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# Inaugural Address

of

Governor Luther W. Youngdahl

To the Legislature of

Minnesota



Wednesday, January 3, 1951

St. Paul, Minnesota

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS OF  
GOVERNOR LUTHER W. YOUNGDAHL  
DELIVERED AT A JOINT SESSION OF THE  
MINNESOTA LEGISLATURE AT 12:15 P. M.,  
WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 3, 1951.

Mr. Speaker, Mr. President, Members of the Fifty-Seventh Session of the Minnesota Legislature, and Honored Guests:

The world is in turmoil and crisis. The year 1951 and those years immediately ahead may well be the "Hinge of Fate" upon which the destiny of the world turns. We are a part of the life and death struggle of two totally opposed philosophies of life. The antagonists are communism on the one hand, which denies God and places its faith in naked force and materialistic values, and on the other the democratic way of life, which places its faith in the Fatherhood of God and the Brotherhood of Man. Under communism man is a vassal and the State is supreme. Under our philosophy each man is uniquely precious because, like an ancient coin of gold, he is stamped with the image of the King.

It seems but yesterday. It was only four years ago, in this same place, that we acclaimed the end of hostilities of World War II. We met then with a strong hope for the achievement of world peace based on the concepts of the United Nations.

Today, we do best if we resolutely face a supremely unpredictable future. We know not what the morrow may bring. It may be peace. It may be war—war of such proportions and ferocity that all previous struggles will in comparison appear as preliminary skirmishes.

In these circumstances, for us to make plans based on specific prediction of the future is both foolish and impossible, yet hazards and uncertainties must not sap our courage nor paralyze us into inaction. Any plans we make or any programs we establish which are based on eternal principles of justice

and humanity will always prove valid and right as the future unfolds.

The price we shall be required to pay for freedom will be great, but the cost of slavery is infinitely greater. The price of freedom includes far more than money, materials, and military might. The intangible demands made upon us are greater than these. Each of us as a citizen is charged with a personal responsibility. Our state government must reflect this sense of personal responsibility. We must discipline ourselves to absolute integrity and dedicate ourselves to the advancement of human values. Honesty and humanity in government must constantly be our goal. In times of complacency and plenty it has too often been assumed that the accumulation of material resources is sufficient for safety and survival, but in times of crisis and disaster our sense of values must change. In such times, our survival will depend not upon material resources, but upon human and spiritual values.

Many years ago a great ship sank amid the icebergs of the Atlantic. A woman passenger waiting for a life boat received permission to return to her room where she kept her diamonds and other valuables. In this moment of danger, she ignored her jewels and instead snatched three oranges and made her way back to the life boat. In a life boat oranges take priority over diamonds. At the pivot between doom or dawn, human values become more precious than material values. In times of disaster, we see with a new vividness that material things will not insure our survival.

In today's hour of peril there must be a strong reaffirmation of the utter necessity for discipline, consecration, and service.

The Legislature has in past sessions demonstrated its faith in these human values by legislation enacted in support of education, mental health, youth conservation, law enforcement, and other progressive measures.

At this session, conditions over which neither you nor I have any control make our task even more difficult. The spiral of inflation and the zooming costs of our military establishment

reduce the value of the dollar and limit the sources of revenue for the operations of state government. In spite of these and other difficulties which might be mentioned, our plain duty is to bend ourselves to the task of meeting the challenges of the hour. We pledged the people to continue to work for honesty and humanity in government. We must keep this promise.

When we speak of "humanity" in government, we think of it in its broad sense as including every program by which we meet human needs and by meeting them undergird our human resources.

Similarly, "honesty" in government encompasses not only integrity in financial matters, but also a fair and equitable approach to every practical problem relating to our economic resources.

With the terms thus broadly defined, my message to you will be divided in two main divisions. The first deals with the whole area of our human and social goals. The second is concerned with the prerequisites for the attainment of these goals.

## *1. HUMANITY IN GOVERNMENT*

### *1. HOME AND FAMILY*

Of the new proposals dealing with "humanity in government," the one closest to my heart is the one I shall now discuss, a plan for the strengthening of the home and family life.

The nation which fails to give integrity to the home will ultimately pass into oblivion.

It is in the home that the lessons of mutual responsibility, of self sacrifice, are learned. The family is the only true democracy, whose motto is "One for all and all for one." The weak and the young as well as the wise and the strong have equal claims upon the family resources. If one member suffers—all suffer with him; if one member rejoices, all rejoice with him.

It was in the patriarchal family, expanded into the clan, that humanity learned the first lessons of government and social unity. The sense of social solidarity developed slowly in society at large, but its roots lie deep in family life.

The home is the foundation of the social order. There are signs that this foundation is cracking and crumbling. The divorce rate has increased sharply. Divorces mean broken homes. Broken homes mean children who are the innocent victims. Out of these broken homes comes a tragic amount of youth delinquency and the loss of precious human resources.

It is impossible to exaggerate the calamities that befall a society in which the home disintegrates. The cost in terms of heartbreak and human wretchedness cannot be described. The economic cost defies calculation. Repercussions are felt in added relief loads, increased aids to dependent children, and additional costs of law enforcement, including the maintenance of penal institutions. Complications are felt in recreational programs, housing facilities, mental health work, in every area of social welfare. Every other social institution, including our churches and schools, is endangered.

Where family life degenerates communism and demonic schemes become rampant. Ultimately the consequences are chaos and war.

Recognizing these dangers, you provided in 1949 for a thorough investigation of this whole problem. At your direction, I appointed a committee of 26 concerned and representative citizens to study this social menace.

This Interim Committee for the study of family life has done an excellent job. Its report has already aroused widespread and favorable reaction. All the recommendations in the report deserve your careful consideration.

The report emphasizes the necessity for diagnosis and therapy in dealing with family difficulties and the use of all available facilities to remove the causes of family breakdowns.

The old adage says "Count to ten before you swing." This homespun piece of advice has prevented many a fist fight. Application of the same principle has been effective in the area of labor relations where the "cooling off" period has prevented strikes and lockouts. We may be certain that a principle which has proved effective in these and other areas will apply with equal strength to conflicts in family life.

Therefore, I favor legislation requiring a period of conciliation before a divorce action may be commenced. I also recommend the committee's proposal that judicial procedures be established to provide specialized treatment to strengthen family ties before they are broken in divorce.

You have dignified these legislative halls in past sessions by enacting farsighted and effective laws for the preservation of our state's human resources. Here again we have the opportunity to pioneer and, at relatively small cost, to undergird that basic unit of our society, the home.

## 2. MENTAL HEALTH

In Minnesota, "snake pits" and bedlams have disappeared. We are building the House of Hope. Our official policy as a state is to recognize that mental illness is a sickness and a medical problem to which there should be attached absolutely no shame or stigma.

Having made a start, the temptation will be strong to stagnate and stop in our drive for a really adequate mental health program.

At the last session you began one of the most magnificent social structures ever put into law by this or any other legislative body in the country. You passed the mental health act and backed it up with money. By doing this, you gave a new lease of hope to tens of thousands of people who have loved ones suffering from a mental sickness.

I can report a substantial improvement in the care and treatment of the mentally ill. The health of our patients is better; mechanical restraints have been virtually eliminated; overcrowding has been relieved; increased personnel has made possible new programs of recreation and therapy. Our patients are better clothed, and the single standard of food makes them the best fed patients of any state hospital system in the nation. A beginning has been made in research in out-patient clinics and in other aspects of our mental health work.

We have laid the foundation for the House of Hope. Upon this foundation we must continue to build. It is not enough

to hold the line. We must press the attack against the citadels of the asylum-past. The measure of our accomplishment must never be a smug complacency as to the rank we hold in comparison with other states. The only valid satisfaction is to be found in fully meeting the needs of these maligned and forgotten people, whose only hope lies in our compassion and action.

The most urgent immediate need is for a new school for mentally deficient children. The overcrowded conditions at our Faribault school are indescribable—they are a disgrace to Minnesota. In spite of unusual ingenuity and several emergency measures, there are 800 families whose children are being denied opportunity for *any* adequate care or treatment whatever. Of these, several hundred are acute emergency cases. Imagine it! I appeal to you as men with a sense of justice and compassion, and I appeal to the people whom you represent. These children and their parents have endured unspeakable physical and mental suffering. We must not keep them waiting any longer.

Another part of the House of Hope which we must continue to build is in the area of medical treatment of alcoholism, improved care of those aged who have nervous disorders, expanded preventive services, and, above and beyond all else intensified research, beginning at once, into the causes and treatment of mental sickness.

A third section of the House of Hope where humanity demands a change is in the matter of commitment procedure for the mentally ill. The present system causes humiliation to the patient and his family and seems to imply before society that he is a criminal instead of a sick human being. I recommend that the commitment laws be changed to wipe out the shame and stigma here in the same manner as they have been eradicated in our care and treatment of the mentally sick. Finally, you will want to implement with further financial support the constructive program which you inaugurated at the last session.

You have laid the foundation. Into this foundation have been poured the hopes of our patients, the faith of our families, the support of the Legislature, the inspired work of our psy-

chiatric workers on every level, and the concern and compassion of the people of our state.

In mental health, Minnesota has become the symbol of the House of Hope, and the whole nation looks to us for continued leadership. We ought to pray to God that He will keep us in discentent until the day comes when every mentally sick person receives the care to which he is entitled.

### 3. EDUCATION

Education is of critical importance in a democracy. Thomas Jefferson spoke for America when he said, "By far the most important bill in our whole code is that for the diffusion of knowledge among the people. No other sure foundation can be devised for the preservation of freedom and happiness."

The American way of life demands that every citizen shall have the right to an education. Its enemies thrive on ignorance and illiteracy. The American ideal of educational equality is far short of attainment. We have a long way to go, and critical times such as these ought to spur us on to a new zeal to provide an education sufficient to meet the demands of the hour. Therefore, I strongly urge you to meet the costs of the educational needs in our state.

In 1947, you made wise revisions in the state aid laws for our schools. Under this program, the biennial appropriations for school aid were substantially increased in 1947 and again in 1949. Costs here as elsewhere have risen sharply. Therefore, I recommend that school aids be increased sufficiently to meet these increased costs.

In our determination to provide good education for every child, we have often sought the counsel of the educational leaders of our state. They have been a real source of strength and support. They recognize as we do that children who are delinquent, mentally retarded, or physically handicapped are equally entitled to educational opportunity; in fact, children in these groups lay claim to an even greater measure of our help.

Therefore, although it is my conviction that the income tax revenues should remain dedicated to common school pur-

poses, I recommend that our definition of such purposes include provision for state aid to the handicapped groups just mentioned. This would give some relief to the general revenue fund, upon which increasingly large and diverse demands are being made and would improve the educational offering for these young people.

Opportunities for in-service training of teachers should be put on a permanent basis, particularly in view of the probable shortage for some years to come.

You should also enact a teacher's salary schedule, guaranteeing that a minimum of 65 per cent of school maintenance costs be designated for teachers' salaries. The teachers retirement law should be changed to permit members to make higher contributions and to have a wider choice of annuity benefits.

These and other steps which we can take will help to attract and retain a high caliber of men and women in the teaching profession.

A possible new use which might be considered desirable for income tax school funds would be that for the assistance of hard-pressed districts in the cost of erection of school buildings. Unusual circumstances, such as a high percentage of publicly owned land, make it impossible for some districts to raise the necessary revenue.

You also have before you the question of extending state aid to junior colleges.

Our state university is celebrating its centennial of distinguished service to Minnesota, our nation, and to the world. It occupies an eminent position among the great universities of our country. The high position it thus holds would have been impossible without the interest and support of the Legislature and the people, and in this historic centennial year you will want to continue your support.

Our five excellent teachers colleges likewise deserve your continued support in the task of training teachers for our schools.

A special problem peculiar to the Iron Range district requires your attention. Because of increased costs and the drop in population, it will be necessary for you to make an adjustment in the per capita limitation on taxes with reference to municipalities.

In Minnesota we have made substantial progress in public education, but Americans must be willing to devote more of their income to education than ever before. Good schools cost money. This is part of the price we are called upon to pay if we are determined to maintain our way of life. Money appropriated for schools is, I submit, an investment from which our state and nation will receive priceless returns.

We in government, as well as professional educators, ought to have a profound sense of stewardship with reference to the money which is appropriated and spent for education. The people have a right to expect that we be continually diligent and alert to improve the substance of what our boys and girls are taught. Accumulation of facts and figures and the sharpening of a shrewd and canny mind for material advantage produce neither happiness for the individual nor benefit to society. Therefore, our educators have an obligation continually to reappraise their courses of study, particularly in the fields of character development, vocational guidance and training, citizenship, and family life.

Humanity in government requires a deep concern for the true happiness of our boys and girls. To this purpose, in the "atomic age," is added the necessity of well trained and inspired citizenry to assure survival. There are only two choices: To pay the cost or be destroyed, because, as a great historian has stated, "History is a race between education and catastrophe."

#### 4. YOUTH CONSERVATION

"If all the youth of America could speak to us, they would speak with one voice and say, 'We are the future, for in us there lies what through the ages this land shall be. Yet what

we are is what you are to us. We are the question to which you make reply.'"

As legislators, you have in the past two sessions made reply to the critical needs of our boys and girls by enacting far-sighted legislation which has already established Minnesota as a leader in the field of Youth Conservation. And all this at relatively small cost.

What a responsibility! What an opportunity! To salvage and repair youthful lives that have been blighted and damaged, and by positive programs to strengthen and build lives of usefulness and character among children of city and country, of every race, color, and creed, what a privilege!

Two significant state-wide youth conferences have been held, at the last of which more than 2,000 delegates attended representing every section of our state and every walk of life. My recommendations to you are based upon the findings and suggestions of these conferences.

First in importance at this session will be the establishment of a forestry camp, in which young people can be brought into a healthful environment and, under friendly guidance, be taught constructive habits of work and play and be given other training for useful citizenship.

You have previously shown your approval of such a plan, and I am sure that you will now be eager to support it with appropriations. Especially will this be true when you consider the fact that the financial cost of this program will be rendered even smaller by useful improvements to our forests and parks.

It is with extreme reluctance that I am not recommending at this session the establishment of a permanent diagnostic center for youthful offenders committed to the Youth Commission. I forego this recommendation because of the great financial demands placed upon our state by the national emergency. The need for such a diagnostic center will remain, and provision for it should not long be delayed.

One of the salutary effects of our youth conservation program is a substantial decline in the number of youthful offend-

ers being kept at Sauk Centre and Red Wing. Their rehabilitation is being accomplished in a home environment. This circumstance has necessitated an expansion of parole and probation services, and you will be asked to provide additional personnel. Such a system has shown itself to be more effective and also far less expensive.

A further increase in Commission personnel will assist in the accomplishment of something even more important. That is the prevention of delinquency. It is cheaper and safer to prevent fires than it is to fight them. The same principle applies with equal cogency to preventing demoralization rather than repairing shattered lives.

Nowhere is humanity in government more dramatically illustrated than it is in our task of salvaging and conserving the lives of our boys and girls. Here, again, the cost of a positive program is infinitesimal in comparison with the price which will be exacted if we shirk our duty.

## 5. HUMAN RELATIONS

One of the most potent weapons in the arsenal of communism is the allegation that we as a people give no more than lip service to the Bill of Rights; that we loudly protest allegiance to equality, but actually practice racial and religious discrimination in our daily lives.

I submit to you as a demonstrable fact that lists of dead and wounded from our present conflict are more the result of this weapon than they are of bombs and bullets. In any future war, the potency of this weapon will become increasingly decisive. The sad fact is that, to give the devil his due, there is a kernel of truth in the propaganda.

Right here in Minnesota this problem of human relations must be faced and decided. Therefore, I plead with all my heart and soul for the passage of a Fair Employment Practices Law.

We have made a start. Our Interracial Commission has performed a real service in public education against the ignorance

that breeds bigotry. At the last session you wisely appropriated money for the work of this commission.

But this is no more than a start. Surely you will reaffirm your faith in educative force of public opinion by continuing your appropriation for the commission, but the immediate crux of the problem will not be touched until not one of our fellow citizens is deprived of his right to earn a livelihood because of racial or religious discrimination.

By executive order, our National Guard has been opened to Negroes, and I thank God that as our guard units are called up for service they will not be required to be the object of insult and humiliation in addition to making the sacrifices for which they have volunteered.

In the field of civil rights talk is cheap, but our actions shout so loudly that the people of other nations cannot hear what we say.

Right here in Minnesota jobs are still being denied our fellow citizens, not because of incompetence, but because the door of opportunity is slammed in their faces by reason of racial and religious prejudice. To deny a fellow human the right to earn a living for himself and his loved ones for such morally indefensible reasons breaks faith with our American heritage.

The struggle with communism is essentially a spiritual battle. Diplomatic maneuvers and supremacy in arms will never be sufficient to win the hearts of a billion people who, shaking off the shackles of the centuries, are demanding equality as dignified human beings.

The global struggle has its application here in Minnesota.

Your action in passing an F.E.P.C. law will be a devastating blow to the armor of the forces of darkness.

## 6. SOCIAL WELFARE

The problem of our aged citizens is one of major concern. Much of our past history in meeting our responsibility to elderly people has not been of a hopeful sort, but mainly that of

keeping body and soul together. Too often the rewards of survival into old age have been poverty, sickness, humiliation, loneliness, fear, and despair.

This is a problem which grows in magnitude because of the ever-increasing life span of our people. We must overcome the tragic social consequences and the waste of human resources, and we must plan for the continued happiness and usefulness of these people to the extent that it is humanly possible.

Therefore, I recommend that you provide for a Commission on Aging to be appointed by the Governor to study the whole problem of our older folks. Such a commission would give its attention to such matters as the changing structure of our population; the role of government; the human needs of the older citizens and how they can be met; the effects of inflation; family life and housing; and our present and possible insurance and pension requirements.

Two years ago I urged the abolition of a maximum in old-age assistance grants. I again recommend removal of the limit. With the rising cost of living, there is urgent need to at least raise the maximum.

Also the present property limitation for eligibility to old-age assistance was set at \$5,000 in 1939. A more nearly comparable figure today would be \$7,500, and it is only fair that the limit be raised to that amount.

There remain some 20 counties still using the archaic and wasteful township system of administering relief. Hundreds of examples of hardships are the result. I strongly urge that the county system of relief administration be made mandatory.

To eliminate delay and unnecessary expense in granting aid to needy persons, I strongly urge establishment of a one-year uniform residence requirement in all aid programs.

To help meet an acute shortage of nursing home facilities, I recommend enabling legislation permitting counties to establish convalescent homes for the aged.

To help the permanently disabled, a law should be enacted to permit this state to participate in the new federal aid program which has just been developed.

I recommend that the waiting period before which aids to dependent children take effect be shortened in certain cases, as will appear from the recommendations of the Department of Social Welfare.

No category of human need more certainly arouses our sympathy than that of the blind. Several worthy proposals will be presented to you at this session, and I urge their adoption.

The Federal Social Security laws have been amended, and we should adjust state laws to take full advantage of the new procedures. You may also be called upon to decide important issues related to public employees' participation in Federal Old Age and Survivors' Insurance.

Our state laws relating to tuberculosis should be recodified to eliminate obsolete portions and duplications and to make possible more efficient administration.

We can all be proud of our part in the Displaced Persons program, the success of which has earned national recognition. I urge you to extend the authority for this worthwhile activity.

Minnesota took the leadership in the formation of the Governor's Inter-State Council on Indian Affairs, and your interim committee will be reporting to you on this matter. Our goal should be the integration of the Indians into our economy and society. To this end, you should provide for a continuing legislative committee to work with the federal government to provide a better living for our Indian citizens.

Our continuing responsibility to provide care for people in need is an important aspect of humane government.

## 7. PUBLIC HEALTH

Because of military and civil defense demands on our manpower, with a critical shortage already in sight, the health of every citizen becomes of vital concern in any program for humanity in government.

Two years ago you enacted a constructive public health

measure known as the Multiple County Health bill, which holds vast potentialities for the health of our people. A levy of one mill was permitted for such local health departments, but the law has been interpreted to mean that public health nursing services be paid from this same source of revenue. I recommend that the law be amended to permit the entire mill to be used for the local health unit, allowing the locality to provide other revenue for the public health nursing services.

I recommend that authority be given to the Health Department to regulate the fluoridation of water supply.

It is also recommended that the Health Department be given authority to regulate children's camps in the state in the interest of health and safety.

Legislative action may be required to effectuate proposals for streamlining the inspectional services of the Health and Agricultural departments.

These and other public health measures which will come before you will give an opportunity to enhance the health of our people.

## 8. LABOR MANAGEMENT RELATIONS

### *a. Labor Relations Law*

Under our present Labor Relations Law, providing as it does for a minimum of restriction and a maximum of collective bargaining, hundreds of disputes have been settled amicably. Any proposals which might be made to change the law should be carefully scrutinized to see whether they will strengthen or impair the operation of the act.

### *b. Workmen's Compensation Act*

Our Workmen's Compensation Act of 1913 has been a bulwark of security to our workers and their dependents. Over the course of the years many changes in the law have been necessary, and I recommend that a legislative committee review and recodify the law for submission at the next session. I further recommend the liberalization of certain sections of the Workmen's Compensation Act with reference to occupa-

tional diseases, back injuries, total disabilities and statutory limitations on temporary total disabilities and permanent partial disabilities. In these and in other respects the law might well be liberalized in order that Minnesota workmen may be compensated fairly for injuries suffered through industrial accidents.

*c. Women and Children*

Minnesota legislation to protect women and children was passed in 1909. The law as it now stands is inadequate. Recommendations will be made to you by the state Industrial Commission to revise the minimum wage law of 1913 to more adequately protect minors from hazardous occupations and further to limit the hours of work for women and children. I urge that you adopt their recommendations.

*d. Unemployment Compensation*

Increased living costs make necessary an increase in unemployment benefits. Liberalizing the benefits will not, it appears, make necessary any increase in the unemployment tax rates.

In case of illness or disability, the consequences of unemployment are often more tragic, as the worker has medical expenses and hospital bills in addition to the loss of wages. Nevertheless, under such circumstances, he is not eligible for unemployment benefits. To bridge this gap in the unemployment insurance program, I recommend enactment of a temporary illness and disability law, coordinated with our present unemployment compensation program.

*e. Voluntary Apprenticeship*

Our Minnesota voluntary apprenticeship program is one of the finest in the nation. One thing we can do to strengthen it in its representation of all sections of the state is to grant reimbursement for attendance at board meetings.

*f. Garnishment*

I urge that you give consideration to the liberalization of the garnishment law both as to procedures and exemption.

## 9. HOUSING

You are urged to act speedily again to extend for two years the law preventing eviction in hardship cases.

You should again consider the means for equitable stand-by rent controls to prevent dislocation and insecurity on the part of both landlord and tenant. The necessity for this law depends on future congressional action.

Legislation may become necessary to facilitate housing because of the expansion of civil defense or military establishments.

In 1947 you anticipated the national expansion of housing legislation and under the laws you enacted, our communities have been among the first in the country to get housing and slum clearance under way.

In order that we may continue to enjoy maximum participation in any national program, we should take such steps as are necessary to meet changing legislation.

I propose that you appropriate a modest sum for research on the problem of costs for home building.

No problem is trivial which affects the American home. Anything we can do at the state level to eliminate slums and secure decent housing for our people is of real consequence.

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We have now, with the brevity made necessary in a message of this kind, outlined some of the areas in which you can apply sound principles of humanity to the processes of our government.

There is no hard and sharp line of demarcation between this section and the one that is to follow. The problems of both are intertwined in the lives of our people.

For purposes of clarity and order, I have separated them, and I proceed now to a brief discussion of those matters which may fairly be considered under the broad title of "Honesty in Government."

## II. HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT

### 1. LAW ENFORCEMENT

The menace of organized crime to the life of our nation has been revealed as by flashes of lightning in the reports of investigating groups, most publicized of which have been the findings of the Kefauver Committee of the United States Senate. For my part, I am more determined than ever before that Minnesota shall take the lead in vigilant and vigorous enforcement of the law. I have never been more certain than I am now, that you and I were accurately reflecting the will of the people in ridding our state of the corrupt and degrading slot machine racket.

In order further to protect our people, particularly our youth, I once again urge that the power of arrest be granted to the state Liquor Control Inspectors. The experience of many other states indicates the wisdom of such action.

The callous indifference to the welfare of young people demonstrated in some localities by certain saloons, taverns, and roadhouses underlines the necessity of giving authority to our Liquor Control Commissioner to pass upon applications for retail on-sale alcoholic beverage licenses in the same way that he now passes on off-sale liquor licenses.

### 2. EFFICIENCY AND ECONOMY IN GOVERNMENT

#### *a. Governmental Changes*

As state officials, you and I have a double responsibility. On the one hand, it is our duty to consider the needs of our people, and on the other it is our duty to weigh the ability of our people to pay for such programs as will meet those needs. As we gird for national defense, we should be especially careful in balancing our needs against our ability to pay.

One of the places where we must exercise such care is in the organization of our state government.

I am glad to say that from my meetings with governors and officials of other states I believe Minnesota has one of the finest state governments in the country. Eleven years ago,

long before the Hoover Commission began to stir interest in reorganizing the federal government, Minnesota worked out a simplification and reorganization of its government which put into effect many of the principles now being sought in the national government. We abolished three cumbersome administrative boards and replaced them with single officials to fix responsibility and speed up administrative action. We set up a new financial control plan, under direction of a commissioner of administration, which, as you know, has saved millions of dollars through sound budgeting, careful scrutiny of allotments to state departments, centralized purchasing, and exercise of the power to prevent deficits.

With machinery like this, the people are assured of efficient and economical handling of the state's business. In most of the major state departments, there is direct responsibility to the chief executive. We must not do anything to weaken or destroy this efficient system of government, nor should we make changes solely for the purpose of making change. However, we should continue to seek ways to improve the machinery of government.

The Committee for Efficiency in Government which the Legislature created in 1949 will have numerous recommendations for you to consider. Individuals will differ on the value of these proposals, so you should weigh all of them carefully and approve those which seem to offer reasonable chance for greater efficiency and discard those of doubtful merit.

#### *b. Constitutional Revision*

Our 93-year-old state constitution was drafted in the days of the frontier and the oxcart. It is little wonder, therefore, that it does not fit the needs of modern Minnesota with a population of almost 3,000,000 people and a varied economy.

Trying vainly to keep pace with new conditions and demands, we have amended this basic document 75 times. The result has been likened to a patchwork quilt by experts in

government. Today, our constitution contains numerous conflicting, obsolete, and unenforceable provisions.

"Honesty in Government" suffers severely by this situation in which we ignore and fail to carry out constitutional provisions. The respect for law is seriously damaged as a result of this laxness.

The 1947 Legislature appointed a special commission to study the needs for constitutional revision, and it unanimously recommended the calling of a constitutional convention.

You can render a lasting contribution to honest, economical and efficient government by setting the wheels in motion for constitutional revision. This can be done by the passage of legislation permitting the people to vote on the question of whether a constitutional convention should be called. Then, the people could vote on the question in the 1952 general election. The call should provide that the people will have an opportunity to vote on the constitution as finally revised.

Interest is growing for the calling of such a convention. Both major political parties have gone on record as favoring it. We should not delay. In 1958 we shall celebrate the centennial of Minnesota statehood. Surely one of the most fitting ways to observe it would be by having the revision completed by that time. There will be no need for hasty action. Sufficient safeguards exist to assure that the people will be given full opportunity for fair representation in a convention and for a chance to pass final judgment at the polls on the product of the convention.

### 3. CONSERVATION OF NATURAL RESOURCES

Honest government cannot shirk its responsibility for conserving those natural resources from which, in the final analysis, we draw all the means of our existence. To be forgetful of this duty would be to break faith with our children and with generations yet unborn.

This is no time to slight conservation work. Instead, we must redouble our conservation efforts to make sure we have

the essentials to see us through the arduous trials of national defense and yet preserve a heritage that we can proudly pass on to posterity.

No problem is more critical than the steady depletion and erosion of our topsoil. The State Soil Conservation Committee and the University Agricultural Extension Service will present to you their recommendations for a program to give added impetus to the fight to save our precious soil. I urge its support.

Although progress has been made in water conservation and water pollution control in the past few years, much remains to be done. I recommend that you give your best efforts to the enactment of legislation to strengthen our program of water conservation, drainage, and water pollution control. The Underground Water Resources Committee, which I appointed, has recommended a thorough study of the water problems of the state, and I recommend that you give careful consideration to carrying out the suggestions of this body of experts.

Destructive forces have been eating into our forest resources through the years. We have never provided the means to stop them, although we have done better these past years following World War II. But our program for forest fire prevention and other forest conservation measures is still far short of what is needed.

I further urge your continued support of the expanded game and fish program already inaugurated to the fullest extent that can be financed by revenues dedicated for that purpose.

Our state parks provide means for outdoor recreation for people at low cost, helping relieve the strains of modern living, counteracting juvenile delinquency, and attracting tourists. We have an obligation to maintain these state parks.

In regard to state-owned lands and minerals, I recommend that our present laws relating to state iron ore leases and extensions be studied and revised to insure that the best interests

of the state are served; that research on marginal low-grade iron ores and taconite be encouraged and exploration of iron ore and other minerals be promoted; that funds be allotted to examine and classify all state-owned lands that are now unclassified, so as to determine their best use in the public interest; that funds be provided to enable the state to complete necessary surveys and court proceedings so that title may be established to lake bed iron ore.

I urge that sufficient funds be provided to make possible a speedy completion of the mapping of Minnesota, which was resumed by the United States Geological Survey, the cost to be shared equally with the state.

All possible aid should be given to support conservation education. Nothing is more essential to a successful conservation program than an appreciation of its importance by all citizens.

#### 4. AGRICULTURE

Agriculture is the chief industry of Minnesota. Consequently, the welfare of the entire state is dependent upon our best efforts to maintain a healthy and prosperous farm economy.

Furthermore, with the imminent threat of a third world war, Minnesota farmers may be called upon again to meet unprecedented demands for food production. This grim possibility serves to emphasize the importance of providing adequately for agricultural research to aid in the attainment of goals, made more difficult than ever by a growing manpower shortage on farms. It also should bestir us to do a better job of soil conservation.

I can report that programs are underway so that the people of Minnesota may be better served by the State Department of Agriculture, Dairy and Food. One of these projects is an effort to improve the administrative setup for the inspection services of the Department. In cooperation with the United States Department of Agriculture, other projects are being set up to thoroughly study the marketing of Minnesota agricultural products, so as to furnish more information on how to produce better quality products and to more successfully mer-

chandise them. I am sure you will want to provide for the continuation of these studies.

Another important problem is the pressing need for an expanded program to fight brucellosis, commonly called Bang's disease, which seriously threatens our livestock industry and the health of our people. Some months ago, I appointed a committee to make a detailed study of this matter. The committee has done an outstanding service and I know you will want to turn to its report for guidance in developing an effective plan to eradicate this disease in Minnesota.

## 5. BUSINESS RESEARCH AND DEVELOPMENT

The 1947 Legislature set up the State Department of Business Research and Development as an aid to the development of our economy. This agency performs many useful services, such as the compilation of valuable data for various industries and businesses in the state, the informing of venture capital located both in and outside our borders of opportunities for investment in Minnesota, the assisting of trade groups in securing observance of ethical business practices and better merchandising techniques.

Events of recent months may alter greatly the actual operating functions of this department. The legislative act which established it wisely provided that the agency should be able to assist the state and other authorities in meeting the unpredictable, such as the recent fuel oil shortage. This department is already active in helping secure a fair share of military procurement contracts for Minnesota. It now stands ready either to carry on with competence along the lines which have marked it in the past, or to assume such new obligations as the affairs of the State and Nation may impose upon it. I am sure you will recognize the importance of adequately providing for the continuance of this department to guide and assist in the growth of business and industry.

## 6. TRANSPORTATION

### *a. Highways*

During the past biennium, construction programs, on both state, trunk and county road systems, as measured by their monetary value, have exceeded those of any other two-year period in our history.

In recognition of the increasing importance of rural roads in marketing the products of our farms and factories and for transporting our children to improved schools, the state has stepped up its financial aid to county road systems to more than \$15,000,000 a year, likewise the highest peak in our history.

In addition, the state has continued to retire its highway bonds, and by the end of the present biennium our Trunk Highway System will be free of indebtedness for the first time since it was established 30 years ago.

Despite this progress, the demand for greater mileages of improved roads has been accentuated. How rapidly it can be met depends upon the ability and willingness of the people to provide the funds. Also, the present world situation makes our future highway outlook highly conjectural. Thus it becomes all the more urgent to protect the public's investment in roads from all preventable damage or deterioration.

Increased traffic volume also calls for redoubled efforts in accident prevention work. To protect life and property, I therefore urge that you consider increasing the personnel of the State Highway Patrol.

### *b. Aeronautics*

The work of improving airport facilities must be continued. To this end, the unexpended portions of previous state airport aids should be reappropriated, together with such additional funds as may be required and which may be justified within existing aviation revenue sources. Expenditure of these funds must be coordinated at the state level. Therefore, the functions of the Department of Aeronautics should be maintained and strengthened, if necessary, so as to carry forward this work

and insure continued maximum effort in air safety and civil defense.

## 7. STATE EMPLOYEES

We are fortunate in having a fine group of faithful and efficient state employees in Minnesota. The upward trend of living costs has imposed a severe hardship on these loyal employees struggling to meet these costs with inadequate salaries. I therefore urge that you make fair adjustments in salaries for all state employees, and also for department heads and our judges.

## 8. VETERANS

I am happy to report that the paying of the bonus is practically completed. It has been accomplished at an administrative cost much less than anticipated and less than that of many other bonus-paying states. The number of applications received, however, indicates that all eligible veterans have not yet applied. I therefore recommend that the last date of filing for the bonus be extended one year, that is, to December 31, 1951. No doubt some of the boys in Korea are among those who have not applied. I also urge that the so-called professional soldier be declared eligible for the bonus.

With Minnesota men again fighting and dying in defense of our nation, it is evident that this session of the Legislature has an obligation to do everything within its power to provide for a strong program in our Department of Veterans' Affairs to assist our veterans, particularly the disabled and their dependents, in securing all rights and benefits to which they are entitled.

## 9. OTHER MEANS TO CREATE GREATER "HONESTY IN GOVERNMENT"

### *a. Registration of Lobbyists*

I recommend that you enact legislation providing for the registration of lobbyists. In doing so, we would be following the lead of many other states. More and more it becomes ap-

parent that the people ought to have a chance to secure information identifying lobbyists and pressure groups as they seek to influence the state Legislature. It is important that citizens be accorded the privilege of presenting their views to members of the Legislature. I am convinced that only a small minority abuse that privilege. To protect the majority who conduct themselves with propriety, a law calling for the registration of lobbyists would be very helpful. It should be a law provided with adequate means for enforcement.

*b. Party Designation and Re-apportionment*

In my past two inaugural messages, I have called attention to the values to be derived from adopting party designation for legislative members and the importance of re-apportioning our legislative districts, as specified by the State Constitution. To do these two things is a matter of simple honesty.

10. REVENUE

These are days of rising prices, as everyone knows. The Red Cross, the Community Chest, the individual family have all been forced to add to their budgets in order to meet essential needs. Business and the farmer find their costs of production rising. Certainly, therefore, it is to be expected that government—the biggest business in the state—will have to adjust its budget to maintain essential services.

In my budget message I shall discuss, in detail, the taxes which I consider necessary to pay for recommended state services.

To help balance off increases in certain taxes, I shall recommend increased exemptions in the income taxes. Everyone feels the impact of higher costs of living because of the inflationary spiral. Among those most severely hit are people of middle and lower incomes, whose salaries and wages are relatively fixed. To recognize this situation and to afford some easing of the tax burden in this area, I shall suggest adjustments in our income tax law.

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In these ten sections I have made brief references to a few problems of vital concern under the general subject of governmental honesty. My message would not be complete if I were to omit mention of two other matters which are of critical importance by reason of portentous world events.

### *CIVIL DEFENSE*

Less than a decade ago we entered World War II. That I must already speak to you about civil defense is utterly disheartening and tragic. But we are again in peril. The President has declared a national emergency, our men are being called to the colors, and our National Guard units have been summoned. Minnesota people, as always, will respond to the emergency.

For the first time in our history, we stand in danger of a sudden devastating attack against our homes. Long range bombers carrying modern weapons of war are capable of striking anywhere with little or no warning. In the event of another war, Mobilization Day and Invasion Day will be one and the same.

The Council of State Governments in October 1950 drafted a model Act for Civil Defense. The act provides for defense within the state and for compacts between states. Minnesota, like other states, will need legislation covering this subject.

In view of recent federal legislation dealing with air-raided shelters, it will be necessary for you also to consider this phase of civil defense.

### *WORLD PEACE*

As realistic people, we will fully mobilize for civil defense. But it is a dreary business, this digging holes underground in which to provide a precarious and merely physical security. In contrast, there ought to be a new fervency and zeal in our efforts to erect towers of brotherhood and peace.

Surely by now we know the momentous consequences which will follow upon our failure to erect a structure to insure the enforcement of international law.

It is not merely the problem of our own security though that is a vital part of it. It is not only the Russian or Communist menace, though, that constitutes the present challenge. It is whether our statesmanship can harness the diabolic use of the physical sciences in time to save us from destruction.

The problem will not solve itself; it cannot be shrugged off or left to others. America because of its preeminence in power and in principles must not be satisfied with a policy of expedience and muddling through.

I respectfully and earnestly urge you to memorialize the Congress to immediately declare that it is a fundamental objective of United States foreign policy to support and strengthen the United Nations and to develop it so that it shall have the power to make, interpret, and enforce world laws adequate to maintain peace and prevent aggression.

We ought to take the initiative in strengthening the United Nations and in securing the allegiance and support of other countries in order that the United Nations will have enough power to prevent war.

On last United Nations Day, October 24, we dedicated the World's Freedom Bell in Berlin, Germany. As I stood there amid the rubble of Berlin in the center of a war devastated continent, the inscription on the bell came to me with a new note of urgency: "That this world under God shall have a new birth of Freedom." Such a challenge ought to "stab our spirits broad awake" and ought to fire us to new energy and consecration in building the tower of peace.

## CONCLUSION

I have appreciated the opportunity to work with you during two previous sessions, and likewise the privilege of speaking to you today about the problems confronting the people of Minnesota.

The times are increasingly ominous. The world is on fire! Hiroshima, Nagasaki, and the burning villages of Korea are

but mirrors reflecting the flames of greed and hatred which burn in the hearts of men.

Someone has suggested that the world has come to such a state of hopelessness that a merciful God would do well to change its orbit so as to bring it into fatal collision with a flaming star. But this is the advice of despair. Heroic men will pray that we be given the strength to direct the world affairs toward the light of a star of hope, guidance, and courage.

We do confront despair and disillusionment—but we also face challenge and opportunity.

Disappointed in many of our hopes and confused by our failures, we look about us for scapegoats. By faultfinding and accusations, we try to seek to cover up our own past apathy and neglect.

As it has been aptly said, "If, because of blindness or wishful thinking or lack of vision or courage we fail to heed the storm warnings that are flying, a conquering adversary writing the history of a vanished dream of human freedom may say with some justice that we deserved our fate."

In 1863, with the country agonizing in Civil War, Abraham Lincoln made the following statement:

"We have been the recipients of the choicest bounties of heaven. We have been preserved these many years in peace and prosperity. We have grown in numbers, wealth and power as no other nation has ever grown, but we have forgotten God. We have forgotten the gracious hand which preserved us in peace and multitude and enriched and strengthened us, and we have vainly claimed in the deceitfulness of our hearts that all these blessings were produced by some superior wisdom and virtue of our own.

"Intoxicated with unbroken success, we have become too self-sufficient to feel the necessity of religion and preserving grace—too proud to pray to the God that made us. It behooves us then to humble ourselves before the offended power—to confess our national sins—and to pray for clemency and forgiveness."

That is where we need to begin today. By our attitude of self-righteousness and recrimination we accomplish less than nothing. Now if ever is the time for unity. We have all been guilty, and reparation for the past can only be found in building the future. We can build that future in America, and we can build it right here in Minnesota.

Our willingness to pay the price for constructive measures that will strengthen every force for honesty and humanity in our state government will be tangible evidence of our faith in that future.

A wealthy man took a poor boy from the slums of a great city to his lodge high in the mountains. The boy awakened in the morning. The sky was illuminated with the red and gold of the rising sun reflecting on the ice and stone of the rocky pinnacles and blazoned across the sky. The boy rubbed his eyes in wonder and a great fear filled him. Looking at the flaming splendor, he remembered the lurid tenement fires in which people he knew had burned to death. Terrified, he screamed, "Please, Sir, wake up! Something awful has happened—the whole world is on fire." His wealthy friend opened his eyes and, seeing the flame pictures of the Great Artist on the tapestried skies, replied, "Don't be afraid, my boy, everything is all right. The world is not burning up. It is just the dawn of a new day."

The world is on fire, but it need not be the holocaust of destruction. It can be and it must be the flaming dawn of a new day.