MAYOR HUBERT H. HUMPHREY at the ANNUAL MEETING OF GROUP HEALTH MUTUAL April 12, 1947 Nicollet Hotel - Minneapolis, Minn.

Speech given by

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Thank you very much Mr. Wilson, -- My good friend, Geo. Jacobson, members of Group Health, members of the cooperatives, and fellow Minnesotans -- really, I had planned on being with you much longer today than it is going to be possible for me to be.

Just this morning I was informed that we finally were able to make arrangements for a joint meeting of the Minneapolis City Council and the Hennepin County Delegation to the Legislature, and I can assure you, we need that meeting; and we need it very badly at this particular time. I have to be there, because I have some things I want to get off my chest. At the same time, I hope that we can pull a few chestnuts out of the fire. So it is a very, very, vital program we are having over at the City Hall at this particular time.

I like to come and address meetings of cooperators. I particularly enjoy coming to a meeting such as this where the people are interested in one of the important national problems, the matter of individual health and health protection withat of public health and the welfare of our people. I em sure that some of you only recently must have heard that radio broadcast over the Columbia Broadcasting System, and the comments of the commentator that went throughout that entire program on the problem of the health of the American people. That was, I believe, a full half-hour broadcast, and it brought to my mind repeatedly the things that you are attempting to do in your organization. It brought to my mind very clearly the necessity for a national program and a national policy of health protection, of health insurance, and of health aid to the American people.

It was just a short time ago that I was in this same room when the Midland Cooperative Wholesale was holding its Annual Meeting, I found it to be a very inspiring meeting because in the back of me, just as today, there was a chart that indicated remarkable progress of the cooperative enterprises in the State of Minnesota. When I come here today, again I find that here again mente that upward spiral of success and achievement on the part of another great cooperative organization. I think that the people of Minnesota have every right to be proud of you, and I think that you have a right to be proud of your own achievements.

I noticed that one of our local papers in one of the Twin Cities, I think it was over in St. Paul, had something to say about the fact that the Mayor of Minneapolis went "ker-plunk" for cooperatives. Well, I am perfectly willing to reduce that stand every week if that will make them any happier, because I is believe that cooperative enterprise is essential to the welfare of our economy, and more than that, I believe cooperative enterprise is an integral part of the democratic process of democratic living. Whenever I have a chance of saying a word in behalf of those people or organizations who are interested in cooperatives, I want to say it.

We I have been told that there are a number of our friends here from out around the State of Minnesota. It was just this week that I sat right over here in that chair and I heard an editor from Southern Minnesota come up here and just take the hide off we kery Minneapolitans. Oh, what a blistering job he did do! He told us (and the room was all filled up with great big businessmen, it was the Annual Chamber of Commerce Dinner and he said you fat cats / '' and he went right after them, you know. Then he had some very nasty things to say about Minneapolis City government, of which about 75% was true; and then he had a few pertinent pert little remarks to say about the Mayory of which, of course, none of it was true, except the parts that were good, and then he made some general observations about the City of Minneapolis and its relationship to the rest of the State of Minnesota.

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Before the acrisus part of my remarks today, I would just like to make some of those observations from my own point of view. You know that is one wonderful thing about this country of ours, we all have boy right to have our own point of view. Sometimes (rejust depends upon how you are looking at it, as to the Judgement that you ultimately arrive at. I happen to be Mayor of this 15th largest city of the United States of America. It is a responsibility, it is an honor, and believe you me, it's a job. More than that I think I have come to understand something about the factors that make up our economy here in Minneapolis, and a good deal about its people. I have much more to learn, but that's why I'm running for re-election, you know. I want to have time to catch on to some more. I think also in my travels around the State of Minnesota, and in my interest in the agricultural areas of America, that I have come to appreciate the relationship between the city and the country; between industry and agriculture; between the city worker and the farmer and the farm employee. For the life of me, I have never been able to understand why anybody should feel that there was something inherently different between us. I have never been able to understand why there should ever be a conflict of interest be-tween those that live in the country, and those that live in the city. I .have never been able to/understand how these political foul balls, these political phonies have been able to set group against group as they have quite successfully been able to do. I think it is about time that we had a reexamination of just where we stand.

Now confession is good for the soul. We in Minneapolis fully realize that without the great agricultural area that surrounds us, without the hundreds of towns and villages that make up this great state of ourse in this great Upper Midwest, that we just wouldn't be able to live as a city or as a people. We recognize that we are a processing center. We recognize that we live off the toil and the products and the services of other people. We further recognize that we add something to those services and those products and the work of other people. We think that we see an inter-dependence between the producer and the processor. We think that we see an inter-dependence between the man that lives out in the country, that needs the industrial products of the city, and the man that lives in town that needs the pork chops and the cereal grains and the dairy products and the beef of the man that is out in the country. We in Minneapolis are very happy to acknowledge that if it were not for a North Dakota, a South Dakota, a Wisconsin, an Iowa, and an upper Illinois . If it wasn't for rural Minnesota, that the City of Minneapolis wouldn't be any type of city such as it is today. We know that our great banking establishments could not exist without the production and the pros-(2)

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perity of people the surround us.

Now I know this, because I'm a small town fellow. I was born and raised out in a small rural community. I am a native of South Dakota, and I recognize that a good deal of the business that is accomplished and that is carried on in the City of Minneapolis comes about because of men and women like my father and mother out in Huron, South Dakota, and their brothers and their sisters who are on the farms of Coddington, and Day, County, and Beetle County, and other counties out there in South Dakota. I further recognize that if it wasn't for the prosperity of some of our counties and our farm areas here in Southern Minnesota, Western Minnesota, the Red River Valley, the Minnesota River Valley, up around that great wheatland country of Northern Minnesota, Roseau, Ada, Minnesota and that area, that we here in Minneapolis wouldn't be having the great mills and the great elevators, and the great cereal processing plants that we have night here in this very lovely city of ours. So you know what I'm trying to tell you. You scratch our back, and we'll scratch yours; or we'll scratch your back, and then you scratch ours. In other words, that's the way life has to be.

Whenever a community is pitted against another, whenever one area **Solute** state is put at point against another area, whenever there is a divisionist has comes in between us and says that Northern Minnesota with its iron mines and its forest lands has no affinity of interest with Southern Minnesota with its forms and its agricultural products, with its dairy products, and all of its small manufacturing plants, whenever that kind of a thought comes between us, believe me there's trouble afoot in this state. I see some of those indications in the Legislature. I see there are people in the Legislature there pride themselves upon making nasty little remarks about what some of these people call " hayshakers" from out in the "sticks". It only shows, may I say, their ignorance of their community. And then there are people from out in the country that like to talk about those "city slickers" from inside of the big town. So it ultimately ones up that neither the country or the city ever gets a fair deal.

I suppose this problem is very close to me at this particular moment, tecause, and I'm not interested in counties, I'm not interested in cities as a jurisdiction of government. As an individual, I'm not interested in what the boundry lines of the State of Minnesota are. I'm trying to think of Minnesota as a group or a congregation of people. When I've been over to the Legislature, I've talked to some of our Legislators about cities and countries, and I've said that all at the City of Minneapolis Tepresents is 525,000 people, And when you start to think in terms of people, then maybe your thoughts will be just a little bit clearer. When you start to think in terms of good schools for people, instead of good schools for Minneapolis, St. Paul, Duluth, Montevideo, or Mankato, then maybe your attitude about public education will be just a little bit different. When we start to think in terms of good public health, but not for just some county, or some city; but when we start to think in terms of public health legislation in terms of people and the care of mothers and fathers and children, and aunts and uncles and relatives, and sisters and brothers, then believe me, I think our attitude about legislation will be or chould be just à little bit different.

We have all kinds of symbols, all kinds of myths, that somehow **cannot her** befog our **classifier** line thinking, befog even our good common sense. The task of people in America today, the task of leadership, whether it be political leader-

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ship, whether it be political leadership, economic leadership in industry, or in labor, or in the cooperatives, or on the farm, the task of leadership in America today is to think in terms of using whatever power we have, whatever resources we have for the benefit of the great American people all over this nation. When we start thinking in those terms, I think we will be able to evaluate things much better.

Latie take a look at what's happening. Just this afternoon I was preparing a telegram to Senators and Congressmen in Washington. Not that it will maybe mean very much, but I wanted to register my opinion. I was deploring the fact that the Congress of the United States, which apparently is determined to balance the budget even if it unbalances America, that that Congress is going to seriously threaten the entire resources, the entire program of the U. S. Department of Labor - destroy the Concilliation Service A literally handicap and emasculate the United States Employment Service, . taking away the funds for the National Labor Relations Board, which is already far behind in its program of conducting elections for effective collective bargaining. On the one hand, these politicians stand down there in Washington and cuss out labor, have all kinds of mean things to say about organized labor, and yet they won't even provide the funds for a national administrative agency to be able to set up the kind of collective bargaining machinery which is essential for peaceful labor-management relations. I call that a fraud. I call it deceitful and outright hipocracy. They deplore, these same congressmen (and many of them from Minnesota the fact that labor and management never get along, and that something has to be done about it: so the thing to do about it is to pass a law, as if that makes people, act any differently. We have some cert of an MAGRE addiction in this country, Whenever anything is wrong, the just pass a law and that takes care of it. So we have been able to accumulate war lords in fewer years for more people than any other people that a even been known in the history of mankind. So Now that we are going to help labor, we are going to help labor-management peace by destroying the

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So new that we are going to help labor, see, we are going to help labor-management peace by destroying the United States Concilliation Service, which is an organization where that has as its end purpose to bring people together, to let them talk things out, instead of fighting things out, to let them learn how to understand each other and to work together in mutual relationship. But we are going to teach labor a lesson in this country, you know. So what we are going to do is try to destroy it, by destroying the effective means of control and of concilliation and mediation, and of effective collective bargaining. That's just one thing.

Now for my friends on the farms, A The greatest resource that this country has second to its people is its land, the land of America; the good earth. The good earth that's means so much to every people everywhere. And what are we doing about it? Why, we're going to balance the budget. Not that that should mean anything to anybody for quite a long period of time, but we're going to do it.nowadaya. annarently. And in the process of doing it we are going to stop soil conservation program, or welre going to seriously curtail it. We're going to check soil erosion control programs. We're going to destroy rural electrification projects in the name of private public utilities. That's exactly what's going on in America today. Rural electrification cooperatives are being slapped across the face in the name of private public utility monoplies. But its all being done for economy. We're coine to commise, we Americans are now. We're commising this nation, you know. We've economized to the point that the same government that spent four hundred billion dollars for war can't even spend another fifty million dollars, that's all, fifty million dollars, that isn't even enough to pay the postage on the income tax blanks that they send out -- we're not even going to spend fifty million dollars for emergency temporary veterans housing. We've got to economize. Of course the divorce rate is going up. Families are being destroyed. Young men that came back from the wars are being forced to pay two to three times for property what it's worth. Alah, But we can't have any of this government boondogling, you know, any of this government interference, by having a little fifty million dollar appropriation so that we can finish the quonset hut programs, the temporary housing programs that every city in America has been promised. This city made a contract with the Federal Covernment. I believe in living up to contracte. This city made a contract with the Government of the United States for go many housing units, but the Government of the United States has seen fit to renig on that contract so that hoday in my city, our city, veterans by the thousands are looking for a place to live, while Congressmen sit in Washington and say "we can't afford it, you know". But they could see fit to afford to increase their own expense accounts. And if that's cheap politics; that's what it's intended to be. I believe sometimes in fighting fire with fire ment

A national housing program that means everything to people. America has been without a housing program. All over America we've never planned for the great problem of living space for people. The Wagner-Ellender-Taft Bill stopped in the House of Representatives in the last session of Congress, stopped there again this time by vested interests, National Property Owners Association. We've got a local breed of them around here. I know what I'm talking about. National Home Builders

Association. Teah, they'll build a home for you, if you can afford to pay for it.

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Lill tell you that. Well the cooperative movement of America, whether it be Group Health, whether it be Midland Cooperative, or whether it be Twin City Cooperatives, or whether it be cooperatives on the Iron Range, or wherever they may be, those cooperatives should be interested in that national housing program; and that national housing program should make a place in it for cooperative housing. But we've got to couch everything now in terms of making very sure that the Government of the United States does nothing for the people. You know, I'm beginning to wonder whether or not the people that are supposed to run the Government of the United States are from the country at all. They must be some imported job that we just got in lately, because apparently they are not supposed to be doing anything for anybody lately. Well I don't want to get talking about local conditions here, because somebody would say I was talking politics if I did that, but I will say this about our own legislature. That it's amazing to me that in view of the alarming need for public education in America, that we are still debating a School Aid Billy Still debating it of course we are not doing half as good a job debating that as we did the Slot Machine Bill, but I wouldn't want anybody to think that slot machines were as important as schools.

That's right you can pack that State Capitol over there with thousands of people to argue about whether or not one-armed bandits should be permitted to just meander through all the communities of the State of Minnesota and rob everybody at their discrection; but when you've got a proposition up these about keeping the schools open, about paying teachers a salary that a professional attainment should receive. shout being able to maintain at least a half-way good education, you have a tough time getting a committee hearing, much less even having a multitude to talk to, or to argue with. I want to say for all of my friends, I don't care whether you are cooperators, bankers, CIO, AF of L, or National Manufacturers Association, I just want to say that anless the American people and going to learn to pay the bill for public education in America, that our democracy, as we know it, is finished; and that any nation that in its richest year will spend less than 22 or 2% of its national income for public education ought to be ashamed of itself. Why, mere we are, richer than we have ever been before, that is on a national basis, corporate profits greater than they have ever been in the history of this nation, general profits all over America greater than they have ever been; and yet I hear people tell me day after day "I don't see how we can afford to keep the schools open". They won't any more than get that, then they will say, "Lock, I can't say any more right now, I'm tired, I've got to go downstairs and get a couple of drinks, and I'll be right back, am I'll tell you the rost of my speech". If they'd have spend the doller end a half that they put for that cheap potato mash on the school board (and I'r for potato raisers too, I mean, if it's gotta be used, I suppose it's gotta be used) but if they'd have spent that extra dollar and a half each and every time that they've, you know, "this one's on me", we wouldn't have to worry much about public education. I'm beginning to think we ought to have some of this "this one's on me".

Well I suppose this audience is much more receptive than the one I'm going to speak to in a little while, so I might as well stay a few more minutes. -- There are so man, omings on my mind I'd just like to talk to you about a lot of them, but I'm going to conclude now with a few general reflections on what I think some of our general responsibilities are at this time. I've got to cover the whole waterfront. You wouldn't want a speaker that didn't say something about the atomic bomb, for goodness' sake, and I want to bring that term in. I don't know a thing about it, except that it worked and except that it's a horable instrument of destruction. But I think that all of us are now aware that the hope of world peace lies in the building of a strong world organization that can exercise the influence and the power that is necessary for world stability. That organization is none other than the United Nations. I hope that those who are enthusiastic about the United Nations,

and I'm one of them, and I've been enthusiaetic a long time, no sunshine patriot; I hope that they if remember that it's still in its infancy, and just like the government of this nation when it first started out, it had to go slowly, it had to work slowly, and that just like the government of this nation, it is being threatened as our government was threatened. Some of us are very poor students of American history. Some of us fail to remember that even in the 1800's, the early 1800's we had seditionists in our midst. Even the general staff of the United States Army, at the time of Aaron Burr, was getting ready to lead an insurrection against the Republic, on behalf of the Spanish king. Some of us fail to remember the War of 1812 when the little group of New England States that was ready to secede and join me again with the Mother Country. Some of us even fail to remember that we had a War Between the States to decide whether this would be one nation, or whether it would be two. I submit to you that the United Nations Organization is having just as difficult a time getting started, and even a more difficult time, because after all it brings together some fifty different nationalities, some fifty different nations, in a complex world that it was not a part of. You remember that this United Nations was baptized with the atomic bomb and it came into a war-weary and a sinful world.

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Now what are we going to do in the meantime, as Americans? The task of America today in world politics is to live democratically. What do I mean by that? I mean to protect the civil liberties of people: not make to protect them, but to and extend them; to see to it that every man, woman, and child in America has the right to participate in the processes of our economic enterprise and our governmental and social institutions. Our task in america is to constantly keep alive in our minds our own weaknesses and to remember our own mistakes, and to check them up against our ultimate goals and objectives. You see, democracy to me, if I may be just a little bit religious, is something like the Lord's Prayer. It's something like wishing for heaven on earth. It's not here, but we can continue to work for it. Democracy is a set of goals, of objectives, of aims, and ambitions that mankind hopes to attain some time. That we have not attained them now is no criticism of democratic processes. It merely means to us that there is still work to do, there is some unfinished business, and that we can't halt in this land.

I'm not alarmed, particularly, or dismayed, or let me may pessimistic because we still have poll tax states. All I can say to you that it is our job to see that we have fewer of them next year. I'm not alarmed in America because I know that there that is a few of our citizens that because of race, color, and creed that are not able to participate, or not being given the right to participate in the processes of American community life, not alarmed as such, but I say to you that every time every community is able to do something to correct that situation, every Fair Employment Practices Act that is passed, in any city or any state, or any nation, -every time that we do something to integrate people into the community life, that we have made that much more of a forward step in the building of a temple of peace and freedom and democracy. We've got a long up-hill battle. The trouble is with too many of us that we expect that we can have a 10¢ pamphlet tell us every answer that we keed to know, and that all we need to do is to read it ten minutes and we have all the information that mankind will ever have, and the problem is solved. Unfortunately, folks, that isn't it. It's going to take us just a s long to cure our troubles and our ille as it did to get sick. And society has been sick a long time, folks, believe me. And it's going to take a long time, even with Group Health protection, for us to get well. The one way that this nation can contribute to world peace today, more than any other way,

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continue _____ One way that this nation can contribute to world peace today move than any other way, is by demonstration, and not just by words. We have been shouting for generations about peace and freedom. We have been talking for years and years about the desire of the American people to give world leadership for all the good things in life, and I think we have done a fairly good job off and on. But here is what we have got to keep America economically strong, We've got to keep production up, We have to maintain a sensible economy in the sense that it doesn't become is a wildcat binge of inflation, which ultimately leads to the hangover of deflation. This isn't just our responsibility anymore you know, we're hot just playing amongst our own friends any longer. America today is in a position where either we take care of our own domestic economy, or we are in no position to give any care to the rest of the world. Will you let that sink in? ---- Thet there is an inseparability between world peace and a healthy, strong, prosperous America. There is an inseparability. There is only one nation in this world that can feed the rest, won know, or help feed it, that is this one, so we'd better make sure that we have a strong, prosperous, agriculture. There is only one nation in the world that has the capital the money to act as the agent of rehabilitation, economically, socially, or any other way, and that's this one. There is only one nation in the world today that has the machine tools, the industrial plants to produce the goods and services that are needed for a war weary . and lot me eay, a war deground world. We better take care of that nation. That's why I believe the



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there must be some way that we can learn to live together. That's why I believe we've got to protect the rights of people in this America of ours. To speak, to participate politically and economically, we have to have a sound, sensible, program of labor-management relationships without punctive aspects to it to start threatening and beating people down.

- I think that our government, and I think that every other government, ought to be looking into the foundations and into the background of all of this discontent, this industrial discontent, that we have. I am interested in international effairs, You bet I and I want to say that America must be interested in international affairs. If this nation of ours is dedicated to the principles of government by the consent of the governed, we are dedicated to the idea that a man's a man for all that and all that, we are dedicated to a concept of human life wherein men are important, and all the institutions of economics and government are directed towards the fulfillment of man's life and his personality. The task of our political and system, of our economic system; is to enrich the bits of men and women, to unfold its and to make it that every man can participate to the best of his or her ability.

I repudiate any system, whether it be an economic or a political system, that will deny to me and to my fellow men an opportunity to have the fullest and the richest life that is humanly possible for one of God's children to have. That's why, and I make my statement very clear, in the name of freedom and in the name of democracy that I have never had, non have I over been able to stomach, or to tolerate the viciousness and the barbarism of fascism and a system of the elite. With equal candor I say that I have never been able to stomach dictatorship, whether it come from the left, or from the right. I have never liked dictatorship, and I don't expect to start liking it now.

I am one of those persons that doesn't believe that that is even our choice. Our choice in America isn't between two colors or two shades of groy or black. Our choice in America today is a choice within the framework of democratic institutions as we know them, within the framework of government, private enterprise, cooperative enterprise, all working together in what I call the American economic and political system. I think we can make it work. We've got to make it work. We've got to have people in office that can help make it work. We have to elect people to high political positions that understand that they are no longer playing in the sandlot by marble game just for keeps, but that they are playing in the great game of international politics and international economics, and that they are playing in the great game (if you place) or in the great movement of building a strong community.

I said at a meeting in Washington recently that if the American people will learn to take care of their own block, their own backyard, they won't have to be worrying about blockbusters taking care of them a little bit later. If the American people will realize the inherent power that is within them for being the masters of their own destiny, the power that they have with their political system, their ideals, and with their tremendous industrial developement around them, there we won't need to worry about the power of the atomic bomb. All that this nation of our meede to do is to remember that it has a moral job to do, as well as an economic and a political job.

The job of the good life and the good living, The job of setting by precept and example the way of life for other people, and the job of making sure that our country remains the kind of a country that can set that example of democratic living. And Boy, do I ever believe that the cooperatives have a place in that, because cooperative enterprise and cooperative activity brings together men and women on an equal basis. The gives no great reward for those who have been a ble to accumulate just material blessings. It recognizes the equality of people, and it recognizes that equality in an economic and in a political sense.

At the same time the success of the cooperative enterprise depends upon the steadfastness of purpose and to the understanding and basic intelligence of the individual participant. That's democracy. We can't build strong labor movements in America by just dues-paying members. I'm here to tell you that. You can't huild strong cooperative movements in America by just dues-paying or shareholding members that never take any other interest. Wou can't build a strong America or a strong, peaceful world by people who are just willing to sit in their own kitchen and never even participate in the great economic, political, or social processes of their community.

I hope that we here in Minneapolie will try to do something about

in a more distinguished way, and definitely about our own community problems. You know, I have come to the conclusion that there isn't any one person that can do anything much for any other percen. I wouldn't want to live in an area of live where the mayor of a city could come out and just do this for people, and do that for people, because pretty soon the people would say, Well, do it // And sometimes he'd do some things that would be pretty bad believe me. I think it's my job as a city executive to come out and point out to the people what needs to be done as I see it: to come out and challinge their imagination and point out what the problems are as I see them: Mot only to have my ear to the ground, but also once in a while to have my voice to the megaphone to tell them what needs to be done. or what they ought to be interested in doing, because in America government to is still a cooperative process. We do not need men that can stand up with a whip in their hand and the edict and the executive order and say this is what ought to be done, We need a citizenery that will march literally upon the court house, that will march upon the capital, if you please, and say mere's what we, the majority of the American people, with respect for the minority, believe would be best to have done, and you'd better get busy and start doing it." New that would be a real program.

But I'll bet you this speech has already cost me one bill in the legislature. So I'm going to leave you. I said I was only going to talk fifteen minutes. I've talked a good deal longer. It's very nice to have you in Minneapolis. We are very happy that you can be here with us. I hope that you'll find that your meeting has been highly profitable. I do surely want to express again my profound admiration for the officers of your organization. I know George Jacobson, I suppose, better than most of them. I've come to know him just a little bit better recently, and I think hele come to know me a little bit better more recently. That's One of the wonderful experiences that you have when you are in public officely You' get to know a rew stinkers once in a while, that's true, but you get to know ap and lot of nice people, tee, believe me. I've found out, friends, that there are more good people than there are bad ones, and I've also found out that people may not at times seem very appreciative, but they really are. The time job that I have is one that I take very seriously. I regard it with the highest honor. I only wish I could do a better juin at it. With your help, and with the help of our good people in Minneapelis, and with the understanding and the confidence of people elsewhere, I think that we are all on the highway to better living and to a better world.

Good luck to you! I guess I'm going to be here tonight for a banquet. I'm getting hungry already, so I know Mm going to enjoy it. Good afternoon.

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