, that "a hundred attempts by Herr Hitler's fascists to assemble in the specified beer halls of Munich were broken up by the police."

## Recalls Waning of Favor for League

On the following day one also learned that three members of the United States Senate, who had spent a Summer in Europe, had returned to the country, declaring that while they had originally supported the covenant of the League of Nations, their trip abroad had brought them to a point where they had much less enthusiasm for it. America, it was implied, might be better off to let the rest of the world alone.

This was the changed world, then, in which Harold Stassen began his academic career. I shall not review the accomplishments of the four years in college, for you know that story well. But one thing I have done. The other day I went to the office where our student records are kept, and drew forth the folder labeled Harold Stassen. I was curious to know what courses a boy would choose who had entered the University of Minnesota at a time when international stability was starting to crumble. Perhaps you are curious, too, and while we do not ordinarily divulge publicly the records of a student, under present circumstances I do not feel I violate any confidences.

These are the subjects Harold Stassen took—mark them well: Rhetoric, public speaking, argument and debate, Spanish, English, introduction to political science, American government, administrative law, municipal

government, financial systems, international organization, world politics. And, of course, physical education and ROTC, basic and advanced.

The grades I won't tell you, beyond saying that they were good ones, and, with me you will not be surprised that in argument and debate, financial systems, and administrative law, the record was one of straight A's. (There were many other A's, too.)

These courses were, to be sure, in preparation for further study in law; but they were more than that, for as time has shown, they were preparation for understanding the world in which we are living and the kinds of problems that world is now thrusting upon us. And the study of books, it is well to point out, was being supplemented by contact with the work-a-day world through jobs that brought to the young student a practical understanding of how men and women earn a living.

## Lindbergh Returns After Dramatic Flight

Three days before Harold Stassen received his bachelor's degree, Lindbergh returned home in triumph and Chamberlain and Levine landed in Berlin in their non-stop flight from New York. Lindbergh was not the first man to fly the Atlantic, but his achievement dramatized the new possibilities that lay ahead in trans-oceanic communication.

It should have been a symbol of new things to come, of old barriers removed, of new bonds drawing the nations of the world together. But it was primarily to a feat of personal courage and daring that the country responded with unbounded admiration. It worshipped a new hero, rather than searched for the true significance of his heroism. This is not surprising, for it was in all things an era of enthusiasm and expansiveness.

"Crop Prospects Soar in the Northwest," headlined the Tribune. United States Steel was listed at 133, the market had a "tone of confidence." Calvin Coolidge, leaving Washington for a vacation in the Black Hills, urged "constructive thrift." A New York brokerage firm rewarded a former messenger boy with a \$220,000 seat on the New York Stock Exchange. Creamery butter was selling at 45 cents, and a pound of sirloin cost 40 cents. Hamburg was not even advertised. The clouds on the horizon disturbed no one.

But there were clouds. Inside Russia there were deep-down murmurings that were to be reflected in purges. Harold Stassen received his degree on Monday, June 13, 1927. On that same day one reads: "The Soviets Executed 28 More in New Terror." And the Soviet war minister publicly charged that England had so stirred feelings against Russia that a class war loomed.

The newspapers, too, were telling of attacks by one Colonel William Mitchell on what he termed Navy conservatism in the failure to see that the airplane completely changed the strategy of naval warfare and the importance of the battleship.

You will find the full name, Harold Edward Stassen, in the printed list of graduates. That, at least, was better than the announcement of his birth! Yet perusal of the newspapers of the day suggests that although the commencement address, on the subject of "Personal Honor," was delivered by a distinguished educator, what he had to say probably made little impression upon the volatile throngs who were cheering "the Lone Eagle."

"Personal Honor," said Dr. Suzzallo, "is a trait most necessary to the safety and continuation of democratic society."

The world should have listened, and heeded; but the world was too excited, too enmeshed in its own superlatives, too preoccupied with other values. It went on cheering Lindbergh; it did not take to heart even what he had had to say. "I feel," warned Lindbergh, "that America would do well to study earnestly the present high state of European aviation."

The country was in no mood for warnings, in no mood to regard the signs that were pointing to troubles ahead. Wrote the editor of the Tribune: "The opening of the forty-fifth session of the League of Nations council, which occurred this week at Geneva, found the world unexcited." Unexcited indeed! The whirlwind was already gathering momentum!

That was the world into which the 1,200 graduates of the June class of 1927 were to enter.

## Nations Hopeful of Naval Reductions

Harold Stassen returned to the University to study law. When he completed that training in 1929, Herbert Hoover was President of the United States. It had just been announced that Ramsey MacDonald would visit Washington in the interest of armament re-

duction. In fact, the newspapers told that Harold Stassen had received his law degree, also reported that the prime minister and the new United States ambassador to the Court of St. James, Mr. Charles Dawes, had that day met in Scotland. The intimations are, it was printed, that "the United States and Great Britain are near agreement on a naval reduction program in which other naval powers are expected to cooperate and upon which the successful consummation of the peace of the world must depend."

It was only the voice of the president of the university, speaking to the graduates, that gave hint that not all was as perfect with the world as might be.

"One has only to look about him," said President Coffman, "to realize that in this new world there is a conflict of great intensity and vast proportions. It is the conflict between freedom, initiative and independence on the one hand, and direction, submission, and control on the other. It is the conflict between the individual and the organization, and it presents a dilemma as old as the human race, but raised now to a magnitude and power never before witnessed by men. What the future holds is largely a question of the attitude of mind."

Those were prophetic words as time was to prove. I should like to think the young law graduate remembered them, but from what I know of the extent to which commencement addresses usually are remembered, I doubt that he did. However, the spirit that animated the truth that President Coffman spoke was contagious. That may have left its impression. At least the career of the man we are honoring tonight has progressed in the tradition of that spirit.

## Elected Governor As Hitler Rocks Europe

Of that career little needs to be said for it is recent history. I would merely recall that the world in which that career was being fashioned, was becoming week by week more confused, unsettled and disturbed. As the citizens of this state went to the polls in November of 1938, to elect Harold Stassen governor, events were happening elsewhere that chilled men's souls.

"Nazis Storm Palace of Munich Cardinal," wailed the headlines. "Nazi Mobs Fire Synagogues, Loot Jewish Stores." "The democracies," shouted Hitler who was now in power, "are not to be trusted."

"I speak," he continued, "as a peace-loving man and I have decided to give the Reich a defense force that will be conducive to peace being kept." The voters of Minnesota at the ballot box exemplified the best traditions of democracy, unmoved by the threats that were being shouted from over the seas.

But not even the fact that the quintuplets were to be seen in a film at a St. Paul movie house on that election day could completely distract attention of the serious reader of the daily press from the tensions the world was engendering.

"Japanese Blast Deeper Into China," "Paris Shooting Routes Germany," "Spanish Loyalists Repulse Insurgents," "Ford Fights NLRB." These headlines were on the same pages that told of Harold Stassen's victory.

And now, in 1943, the governor becomes the lieutenant commander and lays down the cares and responsibilities of the highest office in this state. On the condition of the world, as he steps from office, I need not comment, for all of you have followed your newspapers these recent months, absorbing from day to day the tragic history that they portray.

It does seem to me that this story of the past that I have been recalling, linked as it was at every stage with the life of our guest, contains significances that should not be overlooked. There is a lesson to be learned and which must be learned if we are not to repeat again the mistakes and the follies of the past three decades.

## Aviation Progress Mark Life's Steps

Truly, as President Coffman told Harold Stassen's graduating

class, "What the future holds is largely a question of the attitude of mind." When Harold Stassen was born, the airplane was but a toy. When Harold Stassen graduated, the nation went wild because one man had flown alone across the deep expanse of the Atlantic. As Harold Stassen leaves his high office, 500 trans-oceanic transport flights a week are routine occurrences.

The world into which Harold Stassen was born is gone forever. So also is the world of the year he graduated from the university. Do we, in our attitudes of mind, comprehend this fully? Do we, in thought and action, strive to adapt ourselves to the multitudinous and all-pervasive changes that have taken place? Or do we blindly resist?

Who can doubt how fundamental those changes are when he surveys, even as briefly as I have done this evening, what has been happening since the early years of the century? Yet the danger is that the minds of men—those attitudes stressed—President Coffman stressed—have not undergone a parallel adaptation and adjustment.

The problems of 1943 cannot be resolved successfully by minds steeped in the attitudes of 1907 any more than 1907 automobiles can meet the automobile transportation requirements of 1943. Unless men as individuals are sensitive and alert to the transformations that have created the new environment in which they live, they will fail in their attempts to live successfully. Unless groups of men, especially those groups we call nations, likewise recognize that new conditions necessitate new ways of cooperation, we shall be doomed to endless years of bitter struggle and chaos.

Nations today can be great only as their collective attitudes are tolerant, only as their outlook is inclusive and only as they are characterized by cooperative-mindedness. It was failure to recognize and act on these simple, but now fundamental, premises that led to the failures after the last World War.

It is the possibility that once more we shall fail to accept these simple truths that fills my heart with dread today. To understand the meaning and the significance of the changes in the world in which we have lived, is to my mind the paramount obligation of the modern citizen.

The key to successful living in the future is a thorough understanding of the past out of which we have emerged. I believe this may be achieved in some measure by a device as simple as I have employed this evening, whereby the life of one man has been set against the panorama of history and studied in terms of the impact of history upon that life.

What I am saying, stated in another way, is that our social salvation, individually and collectively, in the last analysis is dependent upon the possession of a sound historical perspective. It is not heresy to suggest that those who now talk glibly about post-war planning should, as basic preparation for the tasks they are setting themselves, become thoroughly grounded in life as it has been lived.

It is not enough to cry "The past is dead; long live the present," much less, "Long live the future." Flexibility of mind comes not with throwing off the shackles of the past; paradoxically, it is acquired by a mastery of the past. Only in this way can the indispensable perspective be achieved in terms of which sound plans for the future are to be laid. History does not repeat itself, but its lessons have

application in meeting what lies ahead.

## Sees Problems of Today In Light of the Past

These observations are not irrelevant to our purposes this evening, for it has always seemed to me that among the qualities that characterize the man we are honoring are the understanding and the sensitivity of mind that prevail because he possesses a perspective that enables him to see the problems of today in the light of the past, and hence in the light of the probable future.

He possesses what might be termed an imaginative insight into our course of history. Stated in the most general of terms, two great problems face this country, and the world. On our ability to cope with them successfully depends the future hope of this nation and of all nations.

First, is the problem within our country of reconciling the tendency toward centralization of control over human life with the traditional freedom that democracy assumes for the individual. A thousand examples in the governmental sphere alone will suggest themselves to your minds. How, we ask, can we remain free men when the logic of regulation presses with irresistible compulsion toward further and further regulation? The proverbial island on which the inhabitants made a living by taking in each other's washings has a modern equivalent in the danger we face that half of our people will ultimately be engaged in policing the regulations that are imposed upon the conduct of the other half of us.

The second problem is merely a counterpart of the first on an international scale. How is the world to reconcile the incompatibilities inherent in the two ideologies now struggling for domination? How can the kind of a world free men want be achieved when half of the world is not free?

I merely raise the questions and I shall not attempt to answer them. But I would suggest that the answers are dependent upon two things—and this brings me to the moral and conclusion of all that I have been saying.

Two things are indispensable if we are to surmount the difficulties now confronting us. First, there must be knowledge, there must be facts, there must be understanding, there must be comprehension of the nature of the problems. If you but know the truth, the truth shall make you free.

## No Substitute for Knowledge of Truth

There is no substitute for knowledge of the truth. For ever, it must be the blood and breath of freedom itself. As I go from my office each day, I like to look up and read the inspiring inscription cut in the stone facade of Northrop Memorial Auditorium:

The University of Minnesota Founded in the Faith that Men are Ennobled by Understanding Dedicated to the Advancement of Learning and the Search for Truth Devoted to the Instruction of Youth and the Welfare of the State.

We should be proud those words are on a building of the state University of Minnesota—your University. But in a symbolic sense they are found on every college and university building in this country, for it is upon the achievements and accomplishments of education from the kindergarten to the university, that we must ultimately turn to Page 5, Col. 2)





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