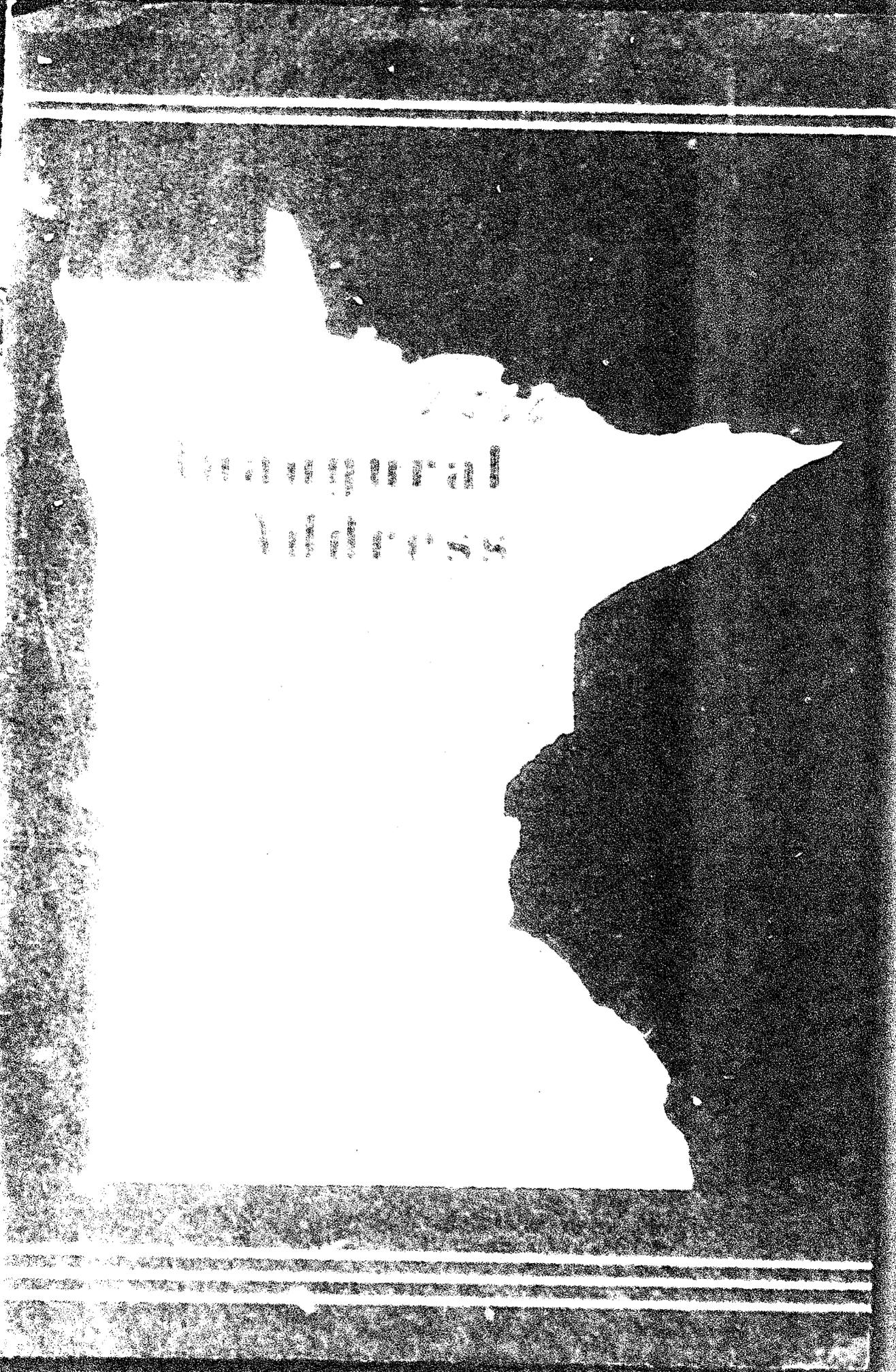


The Third Inaugural Address of
Governor Orville L. Freeman
to the Legislature of Minnesota.

January 7, 1959

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INAUGURAL ADDRESS *In the 61st*

of

Legislature.

GOVERNOR ORVILLE L. FREEMAN,

Delivered at a Joint Session of the Minnesota Legislature

Wednesday, January 7, 1959, at 12:15 p.m.

17p.

Mr. Speaker; Mr. President; Members of the 61st Legislature;
honored guests, friends, and fellow citizens of Minnesota:

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Minnesota stands today on the threshold of its second century of statehood. I have found the centennial year just ended a time of inspiration and a time of renewal. In this past year, as we travelled in imagination through the pages of Minnesota history, each of us must have sensed more fully our partnership in the vision of the men and women who built this state. We do not stand alone, newly born, at this, the second century of our statehood. Rather we stand as the children of pioneers; heirs to the wealth they created; armed by their vision, by their experience, and by their example. Much has been given to us, and rightfully, much is expected of us.

It is altogether fitting that on this day, in this hour, we draw wisdom from our history, and that we seek now to define the nature of the mission which has been entrusted to us. To what old visions of Minnesotans, now half fulfilled, ought we to lend our strength? To what new challenges created by the onrush of history ought we to dedicate our effort? What sort of Minnesota do we envision today, for 1968, just ten short years ahead, and for the years that stretch beyond? For those of us in this room, elected legislators and executive officials, conscious of the honor done us by Minnesota's citizens, aware of the trust and responsibility that accompanies this honor, -- for each of us these are questions needing an answer.

I spoke just now of the onrush of history. Who among us has not been aware of the surging excitement, the quickened tempo of our world? In this last year, Minnesota has become no longer the northernmost state of our union. The traditional competition of Bemidji and International Falls for the mythical title, "icebox of the nation," will doubtless become the property of outposts in our newest state of Alaska. Minnesota, the frontier state of 1859, is now Minnesota, the heartland of a continent.

But we are not just the heartland of a continent. Great airliners link us to the orient and Europe, to Africa and South America. The St. Lawrence Seaway will turn our lake port of Duluth into one of the world's great seaports. The vast reaches of space above us give testimony to our involvement in the affairs of all mankind. Almost overnight, a colony of strange new satellites fill this space. From the newest of them, named Atlas, the voice of our President, recorded in lines of magnetic force on a bit of tape, responding to an electronic signal, sends us a message embodying one of the oldest dreams of civilized man. "Peace on earth, good will to men everywhere." This satellite and its companions do not hover above Minnesota, nor above the United States. They circle an entire world, - our world. A world in ferment, bright with the hope for peace; dark with the threat of nuclear war. Bright with the promise that the splendid power of our new technology can bring a more bountiful life to all men; dark with the fear that man's technical power transcends his wisdom, and leads him toward self-destruction.

We cannot deny the excitement of the age in which we live. Neither can we deny the drama of the challenge it poses for us. I do not wish to oversimplify the nature of the century just finished; -- but is it not clear that the challenge posed to Minnesotans in 1859 was primarily one of nature against man. Frontier Minnesotans faced a wilderness -- beautiful and inspiring, but reluctant, capricious, and often dangerous. Men and women of diverse races and faiths learned the hard lessons of the need for cooperation and mutual

respect. Working together they cleared fields and built places of worship. They built homes and cities. And they built government. Through government, local and state, they sought for themselves security and justice, and the agencies appropriate to these ends -- laws, police forces and courts. They sought the freedom and power of learning, and the schools and colleges which could give these. They sought decent expression of their will to care for the afflicted, the handicapped and the ill, -- and they sought the hospitals and welfare agencies which would make such care a reality. All honor to them for their achievements.

But the challenge put to Minnesota by the wilderness was a patient challenge. Nature bore man no malice. Human weakness and error might be punished, and often was; -- but our very way of life, our freedom, our vision was never threatened. Impartial nature waited while men learned.

In 1959 the dimensions and character of the challenge posed to our society have changed. Now we find our very way of life, our very vision of the meaning of life, is to be tested in the crucible of history. Part of this challenge comes from the complexity of this new world in which we live, the speed of the technological revolution, the pressure of new population, the political ferment of three billion diverse people seeking to find their way in a world that changes as we study it. Part of this challenge comes from another idea, -- another form of social organization. The roots of this idea are communism and totalitarianism. Its leaders now rule fully one-third of the people of the world. Their thesis is that man lacks the wisdom to govern himself, and that he must be ordered, and used by an all-powerful government.

The challenge this idea hurls at us is no trivial one. The rulers of Russia and Red China stand confident and aggressive, filled with the sense of their own malign power. Filled with the pride that they too have "the bomb" -- the technological power to destroy mankind.

The challenge this idea hurls is no patient one. Unlike nature, the rulers of Russia and Red China are neither patient nor impartial in responding to our works. Rather they stand ready to exploit before world opinion our every error, our every failure of nerve or wisdom, of energy or dedication.

The challenge of 1959 is not some transient irritation, soon to leave us in peace. Impatient though the foes of freedom may be, their presence and power poses a test of endurance such as free men have never before known. Our democracy has demonstrated again and again the unity, imagination and strength with which free people can respond to the crisis of war. But the cold war of this day projects the intensity of the test of war to all of our foreseeable future. To meet such a test we must join fervor to endurance, daring to cool wisdom. We must meet the costs of a war-threatened society, -- and we must get on with the works of peace. And we must prepare to do this, if need be, for a century to come.

The challenge of our time is complex and dynamic. We may focus today upon the threat of atomic holocaust, but we know that other great forces are at work in our world, that a sunburst of change is in process. The world's population is exploding. Twenty years ago experts predicted that by the year 2000 the population of the United States would total 165 million. It is startling to realize that this figure was reached in 1955, and that today, January 7, 1959, our population exceeds 175 million. It is sobering to realize that the population of the world grows by 5,400 every hour, -- or 47,000,000 each year.

The world's technology is exploding. In the last half century man's capacity to produce power and goods has grown more than it did in five thousand years of previously recorded history, and the momentum of this change increases. We may yearn for simple, easy, familiar answers to the complexities of our day, -- but we know in our hearts that the answers will be hard bought, demanding the utmost of our wisdom and courage.

IV

I have chosen today to picture the forthcoming work of our state government against the vast, dark backdrop of a world locked in struggle. No smaller setting can truly measure the full meaning of the work we Minnesotans have at hand. We are, for better or for worse, whether we will it or not, inextricably linked to the destiny of free men everywhere. We are a part of a world in which all of our vision,

-- all of our beliefs are on trial. All of them stand in mortal danger.

We are perhaps too accustomed to think of the work of local and state government as somehow set aside from the world scene; -- as a sort of local game we play among ourselves while the over-riding issues of war and peace, of the future of freedom in our world, are decided elsewhere. We do not sense clearly enough that the test of a free society is in reality a thousand and one tests. Can free men govern themselves wisely and prudently? Can they meet the challenges of today? These questions are being asked today in Washington, in Paris, in London, and in Berlin. They are being asked each day in every village and city in America. They are being asked of our state government, and of those of us in this room. They must be answered.

To be sure, our state government has no direct responsibility for the conduct of national defense, of foreign policy, of foreign aid. But no army, however strong, can by itself defend the idea of freedom. No foreign policy, however prudent, can in and of itself win for freedom. No program of foreign aid, however wise, can secure the cause of freedom. All of these are essential, but all are futile unless beneath them we place the bed rock of a living demonstration that free men can govern themselves.

We Minnesotans have a mission for freedom in this, our second century.

We must expand the productivity of our economy as rapidly as our energy and wisdom permit, not merely for our own material well being, but to provide the bone and muscle our nation will need to carry on the long, nerve-wracking struggle of the cold war.

We must perfect and strengthen our educational system, not merely to permit fulfillment to our own children, but to give to this nation, and the free world, the abundance of scientists and teachers, of professional men, business men, and governmental leaders, of skilled workers and farmers, which will be needed to meet the crises of our era.

We must perfect and strengthen our way of life, showing by our concern for the ill and the handicapped, by our

passion for justice and for brotherhood, and by our moral stature, that the progress of free men toward a decent and creative society cannot be halted.

We will do these things because they need to be done. We will do them for ourselves and our children, for our nation, and for our world. We will do them for the day that mankind can say of us, "Minnesota has shown us that freedom works!"

V

In the time that remains to us, I wish to be more specific about the dimensions of the challenge we face, particularly as this challenge affects the work of our state government. I also wish to describe in greater detail the nature of the vision which I think must give life and meaning to our work in this legislative year.

If our state government is to lead the way in meeting the challenges we face, we must do two things. First, we must maintain the level of public services that is essential to the preservation and extension of freedom and opportunity. Second, we must maintain the integrity of our government, -- both in faithful adherence to the principles of human rights that are the foundation of American political philosophy, and in observing the highest ethical standards of performance. It is to these two goals that I would devote the time that remains.

Of major importance among the public services our government provides is education. Throughout Minnesota's century of statehood, and even before we became a state, our people have supported and advanced education, -- as the keystone to individual opportunity, as the basis for political democracy, as the foundation stone of a prosperous economy, as the path by which men and women might seek a fuller, more creative life.

Yet I need not remind you that it is in this very area of education that our society faces one of its most serious challenges. Part of this challenge comes from the increasingly complex nature of the world in which we live. It has been said that the stone age man understood better the tools of his age, the forms and needs of his social order, and the

behavior needed for survival than we understand these things in our age. Whether this be so or not, each of us must be aware that we live in an age in which more people need more education, and all people need better education, than ever before in history. In such an age, an educational system which was good enough for yesterday, or even adequate for today, may become disaster for tomorrow.

Another part of this challenge is thrust at us by the communist nations. In Russia an all-powerful government sees supremacy in education as the key to supremacy in economic growth, supremacy in technological advance, and supremacy in political and economic power. The Soviet government has made the decision to throw its full resources behind the development of education, and to command from its people whatever sacrifices may be necessary to build that system. In myriad ways their educational tasks seem simpler than ours. They do not ask their people to choose schools; they command schools. I think their people are the poorer in this loss of personal responsibility, -- but the schools appear. They do not seek an education fitted to the fullest development of each person, recognizing each person as unique. This is our way. Rather, ruthless of personality, they command their children into the work that will serve an all-powerful state, -- that will build its technology and its military and economic strength. I think that they will leave their children spiritually impoverished with such a system; but we cannot -- we must not -- underestimate the brutal power implicit in their educational effort.

Can we Minnesotans respond to this educational challenge posed by the complexity of our world, and by the threat of Communist effort? I believe we can, and we will. And we can do it without compulsion from above. We can do it of our own choosing. For I believe the people of Minnesota have already made this choice. In our local districts and in our private efforts, we are working strenuously for better schools. It follows that the people of Minnesota have the right to expect commensurate effort and leadership from their state government.

Building upon strong foundations already laid, we can do these things in this legislative year. We can see to it that our state aid to education is extended with undiminished

strength to all of the new school children of our state. We can see to it that the lending power of our state government is extended even more generously to those of our school districts facing heavy building problems. We can prepare for the 50,000 new students who will be seeking higher education in our state by 1970. We can do our part toward the development of a scholarship program which will assure us that none of our gifted children are denied higher education through lack of financial resources. And in this way we can contribute to our nation's need for more highly trained, highly educated men and women. We can, in short, make solid progress toward that day when no child in Minnesota will be denied the development of his highest capabilities because his school is overcrowded, or his classes poorly taught; because he is poor, or because he cannot get the special training best suited to his physical or intellectual capacity. We can plant a standard here in Minnesota to which free men everywhere can repair and from which they can take strength. On this standard shall be written that the people of Minnesota demonstrated that an educational system can be built which will release the creative power of every child; that this system at the same time can make secure both the economic and political strength of the state; and that this can be done by free people of their own choosing.

VI

There is a second area of public service in which we have need to demonstrate our vision. As free people we have always accepted our responsibility for those members of our society who might be less fortunate than we. Those who, through sickness, or disability, through age or unemployment, find themselves facing problems beyond the resources of their own strength. Our concern for all people, and our particular concern for those in need, is the most fundamental expression of the spiritual values and character of our free society, of our belief in the worth of all persons.

In contrast with the field of education, the Communist way of life offers no real competition to us in relation to humanitarian works. Their lack of compassion, their indifference to misery, their willingness not only to endure pain but to inflict it, -- all these have made the rulers of the Communist world notorious in the record of history. But the

real test in this area, so far as we are concerned, lies in the standard we have set for ourselves; in the claims we make upon our own conscience.

The real question, the one we ought to ask ourselves, is this: as the richest people on the face of this earth, as the people with the most cars, the finest buildings, the finest highways and airplanes and railroads, -- as the only people producing food with such memorable efficiency that we allegedly groan under surpluses while a billion people in our world go to bed each night hungry, -- as such a people how much longer will we be content to do less than the best we know how to do for those in our society who need help? As a people dedicated to the spiritual ideals of brotherhood, humanitarianism, and concern for every single human being, how can we do less than our utmost to extend the hand of brotherhood -- to apply the magnificent ideals and principles of the Sermon on the Mount to every individual less fortunate than those of us who are strong and healthy and capable of caring for ourselves?

We ought to ask ourselves these questions and more. We ought to ask, have we not put off too long the development of needed services in our state, waiting for the crisis of the cold war to end, for the forty billion dollars we now spend annually on national defense to become available for other purposes? Have we not quieted our consciences concerning the needs of our unemployed, of our aged, of our youth, our ill and our handicapped by thinking of the costs of bombs, planes, and missiles, and attending to our own private and personal wants? Is it not now clear that we must respond both to the demands of our own moral nature and the need to strengthen our society by getting ahead more rapidly with the work of strengthening the humanitarian services of society?

Let me emphasize the point implicit in my last question. There is a special sort of practical providence at work in our society which stands on the side of those who give generously of their strength to the afflicted. We have learned this in Minnesota -- learned that enough help at the right time to our mentally ill strengthens our society economically as well as spiritually because it returns more people to happy, productive living. We have learned that the cost of giving vocational rehabilitation to a handicapped person is

returned many times to our society when these persons are helped to become productive. We know that the most costly, most destructive thing, -- as well as the cruelest thing any society can do, -- is to turn its back on human misery, or suffering, or need. I believe with all my heart that we people of Minnesota have learned these things, and that we have made our choice.

We have said, of our own choosing, that life offers the hope of happiness and creative fulfillment to all people. We do not see a day free from all sickness, hardship and suffering. But we do see, fully within reach, an end to that terrible waste of human resources that occurs whenever we do less than the best we know how to do for those who are in need. Let us raise a standard in this north country for free men everywhere to see. On it shall be written: "Minnesotans know the meaning of human compassion and brotherhood. They have undertaken those actions needed to translate their vision into reality. They do this as a free people, of their own choosing."

VII

There is yet a third way in which we Minnesotans can respond to the challenge of our day through the services of state government. We must proceed with all the energy at our command with the task of expanding the economic productivity of our state. We Americans have demonstrated our genius for the production of wealth in the past. Today we own fifty percent of the world's wealth, though we number but six percent of the world's population. But we must do better, -- much better, -- in the years just ahead.

We must do better because there are urgent unmet needs in our own society which can only be supported by a rapidly expanding economy. We must do better because the free world needs the bone and muscle of our productivity to meet the long grinding test of endurance posed by the cold war. The Communist nations, today incomparably less productive than we are, nevertheless command sacrifices from their people, and by so doing divert large sums to the expansion of their productive facilities, to the production of weapons, and to the competition of international trade. We cannot meet this challenge by standing still economically, but we can meet it

by demonstrating once more the dynamic power for growth inherent in our own free economic system.

It is one of the central missions of this legislative year that we demonstrate the creative role which state governments can take in the nourishment of such economic expansion.

I do not mean that we Minnesotans can produce any magic formula by which Minnesota can be an island of prosperity set aside from the rest of the nation. The recession this last year demonstrated only too well how intimately our economic destiny is linked to that of the nation. When steel mills in Pittsburgh shut down, iron ore mines in Minnesota also shut down. But what we have done in the past, and what we can do with even more vigor in the future, is to demonstrate how business men, workers, farmers, and government may build a cooperative relationship devoted to the economic expansion of their state.

For government this means taking creative leadership in the cultivation of community business development corporations. It means cooperative leadership in the work of surveying and wisely utilizing Minnesota's natural resources, and positive encouragement of the development of methods to utilize such great untapped resources as non-magnetic taconite. It means the important work of selling Minnesota to the nation and the world. It means clear understanding that the growth of our economy is related to the strength of our educational system, to the adequacy of our welfare services, to the soundness of our conservation practices, and to the expansion of our highways and waterways.

I said that no formula for economic expansion has any magic in it, -- but this Minnesota way has proved its vitality. In 1954 our state was well below the national average in terms of the growth of its per capita income, but by 1957 we stood third from the top.

In short, we are planting a standard in this north country which reads: "We Minnesotans, understanding the natural wealth of our land, knowing the energy and skill of our people, confident that our powers of economic growth are boundless -- thinking together, working together, building

roads and harbors, planting trees, improving our parks, finding new minerals, building new industries, caring for our streams and lakes, telling our story, -- we Minnesotans work for the reality of the abundant life possible for a free people." That is a standard to which all free men may rally.

VIII

The final challenge of which I speak today is composed of many facets. I call it the challenge to integrity in our democratic living -- integrity in the conduct of our government. The detractors of democracy cry that democracy must fail because its people preach equality and practice bigotry, because the creaking machinery of government lacks the efficiency, lacks the courage, and lacks the moral stamina needed in this complex world. I take it to be our mission in Minnesota to demonstrate by our deeds and by our conduct that these are absolute untruths.

The first facet of such a demonstration must rise from our dedication to the fundamental principles of human rights. This means for all men equal opportunity, equal justice, equal freedom from disabilities imposed because of religion, race or color. And there is no ideal held by our democracy which is examined with greater hope, or greater anxiety, by the people of the world. Mankind, weary of ages of bigotry and prejudice, cries out for a society in which the magnificent vision of human brotherhood shall be made real. We Minnesotans have made great strides in this area, but we cannot, we must not stop our efforts until we can proclaim for all men to see that in this state the destructive fires of unreasoning prejudice have no sanction, -- either before the law or in the hearts of our people.

Second, our dedication to integrity in government means that we must move to increase the soundness and efficiency of the structure of our state government and the conduct of its affairs. Reapportionment of our state legislature is not only an obligation placed upon us by the constitution we have sworn to support, it is basic to the integrity of the democratic principle itself. It is an obligation that must be honored by this session of the legislature. We need party designation for our state legislators as a means of increasing the public responsibility of the law-making branch of

our government. We need fundamental reorganization of the structure of the executive branch of our government so that responsibility and authority may be clearly seen and understood. And we need to give the people a chance to vote on the desirability of a full revision of our state constitution so it may better express the purpose of our people in this twentieth century.

A third facet of this challenge to integrity in government has to do with the efficiency with which we conduct the on-going business of state government. There is no reason that the bookkeeping, accounting, record keeping, office management, purchasing, and budget making functions of our government should not be conducted at the highest level of efficiency made possible by modern procedures in business management. We are already showing in Minnesota, and must continue to show, that democracy is not necessarily wasteful, and that the governmental affairs of a free people can be conducted with maximum prudence and efficiency.

Fourth, I would speak of the challenge of integrity as it relates to the way in which you and I conduct the work of our respective offices. As the elected representatives of a free people, we assume the responsibility of expressing, in our attitudes and our actions, the highest ethical aspirations of the people of our state. This means that each of us must be bound by our most profound and honestly stated convictions as to the public good. The search for personal advantage or private gain has no place in our public service.

As you know, in this last year I have asked for a full study of the problem of ethics in government as it relates to our state of Minnesota. This study, conducted by a distinguished and impartial group of our citizens is now complete. It contains a practical analysis of the nature of the ethical problems we face, and of the ways in which these problems may be met. This document will, I believe, make an important contribution to the ethical stature of our state government and our political processes. For each of us here today, It should serve as a guide to the way in which we conduct our own work in this legislative year, and as the source for the formulation of codes of conduct for both the administrative and legislative branches of our government.

Finally, I would speak of our dedication to the letter and spirit of our laws, our wisdom in the perfection of those

laws, and our forthright energy in their enforcement. Free people, through law, express their common convictions about public standards of conduct and mutual obligation. No person has the right to set himself apart from or above the laws of this state and nation. And those of us in public office have the absolute responsibility to demonstrate that decent observance of the law, that vigorous and just enforcement of the law, are characteristic of a free people.

This standard, too, we shall plant in Minnesota. A standard marked integrity in government. A standard which shall proclaim that the free people of Minnesota fostered a society mindful of human rights, fostered a government dedicated to law, efficient in organization and operation, and devoted to the highest standards of ethical conduct. From this standard free men everywhere may draw strength.

IX

I have spoken of the challenge of our day, and of the dimensions of that challenge as they apply to the work of our state government. We seek the maintenance of public services that will provide better education, that will insure the welfare of all of our people, and that will promote an expanding economy. We seek the highest standards of integrity in government. We seek all of these things in the cause of freedom.

But freedom is not free. It must be paid for. And, as we view that part of the world that is not free, I am sure that you will agree with me that no price is too great to pay for freedom. Government services are a part of the price we pay for freedom; -- and as we consider their cost it is a measure of our responsibility, our vision, and our courage that we consider that cost in relation to the goal we seek.

This will not be easy, because too often government is looked upon as something separate and apart. When we buy cars, or televisions sets, or even coffee and rolls, we see the price linked inseparably to the objective desire. Even if the price seems high we decide we want them. But when we buy the services of government, we do not often see them linked to the price tag. Do we ever ask ourselves what we would pay for law and order if we had to buy it on the market?

Or how much we would pay for the education of our children? May I ask -- have you ever looked at taxes as the price we pay for the benefits of civilization in a free society?

The cost of securing the things we want in Minnesota -- the cost of making free government work -- this cost will be heavy. And a portion of this cost must be met in this legislative biennium by additional revenue.

I shall be discussing these costs in my budget message next week, and I shall also at that time detail the tax measures by which I believe we can most equitably and prudently meet these costs. This is my responsibility, just as it is your responsibility to bring to bear upon my recommendations the full measure of your own wisdom. But it is our joint responsibility to make sure that the people of our state face the fact that government services and revenue are but two sides of the same coin. It is our joint responsibility to avoid the pitfalls that would result if we separate our discussion of taxation from our consideration of the purposes our people wish to achieve and the services they need to accomplish those purposes.

The task of raising revenue to meet our need for services is indeed difficult, but we in Minnesota face that task from a position of strength. We face no mountainous deficits of the order confronted by many of our sister states, or even more formidably by our Federal government. Our rate of economic growth in the last four years has been well above the national average. Our expanding markets, and the general upturn of the economy all over the nation -- all these factors indicate that we shall be moving forward in a prosperous, expanding economy in these next two years.

It is well also that we note that the greatly expanded services that we have undertaken in the last few years have not been accompanied by any proportional increase in taxes; in fact, our taxes were decreased only two years ago by the 60th Legislature. For the most part our expanded programs have been financed through the growth of our economy. It is further worth noting that we Minnesotans pay a smaller portion of our income as taxes to the state than we did in 1942.

I have no wish to minimize the importance of the question of taxation as it will face this legislature. It will

require all our wisdom to make sure that needed programs are financed by methods that are as equitable and just as human ingenuity can devise. Moreover, we must be fully mindful of the continuing need for tax reform, so that the total tax levy does not act in ways that are a deterrent to our economic growth, or which provide a disabling burden to any groups in our society. I do, however, wish to make it clear that we are not in the position of a poverty-wracked people called upon to make soul-crushing sacrifices in order to carry out the purposes and responsibilities of a free people. Taxation is an important and integral part of the work we must do this legislative year. It may well be the most difficult technical problem we will face. But it is properly just a part of our task, -- a part inseparable from the fundamental questions of the goals we wish to reach, the programs our people need, the vision we seek to realize.

I do not for one moment believe that the people of Minnesota are either unable or unwilling to meet the cost required by the fundamental challenge of our age. We in Minnesota are beginning to be aware of the social imbalance that exists in our society, an imbalance that results from greatly increased spending for private goods and a proportionate decrease in our spending for public services. Our production, our wealth, and our standard of living have grown phenomenally in the past twenty years, while our provision for public services has lagged behind. In fact, the proportion of our national income that we spend on public works was fifty percent greater twenty years ago than it is today.

We are beginning to see that increased spending for private goods to produce our increased standard of living creates needs for more public services that have not yet been met; and we are beginning to see the dangers we face unless we meet such needs and achieve a better balance. I have not met any Minnesotans who place a higher value on more chrome trim on automobiles, or more household gadgets, than they do on better education for their children or better care for the ill and the handicapped.

X

Fellow citizens of Minnesota, we live in a world shadowed by the threat of nuclear war. We live in a world beleaguered by the pressures of a population explosion, and the complex-

ities of technological change moving at a pace which all but outruns human imagination. We live in a world in which our democratic society confronts a test to its endurance and determination such as it has never before encountered in all history. In such a world, the price of failure will be oblivion, or the death of freedom.

In such a world we cannot, we must not fail. We must raise standards of education, of humanitarian service, of economic growth, and of personal and governmental integrity to which men everywhere can rally. We must give our strength to the cause of freedom, and we must demonstrate to the world that freedom works!

Economic prudence calls on us to raise these standards, for the well-being of our people and the strength of the free world are linked to an expanding, ever more productive economy.

Wisdom requires us to raise these standards, for time grows short in this strife-torn world, and the people of the world cry out for the example of a state in which the ideals of justice, of liberty, of brotherhood, and of individual worth are given living demonstration.

The deepest impulses of our nature as a moral people demand that we must raise these standards, for they symbolize nothing more nor less than the ultimate ethical and spiritual goals for which our people strive.

Members of the legislature, my fellow executive officials, may God Almighty in his infinite wisdom give us courage and foresight as we go about our work, -- work which has great significance for today, for the next two years, for the Minnesota our children and their children will inherit in the century ahead, -- work which has deep meaning for history, -- the history of Minnesota, of the United States, and of the world.

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