

[1945]

Good Evening:

At the outset of this campaign I outlined a 10-point program in which the mayor's office, if I am elected, will assume the leadership for a Greater Minneapolis in the postwar era. I propose (1) formation of a Greater Minneapolis association to integrate and coordinate the work of public and private agencies concerned with postwar planning; (2) utilizing the city's full financial and credit facilities to encourage private investments and to insure sound financial expansion; (3) modern programs to make possible new home building and extensive modernization of old homes; (4) promotion of synthetic rubber plants and other industries which will provide new employment opportunity and supply a market for surplus agricultural products; (5) promotion of closer understanding between business, labor and agriculture; (6) recapturing most industrial enterprises; (7) unceasing activity to complete upper harbor ~~project~~ project and to bring to the city air routes that will build the one-world future; (8) extensive public works program to provide a floor below which postwar employment must not drop; (9) coordination of the city's excellent vocational facilities to retain our war workers for peace; (10) encouragement of research to help develop Minneapolis industry, such as magnesium processing, development of low-grade iron ore and manufacture of plastics.

I have told you of Minneapolis' critical financial condition, a debt of more than \$50,000,000 and a operating deficit last year or approximately \$800,000. About which, I am sorry to say, the mayor did nothing at the last session of the legislature, waiting until the legislature had adjourned to propose that city and country cooperate in a more fair and equitable distribution of state revenues.

The Mayor made no effort to secure passage of the gross earnings tax, or the income tax redistribution or the public housing enabling act. The mayor has consistently refused to take the leadership in scores of issues vitally important to the present and future welfare and ~~general~~ progress of our city. He has taken for granted apparently the theory that we have a "weak mayor" form of government. I think we may justifiably ~~rephrase~~ do a bit of rephrasing here and admit our form of government is as weak as its mayor. The mayor ~~is not~~ of Minneapolis is not without ^{powers} ~~power~~ if he wants to and has the ability, the energy and the willingness to use ^{them} ~~it~~. A study of the city charter reveals that the mayor has sufficient authority to be an effective leader in coordinating the various agencies of our city government into an effective smooth-functioning whole. Leadership is what Minneapolis needs and the lack of it today finds Minneapolis in a precarious position relative to its future.

This campaign for election now enters into the home stretch. ~~We~~ We have made every effort to present a constructive program upon which the citizens of Minneapolis may pass judgment with their votes next Monday. One important phase of our civic life remains to be discussed. I have purposely left it for the home stretch. It is last but not ~~the~~ least. ~~It~~ In fact, it is first in importance to those of ^{us} who have children, ~~and~~ who look with alarm at the rapid ~~rate~~ ^{wartime} increase in our juvenile delinquency statistics, ~~and who believe~~ that in a democratic form of government

and deplore the apathy of the administration whose ~~only~~ "do-nothing" policies in this direction went so far as to name a 90-man committee just 10 days before the 1943 election, a committee, ladies and gentleman, which met once. To me this approach to a problem so close to the hearts of all parents ~~literally stinks~~. *is gross neglect on the part of the administration* ~~Ninskyxaxdixkx * BBNBkx~~

~~xxxxxxfx90xxduktxxkx~~ It is conceivable that if a committee of 90 persons had conferred weekly from 1943 to the present time they might have been able to agree in that length of time that juvenile delinquency is a bad thing. It is doubtful that anything more could have been accomplished. The time wasted might have been much more usefully spent had the committee members volunteered their services to "Proxy Parents."

Any realistic attempt to get at the heart of the problem should long ago have included: (1) strengthening of police facilities by increasing the amount of specialized training of officers dealing with juvenile problems; (2) ^{re-}enforcement of existing social agencies and expansion of social welfare activities and services for young people; (3) opening of school facilities after school hours and making provision for supervised recreation; 4) providing supervision for playgrounds, boys clubs, and settlement houses; 5) establishment of supervised facilities particularly for younger children of parents engaged in war work; 6) encouragement of church groups to open their recreational facilities to young people; 7) coordination of the various social agencies that are in existence in order to determine areas of danger.

children

We have a solemn obligation to our ~~youth~~ during these war years, many of whose fathers are in the armed forces at the same time

that their mothers are working long hours in war plants. It is an obligation that cannot be discharged merely by appointment of a 90-man committee. That Minneapolis' record in regard to juvenile delinquency is not as bad as some cities is ^{no} ~~not an~~ excuse for doing nothing during these critical war years. That the sore spots ~~are~~ have not become more aggravated than they are is due in no part ~~of~~ to effort ~~on the part~~ of the city administration.

Juvenile delinquency is just one phase of the Minneapolis crime situation I want to discuss with you tonight. I think every alert citizen knows what ^{these conditions are} ~~that situation is~~. I don't think all of us under-
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oth- issue
misstify
low
job.

Set limit
club
this?
put up
to mayo.

Is his
refusal
to answer
this?
indication
of a
thing etc.

- 1. needed increase in personnel & equipment
- 2. admit the size of problem but that etc.
- 3. Law-enforce but 1 issue I have placed my disc.

Jur. del.

1. Crime report statistics
cost 2.12 per capita

- 1. more quote
- 2. rank + file copper subverting string
- 3. I have proposed etc.

Ladies and Gentlemen: ^{late because of need of more imp. lesson}
 Tonight I want to discuss with you the serious matter of law enforcement in Minneapolis. I think every alert citizen of Minneapolis knows what that situation is. I don't think all of us understand certain involved aspects of it. ^{I believe the people of our city want to know what is behind these conditions.} It is time they are brought out into the open.

During the past several years we have witnessed grand jury after grand jury launch their investigations into vice, gambling and liquor law violations, some times on specific instructions of the judge of district court in charge of the criminal calendar. The last two grand juries, in fact, have been asked to look into ^{conditions,} the situation, first by Judge William A. Anderson and more recently by Judge W.W. Bardwell. We have witnessed the spectacle of our mayor and our chief of police called before these recent juries ~~and~~ to recite their familiar chant to the effect that Minneapolis is the cleanest city of its size in the country. And at the moment they are making their statements to the grand jury, ladies and gentlemen, their words are true. That is one of the peculiar aspects of ~~the~~ Minneapolis situation. ^{law enforcement or, may I say, lack of law enforcement.}

Every time a grand jury goes into session ~~and the word~~ ^{investigate} intending to look into vice and gambling the "heat is on" and when the "heat is on" slot machines, ~~"14" boards,~~ gambling establishments, all-night sneak joints and brothels suddenly disappear or are closed up. When these sessions adjourn the so-called "heat" ~~is~~ ^{is} suddenly ~~is~~ turned off and ~~they~~ ^{open} illicit enterprises again are ready for business. ~~The~~

How is this sudden change brought about? One minute the town is wide open; the next it is closed down. What is the explanation? What makes it possible and by whose orders ^{is} ~~to have~~ the city free of

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illegal devices and institutions one week, two weeks or three and then -- presto-change -- ~~to have~~ the old status quo ~~prevail~~?
What is this magic? ^{What power} ~~Who~~ waves the magic wand over the city.

I shppen to know that ^{this} ~~the~~ problem ~~in this state of affairs~~ is a difficult one for the city administration. It is one that has heckled other administrations and has ^{caused} ~~decided~~ more than one chief of police ~~to~~ throw in the towel and retire from the force. I am not ~~minimizng~~ minimizing the size of the clean up job. But if it is too big, too tough for our present mayor to cope with I believe the citizens of this city want to know ^{it.} ~~why~~. I think they deserve to know why.

In touching upon this subject in previous talks I have said and I repeat that if I am elected mayor the law will be enforced, fairly and impartially, and I mean all existing laws, without fear or favor to any group or combination of interests. I have asked: Is there an invisible government in Minneapolis -- responsible to no one -- that dictates what certain law enforcement policies should be. I ^{or should not he,} am asking you, the ^{citizens} ~~voters~~ of Minneapolis, that question tonight. I hope to have your answer at the polls June 11.

~~For I believe that there is an insidious influence at work here, undermining the very foundations upon which the democratic form of government for which we are fighting in every part of the world today.~~

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I charge here and now that there is an abundance of evidence ^{an} of insidious influence at work on our city government in regards to law enforcement. Minneapolis has not forgotten the Kasherman murder, or the Guilford and Liggett murders of the same pattern that preceded.

The mayor, following the Kasherman slaying, said, "This blot on the otherwise fine record of the police department has turned in during the past few years will not be permitted to remain unchallenged." I believe the police department has done its utmost to solve the Kasherman murder. I cannot agree, except in isolated instances, with some who have said that the police of this city are "either stupid or inefficient." But I believe the mayor completely missed the point ~~xxxx~~ in his remark inferring that the apprehension of the Kasherman slayer or slayers would satisfy the public. I believe ~~the~~ mayor was called upon in the circumstances to promise an end to the sort of thing that led up to the Kasherman killing; of which it was symbolic, if you please; of an end to lawlessness and the impunity with which certain interests ~~xxxx~~ operate here.

As a matter of fact it was ~~xxxx~~ less than a month later that the mayor did make such a pledge. In the Feb. 17 edition of the Minneapolis Morning Tribune he was reported to have ordered a clean sweep to rid the ~~dit~~ of any and all forms of gambling, including slot machines. He said, "This time I mean everyting~~xxx~~. ~~xxxx~~...The chief of police and every man in the department is going to shoulder full responsibility to see that these things do not sneak up behind them again. Orders have been issued that any flagrant viol-

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will result in immediate transfers and suspensions."

What does the mayor mean by flagrant violations? I am sure it was a ~~surprise~~ shocking surprise at the city hall when only a week or so later the testimony of two naturalization inspectors brought to light in federal court -- in federal court, mind you -- the existence of the Social Checker club at 318 Nicollet avenue, a gambling spot ~~which~~ which ~~everyone in Minneapolis who can afford~~ ~~somehow~~ somehow completely escaped, shall we say, any notice until a federal court proceeding determined that a naturalized citizen's employment there made him an undesirable citizen.

Ladies and gentlemen, to say that there was no official knowledge of the existence of a place of such popularity, located in the heart of the loop district, is the height of the ridiculous. ^{and} I don't believe my opponent has the effrontery to so state. ~~and~~ after proof that this place was operating only a few blocks from the city hall and after a Hennepin county grand jury, on its own initiative and without the help of the police, returned a series of John Doe indictments in the case, if there were any suspensions and transfers by way of punishing officers responsible for this "flagrant violation" of law, no one to my knowledge has ever heard about it.

Let us look at still another phase of law enforcement in our city.

^{at least} Ninety-five per cent of our citizens never go near a gambling establishment. ~~They are not overly concerned when they hear that a neighborhood tavern has a "14" board.~~ There will be those who, when they hear me mention these law violations will raise their eyebrows and ask: What does this man Humphrey intend to do -- make this a 9 o'clock town? The answer is no. My position on these particular matters can be summed up in a few words: whether we like

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a law or don't like it, if the law is on the city or state statute books, barring the use of any device, whether it be a pair of dice or a roulette wheel, the law should be enforced by the agencies duly set up by law for their enforcement. If we don't like a law we have our remedy to have it changed or stricken through the city council or the state legislature as the case may be.

~~Yes, we may not all agree on a law forbidding the so-called "trade stimulators -- "14" and pinball machines --~~ but there is an aspect of law enforcement which has recently been brought forcibly to our attention -- again by way of federal court -- upon which we all agree, all of us who have homes and children and have ~~xxxix~~ pride in our city and our self respect. I hope that none of us will ever forget Judge Gunn ^{or} H. Nordbye's warning about "shocking and sordid" conditions on Sixth avenue N. in his sentencing of the white slave traffickers who -- and I use his words -- were making Minneapolis a "recruitment center" for brothels. I quote to Judge Nordbye: "Conditions such as these which have been brought to light in this case are nauseating and certainly are a blight on our community... From testimony in these cases, it is apparent that so-called north Minneapolis night spots served as rendezvous for procurers and panderers plying their nefarious trade and procuring young local girls to work for them in this city and elsewhere. There can hardly be any criminal activity more despicable than to arrange for the transportation of women in interstate commerce for the purpose of prostitution."

Let's be fair about law violation. In a city the size of Minneapolis we can expect to find prostitution, we can expect a certain amount of licensed gambling and we can expect to find some/liquor dealers who will cheat

to gain unfair advantage over their competitors and some who will operate "sneak joints" and get by without licenses. It is not the individual law violation that we need to worry about. It is the organized aspects of law flaunting in Minneapolis that we should refuse to condone.

I say ~~xxx~~ that when Minneapolis becomes known to the federal bureau of investigation as a "recruitment center" for young girls, when by some mysterious mechanism the "heat" is turned on and off as if by punching a button and when gamblers and bookies can openly ply their trades on our main thoroughfares it is time for us to sit up and take notice.

~~The question~~ How has the present administration met this situation? The mayor, on Feb. 17, issued orders to ~~the police~~ closed down all illicit enterprises and this time, said he, "I mean everything." The heat was on and strangely enough this time is stayed on for a period of approximately 90 days. But the day after ^{the} primary election -- why, we don't pretend to know -- the dice boards came out of their hiding places and the new fangled "flat top" slot machines reappeared in some sections of the city. Not his political opponent but the Minneapolis Morning Tribune called the fact to the attention of the mayor.

And what was the mayor's reply. I have never been so informed but the mayor announced that the Tribune had come out in support of my candidacy. He was asked by a representative of the Tribune if his statement should be interpreted as representing a change in the position of the city administration from the order "closing down everything Feb. 17.

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I hope none of the good people of Minneapolis are playing a game of chess, checkers or cribbage for a nickel or a dime on the side to arouse the wrath of the Tribune. That is the only statement I have to make," said the mayor.

Does the mayor admit that law enforcement has him licked? I submit that he has. On repeated occasions the mayor has advocated putting the chief of police under civil service to ~~take~~ take him out of politics. I am not here to argue whether the idea is either good or bad. I know and he knows that the city charter commission has turned thumbs down on the idea on grounds that any changes in the charter should await the return of the war veterans to give them a voice in the matter. In the meantime, then, the responsibility of the mayor cannot be shoved aside and I submit that the city charter, whatever its faults may be, makes it clear that law enforcement is his responsibility.

Chapter III, section one of the charter defines the powers and duties of mayor. I quote: "The mayor shall take care that the laws of the state and the ordinances of the city are duly observed and enforced within the city. He shall take care that all other officers of the city discharge their respective duties, and to that end may maintain an action of mandamus/^{or}~~or~~ other appropriate action against any delinquent city officer.

I do not pretend to know why the mayor has been unable to make his orders for strict law enforcement stick. I think he would -- I'm quite sure he would during~~xxx~~ his campaign for reelection -- if he could. I think he knows all too well it is one of the situations in the minds of thousands of voters that denies him the right to retain office. Minneapolis is aware of the facts. The mayor has been called upon repeatedly, by aroused citizens and in the newspapers, to put to an end the system of organized rackets that has ~~prevailed in xxx~~ given Minneapolis a bad name among its sister cities throughout the country. ~~Allow me to quote~~ The mayor's attitude has been that there should be no publicity ~~that would give~~ on these matters, giving as they do, Minneapolis its reputation for being a haven for underworld characters and lawlessness. I say we cannot blink at the facts. The best way to remove the blight on our city's name is to remove the cause, not try to conceal it.

Allow me to quote some of the editorial comment ~~of xxx~~ of Minneapolis three newspapers since the first of the year:

On the 318 Nicollet avenue gambling spot, ~~the Star~~ -- the Star-Journal commented: "Will Minneapolis offenders have to be gotten by sufferfuge, too. A gambling establishment at 318 Nicollet avenue has operated for at least a year, federal court testimony shows, yet Minneapolis policemen apparently were unable to locate it and the place was not brought to public attention until immigration inspectors testified in a citizenship case that more than 100 men and women had been gambling there when the government men visited the spot. Dice tables, a roulette wheel, slot machines and other gaming equipment were being used. Police headquarters are only a few blocks from

318 Nicollet. The city assessor found the place. The federal agents had no trouble getting past the guard at the peephole.

On January 27, in an editorial entitled, The Heat is On, the Morning Tribune stated: "This newspaper in past years, when conditions became too bad and various forms of anti-social activity became too flagrant, has exposed them with, we regret to say, very little in the way of permanent reform. For a time "the heat"; doors are locked, even in ~~various~~ rare instances padlocked, but not for long. The heat subsides. In a short time the doors are opened cautiously and the lookout becomes less and less critical of those who seek entry... The police can if they will, put an end to public gambling without any greater effort than is involved in telling the operators to close and stay closed. They can keep the heat on as long as they want to."

On the same date (as above) the Minneapolis Times, commenting on the Kasherman murder, ~~asserted~~ suggested: "Why not admit that such underworld violences, because they have gone unsolved and unpunished have given Minneapolis a bad odor of lawlessness through the nation and beyond?... The proof that the Kasherman killing is not just another humdrum homicide may be found in the outside reactions to it. These reactions are not routine reactions at all; they are very special ones which may well set Minneapolis thinking: For example: ...Two Chicago daily newspapers and one Milwaukee newspaper sent reporters to Minneapolis immediately after the murder to 'cover' it.... In an editorial entitled 'Crime in Minneapolis', the Chicago Tribune concluded: 'The Fact is plain that for more than a decade organized crime has flourished in Minneapolis, that local authorities were either acquiescent or incapable of suppressing it, and that three

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men who undertook to expose it, ~~and that~~ from whatever motives, were murdered to close their mouths.~~It~~ The New York Herald Tribune devoted a half column of space to its first report on the slaying. The New York Times story ran to nearly a column.

The editorial goes on to cite the notoriety Minneapolis has received and concludes: "Such signs should give us pause. Minneapolis is a good city, sound at the core, as decent and law-abiding by nature as any in the nation.

In another editorial immediately following the Kasherman slaying the Star-Journal stated: "The fact is that Minneapolis is and has been for years an open town -- not a wide open town, but one in which racketeers and criminal rings have been able to operate without much molestation as long as they kept within certain bounds which have not been the bounds of the law but the bounds of public and official tolerance.~~It~~ It won't do to say that a Kasherman killing, now and then, is an inevitable and not intolerable thing in a city of this size. The fact that Kasherman was a small time criminal, operating on the fringe of gangland, is beside the point. Such a killing is a threat to the good name of the city and the security of every citizen..."

Ladies and gentlemen, I do not agree with the editorial's reference to "public tolerance" or a similar statement in the Times of January 27 that there is "civic indifference" to this situation. I believe that Minneapolis citizenry was aroused by the Kasherman killing and its implications and is still aroused. But Minneapolis citizens speak their minds at the polls. ~~It is~~ Monday's election will show whether I am right or wrong in this belief.

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Before the Saturday Lunch club, at which the mayor and I were afforded an opportunity to outline our programs for Minneapolis I asked him in so many words if he admitted the law enforcement issue was something he was willing to admit he was unable to ~~xxxxxx~~ cope with. I stated I was interested particularly in the organized aspects of the "heat is on" and the "heat is off".

The mayor replied that it was all too easy for me to put him, the incumbent, on the defensive. He said as far as he could determine it was a case of one man deciding to take a chance on resuming operations and then having the word passed around until all of the others opened up.

I was not satisfied with his answer -- I don't think anyone present was -- and I repeated my question. The mayor ~~said~~'s ~~the trouble was that~~ reply was even more feeble. He said the trouble was that "these things" -- ~~xxx~~ we were talking about ~~xxx~~ enforcement of vice, gambling and liquor laws -- made good newspaper copy. Ask any reporter, he said, and he'll tell you that it is one of the things that the mayor has to expect.

All right, ~~xxx~~ when I am mayor I will expect it. I'll know that I've got it coming. I know, too, what "the boys around town" are saying -- that unless I submit to the "system" -- let's not mince words -- to the will of the legendary "syndicate" and/or combination I can expect the worst outbreak of crime in history in an attempt to discredit my administration. I accept that challenge. I ask you, after all, it is your government, to accept the challenge with me.



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