

During this campaign I have made every effort to conduct my campaign on the highest possible level of sound and constructive discussion of the real issues. I believe that you, the voters of Minneapolis have welcomed this type of campaign and that you regard it as a genuine contribution to the thought and progress of our community.

You know that I have avoided personalities. I have avoided mud-slinging. I have avoided innuendo and half-truths.

I hold a deep conviction that an election in a democracy should be the occasion for careful and thoughtful consideration of the important issues. It should be a time when honest differences of opinion are presented, and when honest facts are introduced for the consideration of the voters.

So I have dealt at length with matters of adequate law enforcement, post-war business expansion, a program for reestablishing our city to financial solvency, and with a program of housing and community redevelopment.

I invited the mayor to discuss these issues, to defend his record, and to present his program for the future, because, regardless who is elected next Monday, the public has a right to know how their candidates for high office stand on the important issues of the day.

By now it is apparent to all of you that the mayor has not seen fit to accept my invitation to discuss the real issues. Instead we find that he and his supporters have launched a campaign of deliberate and outright falsehoods. They have refused to discuss the issues. They have, in fact, discussed nothing but matters totally

irrelevant to the development of a sound program for the future of our city.

You, the voters, gave me an overwhelming victory in the primary election. The election results plainly demonstrated that the people of Minneapolis were determined to restore confidence in their city government and that they were united behind a sound and constructive program.

Since the primary election my opponent has been engaged in a desperate and frantic effort to check the ever-increasing trend in favor of my candidacy. He began his general election campaign by making insulting and slanderous references to my supporters as "unprincipled people". From here he went on to paint a fantastic picture of a conspiracy by imaginary insidious groups to take over the city.

I was determined to ignore these insults and slander because I was convinced that the public interest could best be served by continuing a calm and intelligent appraisal of the problems that confront our community.

But my opponent grew even more frantic, and now in his last moments of desperation he has resorted to the telling of even bigger and even more absurd falsehoods.

In these last days of the campaign, Minneapolis is witnessing the last violent gasps of an administration that in its moment of great desperation has resorted to the most disgraceful campaign tactics in the history of the city.

I am determined now to nail each of the many lies that my opponent is repeating over and over again. I am determined that you shall have the truth about these libelous and slanderous assertions, not because I believe that my refutation of the lies will alter the

outcome of the election, but because I regard such tactics as degrading to the democratic process and I feel a deep responsibility not to permit these unmitigated falsehoods to go unanswered.

These are unmitigated falsehoods. The mayor knows they are untrue. His advisers know they are untrue. Every informed citizen knows they are untrue.

Let's look at these lies: Lie No. 1: That those who support me are in favor of Communism. Now, ladies and gentlemen, I speak to you as one who was ~~raised~~^{reared} in a Methodist home. I speak to you as one who was long active as a Scoutmaster. I speak to you as a former member of a faculty of a Christian institution, Macalester College. I speak to you as one who has taught adult education classes at the Hennepin Avenue Methodist church and Sunday School classes at the First Congregational Church.

And when anyone says to you that I am in any way associated with Communist doctrine, that person lies -- and he knows that he lies.

As for my supporters, is the mayor willing to say that the Minneapolis Businessmen's Humphrey for Mayor Committee, made up of more than 100 leading businessmen in Minneapolis, are Communist?

Does the mayor mean to say that the United Veterans of America, the American Veterans committee, the combined Humphrey for Mayor Veterans Committee are communist?

Does the mayor dare say that the American Federation of Labor, the CIO, the railroad brotherhoods, who have officially endorsed me, are Communist or Communist-controlled?

Does the mayor dare say that the 700 members of the Humphrey for Mayor Volunteer Committee, whose members are respected leaders in the clergy, the professions, the trades, and business are Communist?

Is the mayor willing to say that the more than 49,000 citizens who supported my candidacy in the primary are -- to use the mayor's language -- an 'unprincipled' group?

This is, indeed, the politics of desperation.

Now, then, as to Lie No. 2. Lie No. 2 is the most un-American piece of mud-slinging that a candidate has ever had the audacity to throw. This is that my draft classification was fixed.

I want to ask my opponent, is he saying that the national and state selective service boards and local board No. 2 and the Fort Snelling medical and military authorities are corrupt?

Let's look at the true record. On January 19, 1945, The Minneapolis Times reported: and I quote "Humphrey's local board made it clear today that he has at all times abided by the board's directions and at no time appealed or asked for special treatment or changes in the board's classification of him."

And, then, on February 13, 1945, the Minneapolis Times reported as follows, and again I quote, "Col. John A. Buxton, Fort Snelling executive officer, said Humphrey's case was definitely not a 'borderline case' but an out-and-out, clear-cut rejection."

The true record further shows that I sought on two occasions to enter the United States Navy and was rejected on physical grounds. Is the Navy also corrupt?

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this is a matter that concerns more than just my candidacy for mayor. Here is a slander against the integrity of what has proved to be the most honest and incorruptible branch of our whole government service.

Now, then, as to Lie No. 3. This is a most insidious piece of nonsense, designed to create doubts and certain to create disunity. Lie no. 3 is that in my work as a member of the United Nations Advisory Committee I was opposed to the establishment of a free and independent Poland and the preservation of the rights of smaller nations.

Let's look at the true record again. In the past four years I have given over 200 addresses in behalf of the United Nations, and the thousands of people who have heard me speak on this subject will know immediately that the mayor lies.

The people who have heard me speak on this subject know that I believe -- with deep and fervent conviction -- in the principles of the United Nations, in the Atlantic Charter, and in the right of peoples to choose their own rulers and their own form of government. They know that I believe in a free and independent Poland.

There are in my files literally scores of speeches in which I made my position crystal clear on this question. Permit me to quote a statement typical of hundreds that I have made. On April 28, 1945, I stated: "I believe in the right of peoples to form governments of their own choosing. The small nations of this world cannot be sacrificed upon the altar of bigness. No peace that will interfere with the rights of nations to select their own governors and determine their own future can be a just peace. I refer to such nations as Norway, Poland, Belgium, Holland....."

Again on October 18, 1944, I said: "The great suffering of the heroic Polish people in the cause of freedom will long be remembered by a world torn asunder by the ravages of Nazism. They have earned not only the right to independence, they have earned our eternal gratitude and our deep respect."

Reflect for a moment, ladies and gentlemen, on the insidious nature of this attack. The Polish people in this community and the thousands of others who believe in the rights of small nations have found in me a friend and a spokesman. Now, in the heat of this campaign, my opponent would plant doubts in the hearts and minds of people to whom a free Poland is so fervent a hope.

My friends, what my opponent is doing in this campaign is employing the technique of the "big lie". He has deliberately misquoted and he has unscrupulously quoted out of context my statements. These are the techniques of the big lie.

The opposition thinks that telling it again and again and that by making it big enough and repeating it often enough some people will come to believe it. That was the way it worked in other countries, but in America we have the right to refute the lie and to tell the truth.

I have spoken to you tonight about three major lies that my opponent has repeatedly used in this campaign. And these are but three among a host of minor ones. I would like to discuss just one of these minor ones -- the others are beneath the dignity of a self-respecting candidate. This false charge that has been leveled not against me but against my supporters, is the charge that the combined Humphrey for Mayor Veterans Committee is made up of "transients" and "phantom patriots".

Now, ladies and gentlemen, this does not libel me -- it libels hundreds of the men and women of both World War I and II who support my candidacy. It libels Mr. Marvin Anderson, the chairman of the committee, who many of you will recall served with such high distinction in this war. He was the first American soldier to enter

Algiers and he was decorated with the Purple Heart and the combat infantryman's badge. It libels Mrs. Lillian Seaman, a Gold Star mother of this war and the mother of another son in the army. It libels scores and scores of active members of the committee, veterans of World War I and II. I think the mayor and his supporters owe a public apology to these men and women. His cynical disregard of the service records of veterans just because they happen to support my candidacy must not remain unchallenged.

I believe the nature of the campaign of my opposition has been well summarized by a letter to the Editor, under the column "Everybody's Ideas" in the Minneapolis Star-Journal of tonight, June 7. This letter has been signed by Mr. Samuel C. Gale, a prominent citizen and businessman of Minneapolis. Let me read it to you:

"With the end of the war coming in sight, perfect Minnesota weather, and many encouraging signs of progress on the home front, everything looked rose-colored on this Memorial day until a piece of campaign literature was left on the front porch, virulently attacking Hubert Humphrey. This literature was not conducive to the development of respect for our fellow citizens and political processes. On the contrary, it was bad for at least three reasons, because it was:

"1. Cowardly, in that it was substantially anonymous, the name and address of the alleged sponsor being buried in the smallest type in the middle of the back page;

"2. Stupid, because everyone who has studied human nature, advertising and politics knows a wholly negative and vitriolic attack never wins.

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matter how ridiculous this insinuation, it is not helpful to the job which Comm. Stassen and his associates, backed by millions of citizens, are attempting to accomplish today for the benefit of future generations." (end quote)

Ladies and gentlemen, the use of the falsehoods reflects not only desperation; it reflects contempt for the common man, and for the democratic system which is his heritage.

It is a technique that says in effect: "The great mass of men is so ignorant and debased as not to be worthy of knowing the truth. The strength of the democratic system rests, in the final analysis, in good faith, in trust, and in the mutual respect of citizens and their public servant.

No candidate for office, no matter how great his desire to win elections, can afford to destroy that faith and trust. It is far too sacred to be sacrificed on the altar of mere political desire.

Finally, let us reflect for a moment upon the broader problems of our generation. We are part of one world. We are living in a time that has forced upon us great responsibilities. We cannot escape our destiny for either greatness or for chaos. Every American, every citizen of this community must grow to understand the community about him. We blundered into war, but we must not blunder into peace. We must work for it, plan for it, believe in the certainty of a free world. Presidents, Governors and Senators alone cannot bring peace or security -- there must be a democratic understanding and determination on the part of we the people. We must equip ourselves mentally for the kind of a city, a nation, a world that we want. Then, through democratic action we must select men of ideals, of courage, to unfold the vision that lies before us. We must become keenly aware of the

changes wrought by this war; changes in a political sense and in the economic organization of our society. We must recognize that the world of tomorrow will be an industrialized world composed of people desirous of the necessities of life and the privilege of freedom.

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If you believe in this kind of administration, if you believe in a positive and constructive program for our city, if you want good government, and if you are willing to play an active part in our city life, the government of Minneapolis can and will be restored to the people.

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