


PSF: DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

pt. 2

Subject File

PSF: Democratic Platform
Box  14B

En route to Texas,
June 10, 1966

PSF
Platform file

My dear Mr. Justice:

The President has asked me to thank
you for your letter enclosing Sam Tucker's edi-
torial in the Decatur Herald.

He appreciates your courtesy in send-
ing it along.

Sincerely yours,

M. H. McINTIRE
Assistant Secretary
to the President

Honorable Warren H. Orr,
Justice of the Supreme Court,
State of Illinois,
Rock Island,
Illinois.

mwd

SUPREME COURT
STATE OF ILLINOIS

CHAMBERS OF
JUSTICE WARREN H. ORR

Rock Island. Ill

June 4, 1936.

*Mac
to thank +
return to me
M.A.L.H*

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
White House,
Washington, D. C.

My dear President:

For your enjoyment, I enclose a
marked editorial from the Decatur Herald,
which I am sure you should read. It contains
about the most convincing and common sense
explanation of our present dilemma that I
have yet seen or heard.

As ever, sincerely,

WHO:MLN

Warren H. Orr

[Lobby]

THOS. B. LOVE
LAWYER
REPUBLIC BANK BUILDING
DALLAS, TEXAS

PSF
Platform

June 13, 1936.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

Though I saw you often I failed to talk with you in Dallas yesterday, and this I regret. As a native Missourian and the son and grandson of native Missourians I was busy contacting Missouri visitors; but, in addition to that, I sought to make a study of the trend of opinion in the minds of the great throngs which your visit brought to Dallas. To this end I participated in your great Cotton Bowl meeting at the Centennial as one of the great crowds of 50,000 men and women which you addressed; and in the afternoon I visited among the crowds which attended the unveiling of the Robert E. Lee statue.

Through the years I have found that a great Dallas crowd like this is a fair cross section not only of Texas but of the nation, and I knew that substantially all of those with whom I mingled yesterday had heard by radio during the past few days every word of the Republican Convention at Cleveland and of its platform and of all your speeches as well. I queried large numbers of men and women, young and old, who knew me, from various sections of Texas, and from Louisiana, Oklahoma and Missouri as well; and I found the sentiment for Roosevelt and Garner and the New Deal substantially one hundred percent. Here and there I found a dissenter but their total could be counted on the fingers of one hand.

It was really refreshing to hear the general expressions of resentment of the assaults of Steiwer and Hoover and Hamilton, and the rest, and their ridicule of the inane Liberty League platform adopted at Cleveland.

In my view the high lights of the inanities of the Cleveland platform are:

- 1) Its utter failure to declare for or against preserving and continuing the protection to bank depositors, which under your Administration has stopped bank failures for the first time in American history; and
- 2) Its declaration for the levying of "direct taxes" (which the United States Supreme Court has held means capitation taxes of taxes on real estate) to pay the Federal government's portion of old age pension. If this means anything it means an increase in real estate taxes by Federal statute, and I do not believe one State in the Union can be carried on

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt

Page 2

that proposition, if the people understand it.

I want to congratulate you upon the peculiar forcefulness of all your speeches on this trip, every word of which I heard by radio or person; and, again, I want to thank you for the great service you are rendering.

I was delighted to see you looking so well.

With kindest regards, I am

Sincerely your friend,

TBL/h

A handwritten signature in dark ink, appearing to read "Franklin D. Roosevelt". The signature is written in a cursive style with a prominent initial "F".

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE
NATIONAL PRESS BUILDING
WASHINGTON

*BF
Platform*

CHARLES MICHELSON
DIRECTOR OF PUBLICITY

June 15, 1936.

Dear Mac:

The President asked particularly to see this.
After he is through with it, I would be grateful if you
will see that it is returned to me, as we have only a very
few copies of it around here.

CM

DEPARTMENT OF STATE

THE SECRETARY

June 17, 1936.

*PSF
Platform*

MEMORANDUM FOR
THE PRESIDENT.

The attached data contains suggested platform provisions by some of us in the State Department.

Copies of these are today being handed to Senator Wagner.

Hue

STATE DEPARTMENT DRAFT

3:00 P.M.

June 17

I

We have for three years pursued a constructive foreign policy dedicated to the promotion of American interests at home and abroad. At no time have our relations with foreign powers been more cordial or more friendly. We pledge ourselves to a continuance of this policy.

We reaffirm our opposition to war as a mode of settling international disputes, and continue strenuously to advocate the pacific settlement of international differences through conciliation or judicial process. We stand for a vigorous reassertion of the principles of international morality. We believe in the sanctity of international covenants and firmly advocate, both in theory and in practice, the policy of the "good neighbor" in all international relations.

We have followed and are determined to follow a policy of strict neutrality in foreign wars. In order to deal constructively with this problem, we have materially strengthened our neutrality legislation and will continue our efforts further to strengthen it. We realize, however, that only through world peace can America's vital interests be adequately safeguarded. And this Government has therefore, while continuing strictly to adhere to the traditional policy of refraining from entering into any political entanglement, striven at all times to keep alive the spirit of peace. It has constantly emphasized the doctrine of the Kellogg Pact. It has
sought

State Dept. Draft
3 p.m. June 17

I - 2

sought at every stage to promote peace through reduction or limitation of armaments, through the control of traffic in arms, and through the taking of profits out of war. Furthermore, realizing that lasting peace cannot be had without economic stability, we have constantly sought to build for peace by promoting fair and friendly economic relationships.

We have cooperated consistently with other nations in the promotion of the welfare of women and children in all lands; in efforts to control the manufacture of and traffic in opium and other dangerous drugs; in the furtherance of public health; with the agencies devoted to the study and discussion of basic economic and financial problems; and with the activities of the International Labor Office, seeking to improve the conditions of labor throughout the world.

State Dept. Draft
3 p.m. June 17

II

We have confirmed by our actions the dedication of this nation to the policy of the "good neighbor", and we have promoted relations of confidence, friendship, and helpful cooperation with and among other American Republics. Suspicion and hostility in the Western Hemisphere towards the United States have vanished. Believing, as we do, that the permanent security of the United States will be better assured by the maintenance of the principles of international justice and fair dealing than by the sole force of arms, this Government has proclaimed the principle of non-intervention in the internal affairs of other sovereign nations.

At Montevideo we cooperated wholeheartedly with the other Republics of the Western Hemisphere in formulating and applying this principle. On our part we have abrogated the Platt Amendment from our Treaty with Cuba, withdrawn our forces of occupation from Haiti, and negotiated new treaties with Panama, which, while fully safeguarding our rights to protect and operate the Canal, eliminate those provisions of our earlier treaty to which warranted exception has been taken by the people of Panama.

The President's suggestion for an Inter-American Conference to be held this year, unanimously welcomed by the American Republics, has aroused general confidence that in that Conference the American nations will find the way to insure the maintenance of peace on this continent.

We will carry on the policy of the "good neighbor", encouraging increased trade and stimulating all means of intercourse with our American neighbors to our mutual advantage.

III

The reciprocal trade agreements program was adopted as an indispensable agency for dealing with an unparalleled emergency. Its central policy is based upon mutually profitable trade and fair and friendly trade methods. It is an economic undertaking which transcends party lines. It has demonstrated its capacity for coping with the vast crop of dangerous economic and political difficulties growing out of the unprecedented depression. It has proved effective in removing excessive trade barriers in an increasing number of countries, in safeguarding our trade from discriminations abroad, in expanding exports, in stimulating employment and in promoting good will. Its method involves procedures with regard to public notice, public hearings, and conferences no different from those employed by Congressional Committees and by such semi-judicial bodies as the Tariff Commission, the Federal Trade Commission, and the Interstate Commerce Commission. Its operation does not contemplate nor result in harmful, unreasonable, or excessive imports.

The national welfare imperatively requires the completion of the great emergency undertaking of the reciprocity agreement agency.

The only alternative which can be offered in good faith is a direct return to Smoot-Hawleyism, which represented a suicidal attempt at economic self-containment or isolation, caused vicious retaliation and discrimination by foreign countries against our trade, operated to wreck farm prices, to send millions of farmers headlong into bankruptcy, and to throw many millions of wage earners out of employment.

State Dept. Draft
3 p.m. June 17

III - 2

The trade agreements program is the sole practicable way of repairing these ravages of super-protectionism and other forms of economic warfare. It is one of the chief means through which reemployment can be provided for labor employed in transportation, in shipping, in our ports, and in our factories, and by which the American farmer can have restored to him a foreign market for his surplus crops. During the period that lies immediately ahead, its cumulative and widening effects will constitute the greatest single force in the world making for stable prosperity and peace. Our people will not be misled into preventing the reciprocal trade agreements program from completing its vital emergency task, but will brand narrow partisan attacks upon it as a betrayal of the interests of American farmers and American wage-earners.

Dear Franklin: - is sound
and along the right ^{I think this philosophy,} line.
It would be stronger if you inserted
that corporations engaged chiefly in
inter-state commerce should be
chartered and regulated by the
Federal Government and that
corporations engaged exclusively
~~and~~ in intra-state commerce
should be chartered and regulated
by the State in which it is located -
Our chief trouble comes from char-
tering a corporation in Delaware
when its property and situs are
in North Carolina, and ninety
per cent of its business is done
in all the states -
Jeff F. B.
Joseph A. Paul



June 19, 1936

DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

Dear Franklin:- You asked me to submit any platform suggestion, with reference to domestic questions our news run along the same channel and I am certain you can frame the declarations better than anybody else.

As to foreign policies, I am sure you feel that the declarations should be terse, clear and in line with what the administration has done. I have talked over with State Department high officials a proper declaration and am enclosing the result. We ought to ring strong for Peace with a big P and Neutrality and run totally advantageous to our own and other countries - I hope this idea will commend itself to you -

Faithfully

Joseph Daniels

June 20, 1936.

PLATFORM MEMORANDUM

Our foreign policy speaks for itself. At no time have our relations with foreign powers been more cordial or more friendly. We oppose war as a mode of settling international disputes and favor their pacific settlement through conciliation, arbitration, or other acceptable processes. We favor a vigorous reassertion of the principles of international morality and of the sanctity of international agreements, based on the policy of the good neighbor in all international relations.

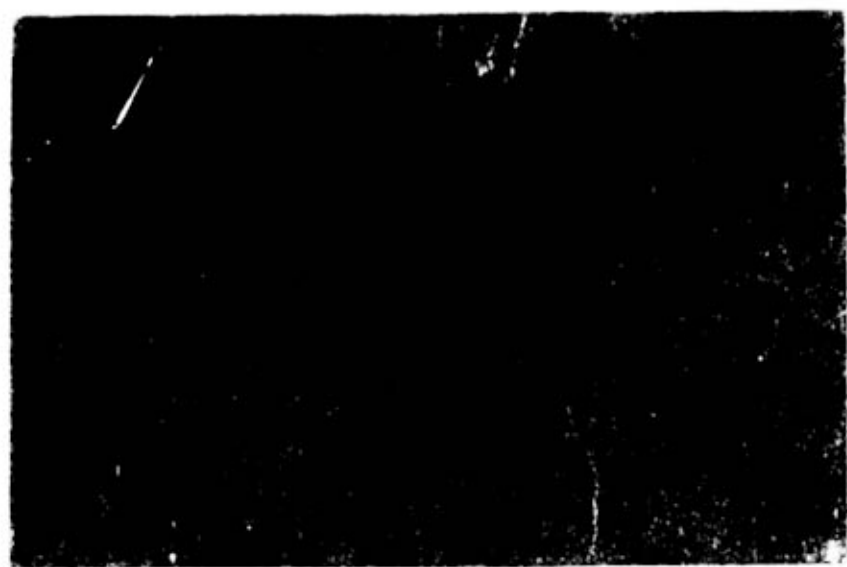
While carefully avoiding any political entanglement, we strive at all times to keep alive the spirit of peace. We cooperate with other nations to every practical extent in the promotion and preservation of peace, ~~including~~ ^{including} reduction or limitation of armaments, the control of traffic in arms, taking the profits out of war, the restoration of economic stability, and fair and friendly economic relationships. We likewise cooperate with other nations to promote the welfare of women and children, to control the manufacture of and traffic in opium and similar drugs, to improve public health and the conditions of labor.

In our determination at all times to keep this nation out of war we have followed a policy of strict neutrality; ~~as a result of our~~ we have materially strengthened our neutrality legislation, and shall continue our efforts further to strengthen it. At the same time, we must not fail to realize that world peace is the only sure guaranty against being drawn into war.

If

If there is to be a peaceful world, economic isolation is unthinkable. Efforts in that direction have already proved impracticable and dangerous, by fomenting both economic and military conflict. A policy of cooperation based upon the principle of fair and friendly reciprocal trade relations is the very foundation of any sound and permanent structure of peace and business prosperity. Such a policy we have adopted as an indispensable means of coping with unparalleled economic problems. Its operation does not contemplate or result in harmful imports. It has demonstrated its effectiveness and it is all-important that it be allowed to remain in effect to finish its great emergency undertaking.

Never before have the relations of understanding, confidence and friendship among the twenty-one American republics been more close and mutually satisfactory. The principles of international justice and fair dealing have been warmly approved and unanimously accepted. The President's suggestion for an Inter-American Conference, seconded by every American republic, should insure permanent peace on this continent. The spirit of cooperation and solidarity among all of the American nations prevailing since the Montevideo Conference was never stronger.





THE SECRETARY OF COMMERCE
WASHINGTON

*PSF
Platform*

June 17, 1936

Memorandum

For: Colonel Marvin H. McIntyre
Assistant Secretary to the President

From: Secretary of Commerce

The Republicans said nothing in their Platform with regard to safety. I believe that the Democrats should mention this very important matter. I am therefore suggesting a reference to this for the Platform in the language of the memorandum hereto attached.

Will you present this to the President and get his reaction?

DeR
D.C.R.

Enclosure.

For Democratic Platform

The annual accidental death toll of more than 100,000 persons in the United States must be decreased. While the problem is primarily local, the Federal Government should render all possible assistance without assuming local and State prerogatives. At the request of the President, during the last year, the first non-partisan conference to deal with all types of accidents on land and sea and in the air has been organized. The Democratic party strongly endorses this non-political attempt to preserve human lives and believes that the work should continue as a non-governmental activity but with the government rendering whatever assistance may properly belong to it.

6/17/36 PSF

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Platform

Mr President -

You might mention in
some speech that the
farm, home, real estate
etc does not contribute
one cent to pay the Federal
Taxes. That the expenditures
and debt of the U.S.
will be met by income,
excise, etc taxes.

The average home owner
of America will not have
to help pay the debt. —

A.H.W.

6/19/36

*PSF
Platform*

Agriculture

Twelve years of government control by powerful interests opposed to equality for agriculture were ended by the people at the polls in 1932 after 12-cent corn, 3-cent hogs, 30-cent wheat and 5-cent cotton had caused agricultural collapse and nation-wide depression.

We have kept our pledge to agriculture to use all available means to raise farm income toward its pre-war purchasing power. The record of successful achievement for agriculture during this administration is without parallel in history.

We stand on this record, and the fundamental principle that agricultural welfare and national welfare are linked inseparably. Farmers contend with natural economic forces not governed by state lines; therefore we insist the agricultural problem is national, not merely local. The national policy of equality for agriculture must be carried on. We will continue the advance.

We pledge a farm-minded administration of agricultural laws, quick to recognize and meet new problems and conditions. We favor extension of the principle of crop income insurance first developed in the agricultural adjustment programs; assistance within federal authority to enable farmers to adjust and balance production with demand to secure ample supplies and parity income; continuation and improvement of the soil conservation and domestic allotment program with payments to farmers, planned with their cooperation and operated through associations and committees of their choosing; the continued development of sound industrial uses and enlarged domestic and export markets for farm products; broad extension of rural electrification; and vigorous encouragement of farmers' cooperatives.

Farm Credit

Hundreds of thousands of farm homes have been saved and low interest rates established for long and short term loans in the most far-reaching and successful agricultural refinancing program ever undertaken in any country. We favor further development and strengthening of the farm credit system at interest rates no higher than those available to other American industries; reduction of farm tenancy by extension of credit through which qualified farm tenants may become owners; and careful use of commodity loans to insure reserves against crop failure and to guard prices against undue seasonal decline

Consumers

Increased income to producers in agriculture and in industry ^{exceeded} ~~has assisted~~ the rise in retail prices and the cost of living. Efforts to maintain and extend these gains in the purchasing power of consumer income will be continued. A

S Farm Leaders Demand Crop ID Control in Party Platforms TS

The board of directors of the American Farm Bureau federation, representing 37 states, meeting yesterday at the Hotel Sherman, unanimously adopted a farm platform plank reflecting the positive views of American organized agriculture, which will be presented to both the Republican and Democratic national conventions.

The plank demands that the government take steps to put agricultural income on a parity with industry as an essential step in restoring national prosperity.

Ask Production Control.

In order to attain this objective the plank urges the adoption of the following policies by the federal government:

1. Effective adjustment and control of the volume of farm products so as to balance the supply with total demands of market at price levels which will give agricultural commodities the purchasing power existing in 1909-1914.
2. A permanent system of commodity loans to prevent seasonal surpluses from unduly affecting market price levels.
3. Maintenance of a practical soil conservation and land utilization program.
4. Expansion of both domestic and

foreign outlets for farm products and, if necessary, the use of federal revenue to control, or remove, seasonal surpluses from the domestic market.

5. Full protection of the domestic market from competing imports that influence prices below parity levels; reduction of excessive industrial tariffs to assist in equalizing price levels.

6. Federal control of monopolies to protect all producer and consumer interests, lower transportation costs by means of economical, efficient and competitive transportation facilities.

Aid for Coöperatives Sought.

The plank also asks the government to assist coöperative marketing, purchasing and service associations to stabilize the distribution, marketing, production and processing of farm crops and supplies by marketing agreements. It also asks a managed currency regulated on an index of basic commodities to maintain a dollar with a constant purchasing and debt paying power.

The plank will be presented at the Cleveland convention this week by a committee headed by Edward A. O'Neal, president of the federation. Mr. O'Neal will also head the presentation committee at the Democratic national convention in Philadelphia.

both internal and external trade," he
"This country ought to be
"hat.
"icy of exclusion or pr
"iciency and is

Hoc...

Y.
backing
y agri-
coming
nations,
s, nomi-
oosevelt
federal
sterday
cultural
sistrator
nent ad-
ed from
tries of
ountries
o means
fficiency
ed to be
months

ON THE RECORD

By DOROTHY THOMPSON

Liberty or Anarchy?

MONDAY'S Supreme Court decision was the most momentous thing, was the most serious thing that has happened to this country in a very long time. It presents us with a problem that cannot possibly be evaded. We are now flat up against the fact that under the Constitution, or the prevailing interpretation of it, it is impossible for the American people through any instrument of government, be it state, or be it Federal, to offer protection for the most essential conditions of life to even the poorest and weakest of its members. Those—and there are some—who see in the very institution of the Supreme Court an instrument which will eternally block the path of social progress are not the ones to be perturbed. The citizens who will be perturbed are those who cherish the Supreme Court as the expression of the greatest genius of our founders and as the greatest safeguard of order and liberty.

Everything about the decision is disturbing. The New York State minimum wage law for women and minors was not a piece of hastily enacted emergency legislation. The Woman's Trade Union League and the Consumers' League, the League of Women Voters and the New York State Federation of Labor, together with many other citizens' organizations, worked for this measure for eighteen years. They worked for it to meet serious conditions. Women and minors notoriously belong to the most helpless group of workers. When the agitation for the law began the conditions in the laundry business, to take a specific illustration, had driven most white women out of the industry, and it was not uncommon that the workers, mostly colored women, received \$4 or \$5 for a fifty-four-hour week. The New York bill was very carefully framed, with the Supreme Court's decision in the Adkins case (District of Columbia) in mind. The law challenged in the Adkins case was reversed by the court essentially on the ground that it gave no heed to the situation of the employer and to the reasonable value of the service for which the wages were paid, but set an arbitrary minimum wage on the basis of subsistence necessity. The New York law took account of this

side the range of law, and for many that territory is life itself.

The majority argument is disturbing. It is founded upon freedom of contract and an eighteenth century interpretation of that phrase, which one had thought expired in the nineteenth. The same argument was brought against all the protective legislation introduced fifty years ago in Germany and England. But it has not been heard elsewhere for a generation. No modern interpretation of competitive economy includes the right to pay labor less than must, by the very nature of things, be paid to a machine! For machines must be maintained! Competition lies in the field of management, efficiency, technology. It starts with rules. One cannot throw human blood and bones into the scales. Competition does not exclude common decency.

The decision is disturbing because of its wider implications. If government cannot protect its weakest members then all decent people must fight for the strongest trade unionism and contemplate a continual industrial battle which can never be resolved in law. Those who want neither social legislation nor powerful unions are simply plumping for exploitation.

Freedom stands at a crossroads, as Freedom, that most precarious of ideals, so often does. In one direction is Order, without which there is no liberty. In the other is Anarchy, which engenders chaos. And on the other side of chaos is dictatorship. For it is not in the nature of man to endure anarchy, but to seek eternally for form and order. When his own efforts fail he will scream to high heaven for some one, for any one, to achieve it for him.

The decision is disturbing because of possible public reactions. The great danger exists that a revolt against the decision will become a revolt against the very institution of the Supreme Court, which for a hundred and fifty years has helped to stabilize the world's oldest republic. And republics are not, historically considered strong institutions. Our

te
ed
ne
ottle
rwer
ctors
med
Post;
ct.1
n the
s for-
ver A.
s Fair
op a
rected
ctors
of the
n and
rst to
nd of
tires,
by a
t was
se top
e sur-
only
ressed
er the
i more
rtimer
; fair's
nittees,
to the
e, Mr.
of 1923
tower
s about
Island
There
th Mr.
he tower
Robert
Taylor,
gan, ma-
McAneny,
Straus,
W. Earle
manager,
irman of
fair.
er
another
ie tower
meeting
n in the
house.
was the
directors
n. The
w York
ty-sixth
thing in
wartha
t Ran-
g dock
t to the

Handwritten: PSE - [unclear]

DAILY NEWS

Entered as 2d class matter Nov. 21, 1913, at the Post Office, New York, N. Y. under the act of March 3, 1879. Telephone Murray Hill 2-1234

Published daily except Sundays by News Syndicate Co., Inc., 128 E. 4th St., Newark, N. J. Daily mail delivery in New York, N. Y., by special arrangement with the Post Office. For the Daily and Sunday News, U. S. M. R. 200 per year; Canada, \$12.00; Europe, \$12.00 a year. For the Daily and Sunday News, U. S. M. R. 200 per year; Canada, \$12.00; Europe, \$12.00 a year. J. E. McCarroll, second vice president and general manager; John W. Bennett, editor; 128 E. 4th St., New York, N. Y.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS. The Associated Press is not responsible for the use for republication of all news dispatches credited to it or not otherwise credited in this paper and also the local news published herein. All rights of republication of special dispatches herein also are reserved.

150 YEARS FROM NOW

Speaking Sunday at the Vincennes, Ind., dedication ceremonies for the George Rogers Clark Memorial, President Roosevelt made a moving appeal for conservation and restoration of our natural resources.



President Franklin D. Roosevelt

Clark saved the country for the Revolution 159 years ago, said the President, and—

May the Americans, who a century and a half from now celebrate at this spot the 300th anniversary of the heroism of Clark and his men, think kindly of us for the part we are taking today in preserving the nation.

In those words, the President referred to barrel No. 2 of the New Deal's double-barreled program.

Barrel No. 1 has been and is the Government's effort on behalf of the victims of economic breakdown—to feed them, clothe them, educate them and work them until, as it is hoped, the economic machine is in working order again and the Government can blow the whistle on its relief activities.

For this policy, President Roosevelt has been derided and cursed by those who still believe rugged individualism was the last word in economic and social science. The rugged individualist idea is that when great masses of people are thrown out of work by the shutting down of mines, factories, etc., they should be allowed to shift for themselves and if they can't shift for themselves that is just too bad.



The late President Theodore Roosevelt

That philosophy worked reasonably well as long as this was a new and underpopulated country with plenty of free, rich land for losers in the industrial field to take.

But now, when U. S. Steel shuts down or curtails operation for lack of orders, or when Mr. Ford closes his plant until orders catch up with cars on hand, the workers affected are out of work and there is no place for them to go. That they must be protected somehow—by temporary relief, plus a permanent out-of-work insurance system—is the idea behind barrel No. 1 of the New Deal.

Barrel No. 2 is less dramatic, but it is more important than No. 1. It calls for conservation of the country we have.

Save the Land—It Supports All of U

Franklin D. Roosevelt's heart is in this work as earnestly as was the heart of Theodore Roosevelt. Like Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt is a close student of his own

planned
dad in
know
know
Al
Ju
was
ing
said. H
was 14
Pats
12—Y
him, ev
I want
and he
everything
when I
him the
of Florid
Ethio
didn't k
asked his
would
Baer or
He said B
would win
Dad still
Tommy
Coo
him,
B
act
tim
kne
thi
dad
sm
a

economic machine is in working order again and the Government can blow the whistle on its relief activities.

For this policy, President Roosevelt has been derided and cursed by those who still believe rugged individualism was the last word in economic and social science. The rugged individualists' idea is that when great masses of people are thrown out of work by the shutting down of mines, factories, etc., they should be allowed to shift for themselves, and if they can't shift for themselves that is just too bad.

That philosophy worked reasonably well as long as this was a new and underpopulated country with plenty of free, rich land for losers in the industrial field to take.

But now, when U. S. Steel shuts down or curtails operation for lack of orders, or when Mr. Ford closes his plant until orders catch up with cars on hand, the workers affected are out of work and there is no place for them to go. That they must be protected somehow—by temporary relief, plus a permanent out-of-work insurance system—is the idea behind barrel No. 1 of the New Deal.

Barrel No. 2 is less dramatic, but it is more important than No. 1. It calls for conservation of the country we have.

Franklin D. Roosevelt's heart is in this work as earnestly as was the heart of Theodore Roosevelt. Like Theodore Roosevelt, Franklin D. Roosevelt is a close student of his own

country's history; knows the enormous importance of adequate national defense, particularly of an adequate Navy; and is aware that we have got to take steps to save the very land under our feet from running away to sea or blowing away on the wind.

We could better afford to lose a big slice of the present generation of people than to let the land we live on waste away. Human populations spring up again after wars, plagues, famines, and so on; human joints are geared for that kind of recovery.

But when the soil that supports the grass is gone, the grass does not come back—so there is no grass for cattle to eat—so fewer people can live off the land—and the land is the base of the life of all of us, whether we live on farms or in cities—so there can be no human recovery on a ruined land.

A recent Government survey shows that erosion and the wind already have damaged 725,000,000 United States acres from 25% to 100%. That is an area four times as big as Texas, twenty-three times as big as New York State, 146 times as big as Massachusetts.

The thing has happened because rugged individualists—not only the great lumber companies, but also the small plain farmers, not wealthy at all—have broken up and used up forest and farming lands without thought of conserving them.

Old Dealers also deride President Roosevelt for saying that we have got to combat this wastage of the land we all live on. The climax of that Old Deal purlblindness to date was reached by Senator Steiwer, Republican convention keynoter, when he objected to the CCC—which is the most effective conservation unit we have yet developed.

If national conservation does not proceed successfully, Americans 150 years from now will think anything but kindly of us of today. Those unfortunate Americans will be weakened, impoverished creatures, living in a land as gutted and infertile as Mesopotamia and large parts of China are now.



The late President Theodore Roosevelt

Pat:
12: "Y
him, e
I want
and he
everything
when I
him the cr
of Florid
Ethiopy
didn't k
asked his
would
Haer or
He said B
would wit
Dad still
Tommy

Cou
him,
B
age
tin
kn
thi
dad
am
a r
kr
af
if
On
hira
ma
H
ti

pat on
the boy
as you
Edw
age 15
ask hi
questi
kno
answ
most
I can
him or
Stat
raphy
prett
that
cause
railroad
try like
asked h
metc, an

Editorial

SOLD ON GOLD

Alfred Mossman Landon rides off to the G. O. P. "holy crusade" against the New Deal—astride the golden calf.

The Republican platform plank on money is a meaningless straddle.

Landon at least deserves credit for having nerve to admit that he wants to go back to the old free gold standard, to the monetary chaos which plunged this nation into the economic abyss from which President Roosevelt rescued it.

Landon states plainly that he favors "a currency expressed in terms of gold and convertible into gold."

Wall Street could have asked no more. He has kept the faith—with the money changers.

Not a word in either G. O. P. platform or Landon's statement about assuring the nation a dollar of steady purchasing power, a dollar which today and in the future would assure justice as between debtor and creditor.

Yet that's the only kind of "sound money," the only honest dollar.

You, the voter, sitting by your fireside, may wonder just how important it is to you what either Landon or the G. O. P. platform may say about money.

Take a dollar from your pocket. Analyze it.

It is a share in the nation's purchasing power.

It is mighty important to you whether dollars are scarce or plentiful—because your standard of living is directly affected.

Money is the lifeblood of commerce, of the business in which YOU earn your living.

The control of money is the most important of all issues to YOU. And the best possible evidence of that is the persistence with which private interests fight, through the G. O. P., to regain control of the money system.

You know as well as we do men wouldn't fight like that for a trifle. It's big time. Big game. The biggest game to be won in politics.

Now—in the light of the dollar's importance to you read Landon's statement and the G. O. P. money plank.

No assurance in either of stable money, of justice between debtor and creditor, now or in the future.

What good will it do the American wage earner to know that his dollar will buy so many ounces of gold—if he never can be sure whether it will buy two pounds of meat or two ounces of meat; whether he will have to work one hour, two hours or three hours to earn a dollar to pay his debts?

What good will it do the American merchant to know that a dollar can be converted into so much gold—if he cannot tell from one day to the next approximately how much it will purchase in goods; how much business he will have to transact to meet his overhead?

Gold is neither a food for wage earners nor stock in trade for business.

Landon is concerned chiefly with how much gold you could buy with a dollar—if you wanted to buy gold.

Neither you, nor your neighbors, nor your heirs can live on gold.

Why, then, is Landon SOLD ON GOLD?

Because the old free gold standard was only a screen behind which private interests managed the monetary systems of the nation.

The only difference between the managed currency the Republicans oppose, and the gold standard, is that under the old free gold standard private interests did the managing.

While, under the present system, government does the managing.

That's the nub of the matter.

It's not the fight over whether the nation's currency should be managed, (the fight over who is going to manage it—private interests—or the people, through their Government.

AL

THREE 3

BO

NORRIS
ALF LAN
HOOVER'S

Scathing Ra
Denounces 'R
Smoke Sc

DARES G. O. P.
WAR ON NE

The political rival
WASHINGTON—Sen
of Nebraska, re-
publican, calls L
er's stalking hors
election of Presie
and challenges-
straddling platfor
TOPEKA—Republic
to gather with G
don to map invasi
campaign against
THE WHITE HO
dent's return fro
speaking tour is
hasten action on
early adjournment
possibly before
convention in
next week.

By a Staff Corry
WASHINGTON, Jus
Norris of Nebraska,
the Landon-Knox
the pace for other R
erals by blasting Gov
as a "stalking horse"
In a devastating trad
night he declared the
opposition to the New
not upon principle, bu
selfish partisanship. Th
He assailed the "m
men behind a smoke
dominated the Repu
tion) and challenged
to come out openly to
important legislation.
President Roosevelt's
tion.

Somebody Knows

Because the old free gold standard was behind which private interests managed the monetary system of the nation. The only difference between the managed currency the Republicans oppose, and the gold standard, is that under the old free gold standard private interests did the managing.

While, under the present system, government does the managing.

That's the nub of the fight. It's not a fight over whether the nation's currency is to be managed. It's a fight over who's going to manage it—private interests—or the people, through their Government.

The G. O. P. wants to "go back," as Senator Borah predicted. And the old free gold standard is the "Open Sesame" for the Old Deniers.

That's why Landon is sold on gold.

The course for the Democratic Party is clear. The New Deal plank on money must be as frank as the Old Deal plank is evasive; as clearly dedicated to keeping control of the monetary system in the hands of the people as the G. O. P. plank is dedicated to turning it back to the money changers.

Let the Democratic platform embody, in one form or another, the broad principles suggested in the following plank:

We pledge continuance of sound money, with steady purchasing power of the dollar which will do justice not only as between present debtor and creditor but also as between all who make commitments for the future in terms of the dollar.

Since most present-day business is accomplished through transfer of bank credit, constant purchasing power of the dollar can be assured only by Federal regulation of national credit reserves as already provided by the banking act of 1935.

To return to the old free gold standard would be to surrender control of dollar purchasing power to the private interests which allowed it to fluctuate so disastrously as to close all banks in 1933.

To return to the old free gold standard is to invite monetary chaos and national disaster.

Gold serves as a convenient medium for settling temporary balances between nations, but to place entire reliance upon it as a steadying influence is to ignore the lessons of the past, to be blind to present conditions throughout the world, and to abrogate power to regulate the value of money expressly granted the Federal Government by the Constitution.

These suggestions are advanced as a summary of liberal monetary principles, as highway markers by which every citizen may recognize the road leading, first, to a stable dollar, thence to stable purchasing power, and thence to the lasting prosperity of American business.

His devotion to the opposition to the New Deal plank on money is not upon principle, but selfish partisanship. He assailed the man behind a smoke, dominated the Republican convention, and challenged G. O. P. to come-out openly for important legislation. President Roosevelt's relation.

Knobdy Komaw La.

Specifically, Norris is holding company act, the farm relief, the Tennessee Authority act, the railroads change act, the securities act, the farm credit administration act, the home owners act, the Federal housing act, the Federal deposit insurance and social security act and the electrification act.

Declaring the greatest assessed by the Republican denial nominee "is that I know him," Norris appealed voters of all political faiths get partisanship and support. "The man who, more than other man of recent years stood for the welfare of the common people."

Hoover, Norris said, "would have the Republican nomination if he tried out their wishes and ex their true sentiment, if they had the courage of their convictions."

Lesson of Despair "They knew, however," he said, "that the Hoover lesson of failure in Government is still too fresh in the mind of the American people for them to be in any such reaction."

Turning to the Republican form, Norris scoffed at it for "a sound currency to serve at all hazards."

"The wildest inflationist leaves an unlimited expansion of currency," he said, "and narrow minded standpat any who believes in deflation claim, and I presume believe they are advocating a currency to be preserved as a relic."

Reactionary Elements "Norman, reasonable, sensible, will have any standing on that plank, everything and does not think so. Similar planks."

Continued on Page 4

... Ever enter a contest?

Read

TODAY'S CHAT

... page 20 of today's POST.

Nothing about the mail which receives nothing which you

MAN STRUCK BY CAR HAS EIGHT FRACTURES

Driver Helps Him to Doorway, Then Departs in Auto

Edward McQuillen, fifty-six, of 439 West Forty-second Street, was seriously injured today when struck by an auto at Tenth Avenue and Fifty-seventh Street. He suffered fractures of the right arm, legs and five ribs.

The driver of the car, which hit McQuillen assisted him from the street to a nearby doorway, then went on, witnesses said. McQuillen was taken to Roosevelt Hospital.

Six men were taken to the Tenth City Medical Center after a

PILOT HURT IN CAUSED BY LIGHTNING

Bolt Rips Wing of Plane

of Nome

NOME, Alaska, Jun Pilot Frank Whaley a pilot here today recove airplane crash caused

Whaley said lightning plane in which he three passengers Fr when it was sever

north of Nome. Far wing was torn off plane into a spin. He landed the ship of water in Mud I. The passengers, both of Pou

"How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!" Romans 11:33.

Suggested by Rev. Edward A. A. Kreppert, pastor, Hope Epiphany Lutheran church.

THE SAFEST way of not being very miserable is not to expect to be very happy.—Schopenhauer.

SUNDAY TIMES 1936 PLATFORM

1. Re-elect President Roosevelt without regard to party labels.
2. Reduce Chicago auto deaths by sane driving, better traffic planning and law enforcement, and licensing drivers.
3. Curb crime by teamwork of city-state-federal police agencies and by a thorough overhauling of the police system.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is authorized to use the reproduction of all news distributed through it or any other service in this paper and also the local news published herein. If rights of reproduction of special dispatches herein are also reserved.

RUNNING ON A TELEGRAM

Ill luck overtook Gov. Landon the first day after he was designated as his party's candidate for president. He finds himself running for the White House on a telegram, not a platform.

Sen. Borah read the telegram and exclaimed to reporters: "What the hell does he mean by that?"

The Landon telegram was about gold. The money plank already adopted by the convention was for a "sound currency," with opposition to "further devaluation of the dollar." Eastern republicans had fought for an old time republican plank in favor of the gold standard.

Sen. Borah, however, had convinced the platform committee that a return to the gold standard would ruin the farmers of the west. Having gotten all he could out of the platform tinkering, Borah left Cleveland. While he was on the train Landon notified the convention by wire that he was for "a currency expressed in terms of gold and convertible into gold."

He put a string to that, however. We mustn't go back to gold "until and unless it can be done without penalizing our domestic economy and without injury to our producers of agricultural products and other raw materials." The plank adopted by the convention was a straddle for a party that has been tied to gold. It was an attempt to walk in the footsteps of the New Deal. In the sentence about "no further devaluation" there was an implied O. K. on what Roosevelt has done to make the American dollar an honest dollar that stands on its own feet and is independent of alien currencies.

But Herbert Hoover, Andrew Mellon, Ogden Mills, Col. Frank Knox and other standpat gold men couldn't help regarding the platform as a repudiation of their efforts to blast the New Deal. Landon didn't want to offend these stalwarts.

Landon turned one straddle into three straddles. The convention is committed to one money policy; Gov. Landon to a second, and Col. Knox, the vice presidential nominee, to a third. That the convention nominated Landon after getting his telegram doesn't lessen the embarrassment of a man running on a Western Union wire. It's a safe bet that Borah's frank question will bob up to plague Candidate Landon in his difficult balancing act.

Gov. Landon has tossed the issue of a constitutional amendment into the campaign.

The Supreme court recently held that the states are without power by any form of legislation to deal with the wages that employers may pay women who work for them. In spite of that decision, the platform advocated state minimum wage laws and said: "We believe that this can be done within the constitution as it now stands." That certainly was challenging and flaunting the Supreme court. It was strange language from a party condemning the New Deal for insisting on laws "contrary to the constitution."

It was a convention straddle, but Gov. Landon didn't let it stand. He wired the delegates that if their opinion should prove to be wrong, he would favor a constitutional amendment permitting the states to do what the Supreme court has said they can't do now.

As long as the pending child labor amendment continues to be blocked by powerful interests that will naturally support Gov. Landon, we're not going to give hasty cheers over the prospect of a minimum wage amendment. We salute Gov. Landon, however, for his independence and courage. He has yanked the mask off the wall of propaganda that has been

by the convention was a straddle for a party that has been tied to gold. It was an attempt to walk in the footsteps of the New Deal. In the sentence about "no further devaluation" there was an implied O. K. on what Roosevelt has done to make the American dollar an honest dollar that stands on its own feet and is independent of alien currencies.

But Herbert Hoover, Andrew Mellon, Ogden Mills, Col. Frank Knox and other standpat gold men couldn't help regarding the platform as a repudiation of their efforts to blast the New Deal. Landon didn't want to offend these stalwarts.

Landon turned one straddle into three straddles. The convention is committed to one money policy; Gov. Landon to a second, and Col. Knox, the vice presidential nominee, to a third. That the convention nominated Landon after getting his telegram doesn't lessen the embarrassment of a man running on a Western Union wire. It's a safe bet that Borah's frank question will bob up to plague Candidate Landon in his difficult balancing act.

Gov. Landon has tossed the issue of a constitutional amendment into the campaign.

The Supreme court recently held that the states are without power by any form of legislation to deal with the wages that employers may pay women who work for them. In spite of that decision, the platform advocated state minimum wage laws and said: "We believe that this can be done within the constitution as it now stands." That certainly was challenging and flaunting the Supreme court. It was strange language from a party condemning the New Deal for insisting on laws "contrary to the constitution."

It was a convention straddle, but Gov. Landon didn't let it stand. He wired the delegates that if their opinion should prove to be wrong, he would favor a constitutional amendment permitting the states to do what the Supreme court has said they can't do now.

As long as the pending child labor amendment continues to be blocked by powerful interests that will naturally support Gov. Landon, we're not going to give hasty cheers over the prospect of a minimum wage amendment. We salute Gov. Landon, however, for his independence and courage. He has yanked the mask off the silly propaganda that anybody who dares to think about amending the constitution to cure social ills due to industrial evils is a communist.

After the recent Supreme court decision in the New York minimum wage decision, President Roosevelt could have used the words which Gov. Landon sent to the convention Thursday night. If the President had gone that far republican newspapers supporting Landon would have accused him of an insidious attempt to undermine liberty and destroy the American form of government.

Landon agrees with the President that the constitution as interpreted by the courts is something to talk about if it permits starvation wages in private industry and compels all taxpayers to dig up cash to subsidize chiseling business men. Starvation wages to women and children bring social festers that add billions to our public bill for disease, insanity and crime.

The chiseled wage condemns millions of unorganized persons to industrial slavery. The social problems involved must be met by all citizens on a non-partisan basis. Gov. Landon deserves the thanks of his countrymen for speaking out.

OK platform file

"How unsearchable are His judgments, and His ways past finding out!" Romans 11:33.

Suggested by Rev. Edward A. A. Kreppert, pastor, Hope Epiphany Lutheran church.

THE SAFEST way of not being very miserable is not to expect to be very happy.—Schopenhauer.

SUNDAY TIMES 1936 PLATFORM

1. Re-select President Roosevelt without regard to party labels.
2. Reduce Chicago auto deaths by sane driving, better traffic planning and law enforcement, and licensing drivers.
3. Curb crime by teamwork of city-state-federal police agencies and by a thorough overhauling of the police system.

MEMBER OF THE ASSOCIATED PRESS

The Associated Press is authorized to use the reproduction of all news dispatches published in it or any subsequent editions in this paper and also the news items mentioned herein. All rights of reproduction of special dispatches herein are also reserved.

RUNNING ON A TELEGRAM

Ill luck overtook Gov. Landon the first day after he was designated as his party's candidate for president. He finds himself running for the White House on a telegram, not a platform.

Sen. Borah read the telegram and exclaimed to reporters: "What the hell does he mean by that?"

The Landon telegram was about gold. The money plank already adopted by the convention was for a "sound currency," with opposition to "further devaluation of the dollar." Eastern republicans had fought for an old time republican plank in favor of the gold standard.

Sen. Borah, however, had convinced the platform committee that a return to the gold standard would ruin the farmers of the west. Having gotten all he could out of the platform tinkering, Borah left Cleveland. While he was on the train Landon notified the convention by wire that he was for "a currency expressed in terms of gold and convertible into gold."

He put a string to that, however. We mustn't go back to gold "until and unless it can be done without penalizing our domestic economy and without injury to our producers of agricultural products and other raw materials." The plank adopted by the convention was a straddle for a party that has been tied to gold. It was an attempt to walk in the footsteps of the New Deal. In the sentence about "no further devaluation" there was an implied O. K. on what Roosevelt has done to make the American dollar an honest dollar that stands on its own feet and is independent of alien currencies.

But Herbert Hoover, Andrew Mellon, Ogden Mills, Col. Frank Knox and other standpat gold men couldn't help regarding the platform as a repudiation of their efforts to blast the New Deal. Landon didn't want to offend these stalwarts.

Landon turned one straddle into three straddles. The convention is committed to one money policy; Gov. Landon to a second, and Col. Knox, the vice presidential nominee, to a third. That the convention nominated Landon after getting his telegram doesn't lessen the embarrassment of a man running on a Western Union wire. It's a safe bet that Borah's frank question will bob up to plague Candidate Landon in his difficult balancing act.

Gov. Landon has tossed the issue of a constitutional amendment into the campaign.

The Supreme court recently held that the states are without power by any form of legislation to deal with the wages that employers may pay women who work for them. In spite of that decision, the platform advocated state minimum wage laws and said: "We believe that this can be done within the constitution as it now stands." That certainly was challenging and flaunting the Supreme court. It was strange language from a party condemning the New Deal for insisting on laws "contrary to the constitution."

It was a convention straddle, but Gov. Landon didn't let it stand. He wired the delegates that if their opinion should prove to be wrong, he would favor a constitutional amendment permitting the states to do what the Supreme court has said they can't do now.

As long as the pending child labor amendment continues to be blocked by powerful interests that will naturally support Gov. Landon, we're not going to give hasty cheers over the prospect of a minimum wage amendment. We salute Gov. Landon, however, for his independence and courage. He has yanked the mask off the ill-concealed and the

95K platform file

... tied to gold. It was an attempt to walk in the footsteps of the New Deal. In the sentence about "no further devaluation" there was an implied O. K. on what Roosevelt has done to make the American dollar an honest dollar that stands on its own feet and is independent of alien currencies.

But Herbert Hoover, Andrew Mellon, Ogden Mills, Col. Frank Knox and other standpat gold men couldn't help regarding the platform as a repudiation of their efforts to blast the New Deal. Landon didn't want to offend these stalwarts.

Landon turned one straddle into three straddles. The convention is committed to one money policy; Gov. Landon to a second, and Col. Knox, the vice presidential nominee, to a third. That the convention nominated Landon after getting his telegram doesn't lessen the embarrassment of a man running on a Western Union wire. It's a safe bet that Borah's frank question will bob up to plague Candidate Landon in his difficult balancing act.

Gov. Landon has tossed the issue of a constitutional amendment into the campaign.

The Supreme court recently held that the states are without power by any form of legislation to deal with the wages that employers may pay women who work for them. In spite of that decision, the platform advocated state minimum wage laws and said: "We believe that this can be done within the constitution as it now stands." That certainly was challenging and flaunting the Supreme court. It was strange language from a party condemning the New Deal for insisting on law "contrary to the constitution."

It was a convention straddle, but Gov. Landon didn't let it stand. He wired the delegates that if their opinion should prove to be wrong, he would favor a constitutional amendment permitting the states to do what the Supreme court has said they can't do now.

As long as the pending child labor amendment continues to be blocked by powerful interests that will naturally support Gov. Landon, we're not going to give hasty cheers over the prospect of a minimum wage amendment. We salute Gov. Landon, however, for his independence and courage. He has yanked the mask off the silly propaganda that anybody who dares think about amending the constitution to cure social ills and to industrial evils is a communist.

After the recent Supreme court decision in the New York minimum wage decision, President Roosevelt could have used the words which Gov. Landon sent to the convention Thursday night. If the President had gone that far republican newspapers supporting Landon would have accused him of an insidious attempt to undermine liberty and destroy the American form of government.

Landon agrees with the President that the constitution interpreted by the courts is something to talk about if it permits starvation wages in private industry and compels all taxpayers to dig up cash to subsidize chiseling business men. Starvation wages to women and children bring social fest that add billions to our public bill for disease, insanity and crime.

The chiseled wage condemns millions of unorganized persons to industrial slavery. The social problems involved must be met by all citizens on a non-partisan basis. Gov. Landon deserves the thanks of his countrymen for speaking out.

don't the little former emperor was
... by "wily" cheating Britons. --
... said they expected England to

Uninstructed delegates after dele-
gate stamped to the Kansas's

ous supper. His bride ordered them
to leave, and finally in a spasm of

ailed his wife, and she left a hot
children and himself. He left a hot

On the Record:---Dorothy Thompson Says:

Everything About the Supreme Court's Minimum Wage Decision Is Disturbing

(Copyright, 1935, by the New York Tribune, Inc.)

MONDAY'S Supreme Court decision was the most momentous thing, was the most disturbing thing that has happened to this country in a very long time. It presents us with a problem that cannot possibly be evaded. We are now set up against the fact that under the Constitution, or the prevailing interpretation of it, it is impossible for the American people through any instrument of government, be it State, or be it Federal, to offer protection for the most essential conditions of life to even the poorest and weakest of its members.

There are and there are some—who see in the very institution of the Supreme Court an instrument which will eternally block the path of social progress, are not the ones to be perturbed. The citizens who will be perturbed are those who cherish the Supreme Court as the expression of the greatest genius of our founders and as the greatest safeguard of order and liberty.

EVERYTHING about the decision is disturbing. The New York State minimum wage law for women and minors was not a piece of hastily enacted emergency legislation. The Woman's Trade Union League and the Consumers' League, the League of Women Voters and the New York State Federation of Labor, together with many other citizens' organizations worked for this measure for eighteen years. They worked for it to meet various conditions. Women and minors historically belong to the most helpless of

workers. When the agitation for the law began, the conditions in the laundry business, to take a specific illustration, had driven most white women out of the industry, and it was not uncommon that the workers, mostly colored women, received \$4 or \$5 for a fifty-four-hour week.

The New York bill was very carefully framed, with the Supreme Court's decision in the Adkins case (District of Columbia) in mind. The law challenged in the Adkins case was reversed by the court essentially on the ground that it gave no heed to the situation of the employer and to the reasonable value of the service for which the wage was paid, but set an arbitrary minimum wage on the basis of subsistence necessity. The New York law took account of this and set up a nonpartisan board, consisting of representatives of employers, labor and the public equally, to determine after comprehensive investigation, rates varying with localities and taking into consideration not only the necessary means of subsistence but also the value of services rendered.

The latter seems a very platonic question, since no employer is forced to hire anybody, and presumably would not do so except for commensurate services. But the lawmakers leaned backward and strove to make a court-proof law.

Even today the law does not assure a living wage to the workers that it covers. A laundry worker, for instance, now gets \$13.40 for a forty-hour week, which is 32 cents an hour. The Welfare Federation of New York City has ruled that \$12.05 a week is a minimum subsistence income for a single woman in New York City.

The law befits the model for citizens, New Jersey, New Hampshire, Ohio, Connecticut, Illinois, Rhode Island, Massachusetts, all adopted

laws patterned after this one. California, Colorado, North Dakota, Oregon, South Dakota, Utah, Washington and Wisconsin all have minimum wage laws for women and minors which have been precursors ever since the Adkins decision. But they have fulfilled their function so well that no one has sued for a decision.

In New York alone more than a million women are affected by Monday's decision, and its implications reach out to women and minors in sixteen additional States. In many industries the laws were heartily welcomed by employers, because they put a rock bottom to competitive wage competition. The majority of laundry operators were not paying women 10 cents a hour because they were heartless brutes!

These things have nothing to do with the legal aspects of the decision. But they are social facts of political importance, and the decision will have social and political consequences.

THE five-to-four decision of the judges is disturbing. "We are a nation governed not by persons but by law." Yes, but whose law? Does Chief Justice Hughes understand the Constitution less well than Justice Sutherland does? In this decision one man's opinion overturned the legislation of more than one-third of the States. Where are the rights of the States in whose name the Supreme Court has reversed other legislation? There is apparently a territory outside the range of law, and for many that territory is life itself.

The majority argument is disturbing. It is founded upon freedom of contract and an eighteenth century interpretation of that phrase, which one had thought expired in the nineteenth. The same argument was brought against all the protective legislation introduced fifty years ago in Germany and England. But it has not been heard elsewhere for a generation. No modern interpretation of competitive economy includes the right to pay labor less than must be

the very nature of things, he paid to a machine! For machines must be maintained. Competition lies in the field of management, efficiency, technology. It starts with rules. One cannot throw human blood and bones into the scales. Competition does not exclude common decency.

THE decision is disturbing because of its wider implications. If parsons cannot protect the weak and neither social legislation nor powerful unions are simply plumping for exploitation.

Freedom stands at the crossroads. It is a great, progressive ideal, but it often does but one disposition in Order, without which there is no liberty. In the other is anarchy which engenders chaos. And on the other side of chaos is dictatorship. For it is not in the nature of man to endure anarchy, but to seek eternally for form and order. When his own efforts fail he will scream to high heaven for someone for anyone to achieve it for him.

THE decision is disturbing because of possible public reactions. The great danger exists that a revolt against the decision will become a revolt against the very institution of the Supreme Court, which for a hundred and fifty years has helped to stabilize the world's oldest republic. And republics are not historically considered strong institutions. Our country has no tyrannical king, only a symbol of unity, no strong and ancient civil service, no legend of ruling passed from father to son, no subtly organized social hierarchy, no pomp of historic ceremony built up into precedent. By such means, the democracies saved from the tyranny of mobs, and if anyone thinks there can be no tyranny of the masses let him con-

template the Fascist dictatorship, which are mass rule incarnate in a single personality, with no quarter to minorities. No republic can last without standards, without some ultimate authority to which to appeal. Republic perish by their own excesses. The membership of an expanded thereby lumped in, admittedly into a political body. Directly, the Constitution might be amended to require a unanimous or two-thirds decision of the judges. This would give each individual judge exorbitant power. And there are other ways of assaulting the court's authority.

It is better would it be to consider. Not hastily nor heatedly, but soberly and honestly, a redefining of Federal and State powers, now, obviously, so uncertain. Far better to have the courage to say that under the economic order in which we live, the interstate commerce clause does not offer sufficient support for social legislation, and, admitting this, extend the powers of government. Far better thus to make the Constitution more precise, so that we shall not eternally have five men or six men saying one thing and four or three saying the opposite.

ABOVE all this is not a partisan issue. No party can write a satisfactory constitutional amendment in its platform this year. There is not time enough for the consideration which it needs. But it is to be hoped that both parties will admit the crisis and the need, and strive as a goal.

Platform file

BA

the
eco-
ridel.
seems
it's a
people
and it
log. He
about
has
has
has
judgment
most
personal
addition,
new
th
about
i
ore, is
without
ambition
er. His
question
These
duces, e
as his
city. To
the pop
ton. W
this had
of Mr.
nobility
seeks to
historic
ing. Ab
ity, and
to win
paign
unity
of the
variab
not to
antag
some
any
whom
Veit
the and
since th
of local
rank an
BUT
it had
a
about
it
and
part
and
and

Landon to Fight Against Honest Dollar

FOR years, all of the farm organizations of the United States have supported legislation favoring the Honest Dollar—a dollar that would maintain the same buying power from generation to generation. Farmers applauded when the United States left the gold standard in 1933. They want to be able to pay off debts in dollars of the same value as those borrowed, and to eliminate the wild ups and downs in price levels that have enriched speculators and alternately ruined both creditors and debtors.

Yet Governor Landon last week wired the Republican convention that he favored a sound currency expressed in terms of gold and convertible into gold.

This puts the Republican candidate for the presidency on record for the restoration of the fixed gold standard, the Jumping Jack Dollar of the days before 1933. This dollar expressed in terms of gold and convertible into gold exposed the United States to the worst inflation in its history.

We admire Governor Landon's frankness in saying plainly where he stands on this issue. We question his wisdom in urging that we ignore the lessons of experience and return to the gold dollar that helped to bring the nation to the edge of disaster.

Farmers of the nation, no matter how much they have differed on other issues, have maintained for years a solid front for the Honest Dollar as against the gold Jumping Jack Dollar. They will regret that Governor Landon has chosen the other side.

Republican Convention on Farm Issue

EVERY four years, the farm delegations make the rounds of the national political conventions, expressing their views on farm legislation and hoping that some day both major parties may be willing to approve the same national agricultural policy

to receive the farmer. The fact is the administration has no program, and when this act is also held unconstitutional, an impotent New Deal will be floundering helplessly together with the farmer whom they seek to deceive.

After this threat to knock out the soil conservation act, thru the courts, it was no surprise to farmers to hear Representative Snell of New York, the permanent chairman of the convention, declare:

Their pledge against restricting agricultural production to the demands of the domestic market, the New Dealers honored with the fantastic and unconstitutional AAA—conceived as a policy of shameful destruction and dedicated to the proposition that the way to achieve the more abundant life is to plow under the land of plenty.

1932--1936

At the Republican convention last week, party orators attacked the New Deal farm program because it was unconstitutional, because it made food "costly and scarce," and because it failed to make food costly enough to bring farm income up sufficiently from the low point of 1932.

As an aid to neighborhood discussions on just how much farm prices and farm income have changed since 1932, we give here farm product prices at local marketing points for the average of the corn belt (north-central states.) Figures are those of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics:

1932

Minimum prices: Hogs, \$2.75 per cwt. corn, \$1.12 per bu.; wheat, 37c per bu.; beef cattle, \$4.15 per cwt.; butterfat, 17.4c per lb.

Farm cash income for June for corn belt states—\$128,643,000.

1936

May 15 prices (June 15 prices not available till end of month)—Hogs, \$8.83; corn, 54c; wheat, 83c; beef cattle, \$6.69; butter-

fat, 17.4c per lb. The constitution to secure state minimum wages for women and children, no one seemed prepared to do as much for farmers.

The Republican farm plank won't mean much until Governor Landon makes it clear, in his speeches, just what parts of it he will support, and how he will carry out the policies recommended. Until then, corn belt farmers will have to remain doubtful as to just what the opposition party has to offer in this campaign.

Davis to Reserve Board

CHESTER C. DAVIS, administrator of the AAA, has been appointed to the Federal Reserve Board by President Roosevelt. It is a selection every farmer will approve. Agriculture needs a first rate man on the board. That body has the power to influence the price level thru open market operations, thru changing reserve requirements of banks, and thru changes in rediscount rates. To get a stable price level, to prevent both inflation and deflation, the nation needs not only a satisfactory and definite monetary policy, but also an administrative body that is in sympathy with these aims. Davis will give agriculture a brain and a voice in the councils where these policies are determined.

Davis' most recent service to agriculture was his trip abroad to investigate foreign markets for farm products. A series of articles reporting observations made on this trip is appearing in Wallace's Farmer and Iowa Homestead now.

Mr. Davis leaves the Department of Agriculture with the admiration and gratitude of farmers everywhere. As administrator of the AAA, and as head of the drought relief work in 1934, he performed wonders in a new and difficult field. He leaves the department at his own request. Three years of grinding work in administering the farm program had left its mark on him. The Federal Reserve Board is no bed of roses, but it can inflict

EVERY month, year after year, farm delegations make the rounds of the national political conventions, present their views on farm legislation and hope that some day both major parties may be willing to approve the same national agricultural policy and take the farm question out of partisan politics.

Last week farmers went to Cleveland, remembering that the agricultural adjustment act was in line with the Republican platform of 1932, remembering how those of both parties from farm states supported the AAA, how farmers of all parties worked together to make it effective, and how it had helped to raise cash farm income from \$4,328,000,000 in 1932 to \$6,943,000,000 in 1935; there appeared to be reason for thinking that the Republicans might reasonably own their child, take part of the credit, recognize the gains made, and adopt a policy designed to carry forward the good features of the AAA.

What farmers met, however, was a series of denunciations. The same crowd that kicked Lowden and the farm groups out of the Kansas City convention in 1928, seemed to be making the speeches. In the keynote speech Senator Steiwer, of Oregon, said:

What has the administration done for agriculture? After three long years of complete control of every branch of the federal government, they have failed to provide a permanent farm program. Farm income in 1935, including the government checks, was three billion dollars less than in the twenties.

They made worse the AAA program by maladministration—by making food costly and scarce. When the law was held invalid, they wholly ignored the supreme court and shifted hysterically to a stop-gap measure called the soil conservation act. Under this act, they continued temporarily the regulation of production which has been held unconstitutional.

This makeshift is a manifest effort to

June 15 prices (June 15 prices not available till end of month)—Hogs, \$2.75 per cwt.; corn, 25.15 per bu.; wheat, 37c per bu.; beef cattle, 34.15 per cwt.; butterfat, 17.4c per lb.
Farm cash income for June for corn belt states—\$122,649,000.

1936

May 15 prices (June 15 prices not available till end of month)—Hogs, \$3.83; corn, 34c; wheat, 33c; beef cattle, \$6.69; butterfat, 27.3c.

Farm cash income for March for corn belt (this is latest month for which complete figures are now available), \$247,288,500.

In June of 1932, farm product prices and farm income hadn't struck bottom yet. Big crops were in the making that summer. The extreme low point for monthly farm cash income came later, in February, 1933.

And ex-President Hoover added to the shock by pointing out to the convention that the nation would have been ruined if the supreme court had not destroyed the AAA. He said:

You might contemplate what would have happened if Mr. Roosevelt could have appointed enough supreme court justices in the first year of his administration. Suppose those New Deal acts had remained upon the statute books. We would have been a regimented people.

After these speeches, nobody could expect much from the farm plank in the Republican platform. But, surprisingly, it did contain some excellent recommendations. The full text is printed on page 11. We suggest that readers study it. The plank endorses soil conservation, resettlement, purchases of marginal land and other existing farm policies. This is for the farm vote. It also objects to reciprocal trade treaties and to "scarcity." This is for the eastern city voter.

No indication is given as to what the party would do if the supreme court followed Senator Steiwer's recommendation and destroyed the soil conservation act. While Governor Landon announced himself as ready to amend

farmers everywhere. An administrator of the AAA, and as head of the drought relief work in 1934, he performed wonders in a new and difficult field. He leaves the department at his own request. Three years of grinding work in administering the farm program had left its mark on him. The Federal Reserve Board is no bed of roses, but it can inflict nothing like the wear and tear that came to anybody who had a leading part in the federal farm program.

Mowing Weedy Pastures and Roadsides

FARMERS can get in some very good licks at the weeds this month by mowing the roadsides and pastures. This job is commonly neglected on account of corn cultivation, haying and a hundred other urgent matters that come up at this time of year; yet cutting young weeds in June, before they have made seed, is one of the primary principles of successful eradication.

Mowing this month should be followed by a second mowing in July, and possibly by a third in August or September, so as to catch all kinds of weeds. Flowering dates vary considerably. Sour-sock and squirrel-tail, for example, develop seed early. On the other hand, such weeds as Russian thistle and reseed bloom relatively late in the season.

Weather In the Corn Belt

IN THE eastern corn belt, the first half of June provided temperatures a little higher than usual and rainfall a little under average, good weather for corn cultivation and for getting the corn well started. Iowa had some heavy rains early in the month, with almost all of the state getting adequate moisture. The weather was somewhat cooler than usual in Iowa and in

PS
Platform

hard...
McCormick farm...
tically beyond calculation.

But what about letting unproductive, unenterprising grandchildren or other heirs of originators and enterprisers enjoy such huge percentages of the wealth their forebears piled up? Is that right; or, leaving out the question of right or wrong, is it economically sound?

Distribution Of Wealth
Because, it is argued, so much wealth has become concentrated in a few hands, the Government has to keep millions of people on relief, with work relief wages ranging from \$19 to \$94 a month. Is it an appeal to passion and class prejudice to discuss that theory?

When the Republican platform promises to preserve the American system of free enterprise, private competition and equality of opportunity, and to seek its constant betterment in the interest of all, are the Republicans trying to tell us there is equality of opportunity between the relief workers and such ladies as Countess Barbara? Or between Countess Barbara and the salesgirls in her stores?

President Roosevelt is committed to the proposition that we must distribute the wealth more equitably in this country. People who have wealth are naturally much disturbed over that—which accounts for the bitterness of this campaign. If such a fundamental issue were not at stake as they frequently have—it would be a polite campaign.

We do not believe the people without wealth are much alarmed over the President's desire to redistribute some of it. After all, we don't let children and grandchildren inherit other forms of power here. We abolished primogeniture (eldest son inherits all the property); we refused to have a king; we don't have inheritable titles of nobility, or any such titles. Yes, wealth is concentrated power, and we let that kind of power go to the expatriate heirs of the huge fortunes which some pretty rugged and plain American individualists produced long years ago.

We don't think this system is altogether unsound. An incentive for a man to work is the desire to leave his children and their children well fixed. But this incentive can be overplayed. In the cases which we are discussing we doubt if the huge fortunes which they married or inherited have done either of the ladies themselves or their former compatriots in this country—any good.



Plain Economics by John T. Flynn

Platform

Whether Landon is elected or not, perhaps his attack on the spoils system may bring the Administration to its senses on this grave issue.

NEW YORK—Gov. Landon—now Candidate Landon—has put his finger on a subject which has important political possibilities. That is the merit system. As a campaign issue it is best described as the spoils system. When the Democrats went into office they had been out not "three long years," as the Republicans sang to the tune of "Three Blind Mice," but 13 stalls at the public curb.

Senator McKellar of Tennessee prepared a little booklet giving a list of 81,000 jobs which would be open. Under Hoover some 4600 jobs had been taken from the spoils system and put under Civil Service. A list of these lost jobs was prepared and the boys went to work to "uncover" them. Around the Capitol you heard talk that every job that had been put under Civil Service since Wilson went out of office would be handed back to the spoils system.

For instance, in the Foreign and Domestic Bureau of the Commerce Department a group of 250 positions had been put into the classified service by Hoover. The jobs were promptly placed again into the hands of the spoilsmen.

The chairman of the Executive Committee of the Civil Service Reform League protested to the President. "The progress of the last 50 years in extension of the Federal Civil Service has been due almost entirely to accretions to the classified service made by executive order. Any attempt to undo extensions of the classified service made by any of the Presidents for the mere purpose of turning out the incumbents and replacing them with persons whose political affiliations coincide with the Administration in power

would be a deplorable backward step." But the President signed the order. The soldiers' homes had been recently put under Civil Service. At Johnson City 71 men were under the classified service. Sen. McKellar discovered these 71 opportunities and at his suggestion the President signed the order taking them from under the merit system.

Another zealot found in the Congressional Library several persons engaged as translators from the Sanskrit and other ancient languages. An effort was made to put some Democratic war-horses on these oriental manuscripts. A raid was launched on the customs police along the Mexican border. "I think Democrats will look just as well on horseback as Republicans," said Farley.

When the President came into office there were 47,500 jobs under the classified service. This represented 50 years of reform. There were 300,000 which were not. Within two years 100,000 new jobs were added to the payroll and almost all of them under the spoils system. Whether Landon is elected or not perhaps his attack may bring the Administration to its senses on this grave issue.



Oh, I've knitted

IT

HERE is an... granted att... Washington.

It is the la... citizens of... police"

Electorate

From the Record

MORE THAN 260,000 CIRCULATION

WALLACES' FARMER

AND

Iowa Homestead

Good Farming Clear Thinking Right Living

The Price of Corn and the Supreme Court

THE price of corn is lower in 1936 on corn belt farms because of what the supreme court did on January 6, 1936.

The price of corn and of all farm products may be still lower in the future because of what the supreme court did on June 1, 1936.

Farmers need to study the decision on the New York minimum wage case as closely as they studied the decision on the AAA. It carries a further threat to agriculture.

At every farmer knows, the industries of the nation by using the federal grants of power embodied in the tariff and the state

the state of New York has no power to legislate on minimum wages either.

If neither nation or state has the power to act to serve the general welfare in this particular way, who does? Apparently, the court's answer is, "Nobody."

Corn belt farmers are not directly interested in the minimum wage issue. Whether women laundry workers in New York shall be paid a minimum of \$12.40 a week concerns farmers only so far as they are concerned about city buying power in general.

What does hit farmers between the eyes is that the conservative majority of the supreme court, by using the same reasoning on farm programs as it

production was cut 60 per cent below 1929 standards, while agricultural production was above the 1929 figure. And this control of production by industry has not been regulated by any provision protecting the consumer, such as the AAA and the soil conservation acts carry.

Farmers had learned by 1932 that they had to have help from the government to enable them to adjust production to match the decline in exports. The AAA pulled them out of the depths of the depression and started them uphill.

But the supreme court, on January 6, 1936, declared the regulation of agricultural production was not a constitutional function of the federal government. This was bad enough. As every farmer knows, hogs and corn and wheat sell in a national market; the price is determined by the total supply; state lines do not count.

Farmers decided to see what might be done under state control. The new conservation act provided for state control beginning in 1938. Several states decided to try to pass state laws dealing with production control, in the hope that a group of states might be able to take care of some crops in that way.

Now this way out—and it has always seemed a less hopeful way than national control of the farm problem—has been endangered.

What has happened is this: The supreme court for rather the usual conservative majority—in the NRA and Guffey cases ruled that the national government had no power to fix minimum wages. The inference was that the states did have such power. But now in the minimum wage case, the court, by a five to four decision, has ruled that

the present decision applies to the farm program just as much as to the New York case. He says:

"Because of their nature and extent these are public problems. A generation ago, they were for the individual to solve; now they are the burden of the nation."

"It is not for the courts to resolve doubts whether the remedy is as efficacious as many believe, or is better than some other or is better even than the blind operation of uncontrolled economic forces. The legislature must be free to choose unless government is to be rendered impotent."

The constitution of the United States declares: "We, the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquillity, provide for a common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity, do ordain and establish this constitution of the United States of America."

Yet the conservative majority of the supreme court has created a no-man's land, where both state and federal governments are helpless. Tariff legislation and other laws assisting industry have been declared constitutional, but federal laws assisting farmers and wage earners have in many cases been declared unconstitutional. This new decision gives warning that state laws in the same field may be outlawed.

Judicial dictatorship is face to face with the constitution. Farmers may be forced to decide whether they will take their stand with the five conservative justices of the supreme court or with the constitution of the United States and those friends of the constitution who believe it means what it says.

JUNE 20, 1936

TODAY and TOMORROW

By WALTER LIPPMANN

Pointing the Moral

WHEN the Herald Tribune came forward with its proposal for coalition at Cleveland, it named four Democrats who exemplified the necessary qualifications for a common front against the New Deal. Two of them, Mr. Newton D. Baker and Mr. Lewis W. Douglas, have now published a letter in the New York Times stating their views. "We believe," they say, "that the New Era, meaning the Harding, Coolidge and Hoover administrations, and the New Deal are two strings from the same source. The one fostered private monopoly in the name of national prosperity. The other has fostered state controlled monopolies in the name of the national welfare. We believe that both are an aberration from the basic principles upon which this nation has grown great and has remained free."

They argue that the subsidies, the government regulation, and the bureaucratic centralization of the New Deal have been the consequence of the toleration of private monopoly and its encouragement by exclusive tariff duties, the twelve preceding years of Republican rule. Speaking as traditional Democrats they want neither to go back to the policies of 1917-29 nor to go on with the policies of 1933-35. They believe that the country can take a course radically different from both, one which leads to the reduction of tariffs and other special privileges, the dissolution of private monopoly and the restoration of a competitive economy under a free, decentralized and limited government.

Though the position they take has been the historic position of American liberals and progressives from the time of Jefferson to that of Theodore Roosevelt and Woodrow Wilson, there can be no doubt that since the war the country has lost its grip upon these principles. Whether the revolution now under way against the New Deal marks a revival of those principles or whether it is merely reactionary, we have yet to learn. But about one thing we cannot deceive ourselves. For the time being at least, a majority of those who wish to be progressive have forgotten how to think in the liberal tradition.

The point is clearly illustrated by the farm relief plank drafted by a group of Mid-Western Republican leaders. Undoubtedly the authors of that plank have set out sincerely to win back the farmers who left the Republican party because they were squeezed between the protected and monopolistically administered prices of industry and the unprotected competitive prices of agriculture. But in attempting to remedy this injustice, these Republicans propose to do exactly what Mr. Roosevelt has done. Instead of striking at privilege and monopoly, they wish to give complementary privileges and monopolies to certain favored, and as it happens

politically important, groups of farmers.

Their plan, in essence, is to pay the farmers a subsidy equal to the extra price the farmers pay on tariff-protected manufactures. This is indeed an engaging proposal. If it were put into effect, who would pay this subsidy? The farmers themselves would pay part of it. The protected manufacturers would pay part of it. But most of it would be paid by the men and women who make their living without benefit of tariff protection or farm subsidies.

They are a great multitude. They include, for example, every one connected with railroads, and public utilities; with the automobile industry in all its branches, including the service stations, with hotels, newspapers, the amusement industries; with the building industry, in all its branches; with the public service including soldiers, sailors, teachers, all officials, all pensioners, all those on relief; virtually all those connected with banking and finance; all the service industries from shopkeepers to beauty parlors to undertaking establishments; all professional men and women; clergymen, doctors, lawyers, social workers, virtually all men and women who have retired on their savings and on life insurance policies.

For all of them are "unprotected." They do not enjoy the advantages of a tariff. But like the farmers they pay in an increased cost of living for the tariff. Under the Mid-Western Republican scheme they would go on paying tariff-protected prices, and on top of that they would pay taxes to give the farmers a subsidy equal to the cost of the tariff to the farmer. They would, in short, catch it coming and going.

This proposal illustrates the common vice of the New Era and the New Deal. They have both stood for protection, privilege and monopoly. In the New Era the advantages were given principally, if not exclusively, to some industries. Under the New Deal the attempt has been made to give equivalent advantages to the more powerful farm group and to the well organized labor union. This Mid-Western Republican farm plan is simply the New Deal under another label, just as N. R. A., except for its ornamental trimmings, was the Republican toleration of monopolistic price fixing under a new label.

That is why the stand taken by Mr. Borah in the Republican party, by Messrs. Baker and Douglas in the Democratic party, is so important. These men who have raised the standard of liberalism may make little impression on either party this month. But, unless the country insists upon sacrificing its freedom and its prosperity in a scramble for privileges and monopoly, the future is theirs.

Copyright, 1935, New York Tribune Inc., June 4. All rights reserved.

Yes, We Have No Harmonicas, Standard Oil Avers All

DAY, JUNE 17, 1936.

PS Platform

In Washington

Republicans Held to Have Lost a Campaign Weapon.

By ARTHUR KROCK

WASHINGTON, June 16.—Even a cursory examination of the Industrial-Agrarian-Borah compromise which is the Republican platform produces the strong impression that no President elected upon it, even as publicly amended by Governor Landon, can discharge its final requirement that candidates shall be true to the outlined program "as a matter of private honor and public faith." The contradictions are too many.

Because of this fact, which will grow more apparent and will enter the realm of painful reality if the Republican ticket is successful, it is probable that one hopeful point of the planned attack on the President will be relegated to a minor place in the campaign. That is the charge of betrayal by the Democrats of their platform of 1932. The impossibility that the conflicting policies of the Cleveland program can be carried out is as logically demonstrable as the reversal of certain 1932 Chicago planks by the New Deal is factually demonstrable.

In view of this, it would be heartening if the Democrats at Philadelphia would write a model platform in terms of general principles and intentions and not try once more to match a "shotgun" document such as that produced at Cleveland. Jefferson's comprehension of his political philosophy in a few sentences toward the end of his first inaugural speech, March 4, 1801, provides a perfect model. But it is too much to hope that the Democrats will content themselves with that form, and another attempt to write planks for every voting interest can be expected.

Harmony Has Its Costs

Yet the experience of the Democrats since 1932 with a platform divided into specific promises, and the sour fruits of the similar Republican activity at Cleveland should be sufficient to put an end to such party pronouncements. Perhaps in time that reform will come. Meanwhile, the public takes less and less stock in platforms and relies more and more on the outline of plans and purposes uttered by the candidates and on the make-up of the candidates themselves.

An examination of the Cleveland platform, as amended by Governor Landon, gives an idea of the price the Kansans paid for achieving outward harmony in the convention and keeping their Eastern backers in a rear room. The currency plank, for example, opposes further devaluation of the dollar but offers to join international cooperation for stabilization, with the Landon reservation, that sound currency means convertibility into gold at a time when that will not injure any domestic interest. But suppose the sterling bloc further depreciates its currencies? How can the dollar be kept at its present gold content, or put higher, without injury to those interests? And how can stabilization under those circumstances be attained?

Original Landon Plank

As this plank was written and ap-

Le

THE SITUATION

Representative Civil Action by

To the Editor of The New York Times: Grave news reached Palestine, where a violent terror was caused by attacks upon Jews. Authorities, until recently unwilling to adopt the measures to protect the colonies.

Naturally, such news is deep concern not only by Jewish origin but by all those who have been watching with sympathy the Jews in re-constituted ancient homeland.

Great Britain accepted the mandate over Palestine with its unequal obligations relating to the Jewish people. The project was one of the principal allied powers, and the principles of the Balfour Declaration received the unanimous endorsement of the Congress of the United States.

American Capital Investment

As a result of the mandate a substantial amount of American capital has been invested in Palestine and a number of American citizens are engaged there in the pursuit of peaceful enterprises. Thousands of Jewish refugees, fleeing persecution, have sought safety in Palestine, all spurred on by the conviction that Great Britain would conduct a beneficent administration of Palestine, assuring protection to life and property.

In the summer of 1929 there occurred a fearful massacre of Jews in Hebron, Haifa, Safed and other places. Proper protection was not afforded by the British Government. Recent events in Palestine have proved that Great Britain failed to heed the warning.

David Ben Gurion, president of the Jewish Federation of Labor in Palestine and chairman of the executive committee of the Jewish agency, is now in London demanding the setting up of proper safeguards. Among other things, he stated that "had the Mandatory Power taken definite steps to fulfill its obligations under the mandate, and if the successive administrations, especially that of the first High Commissioner, had not yielded to terrorist action, even the wildest Arabs would not have dared to employ terrorism against Britain. Unfortunately, the authorities frequently yielded, thus conveying an erroneous impression of the possibility of forcing their hand."

Criticism Bearing Fruit

The other evening at a gathering I called Great Britain to task for its failure to properly protect the lives and property of the Jews in Palestine against Arab assault and brigandage. I was severely called to task by former State Senator Nathan Straus, who claimed that England had done its duty. He had the hardihood to say that we must expect that in all colonizations some of the pioneers may be killed. He sought to draw a parallel between the difficulties of present-day Jews and the many Americans who were wiped out by Indians during our Colonial era. Of course, such comparison is infantile. Certainly, some sacrifice of life and property must be expected, but there should be no unnecessary sacrifice. In the case of our own colonies there was no mandated imperial nation to guarantee to keep Indians within

ould be it does employed
ity, in ts, but Our
-elfare tal in-
But ing that whole to the orts of
ICES
ELY at ain the of how AK won 'territory n. Mr. lore the Ameri- is mag- ys and timber as the ik that
loods in ore the s forests. the Vin- CLARK's and in Win- kida to Vin- wlands of up to their eir necks." ore the axe ex-faire cap- ch of a dent the water-
loods on the were known 1785. Indeed, theory of floods y cutting down ng the storage 's been brought ference book in astippi River puts e alluvial valley by the floods. It have always oc-
s well to remem- ask's men up to nois swamps. It miasmic Eden of "Martin Chuzzle- itions civilization ns. We will then our floods are a hitherto blessed greed of its ex- ple began to build astippi Valley in the eenth century.
similar case with storms of which t Roosevelt spoke nes. As far as tic seaboard we topsoil borne by has been grassy shable prairies. have our knowl- days we have ature has taken
y prairie grass yther is more oods. But here, clouds are now

DOGS, BUT HEAVY
clouds are now
as always dusty
o we quoted on
Bowman's "The
ost of the flying
m the Texas Pan-
id lands which dry
ic. The legendary
sert of fifty years
in fact. It was not
t was very thin soil.
ing made it, and a
akes it.

mericans have obvi-
y been free and easy
their natural re-
ces. We have farmed
forested in a manner
r and more crowded
onsider shocking. We
thout putting back.
be overstated. After
a good deal of elbow
ry. It would be too
the American pioneer
toward the same affec-
s bounteous quarter-
uropean peasant does
three acres. O. E.
he problem in "Re-"
thinks that erosion
are deplorable, but
ming. We still have
od, equal in area to
under cultivation.

mericans have been
ful, and conserva-
s a fine thing, now
we are getting on in
But pillage is too
hat went on before.
was called the con-
Today it is the
ck of pillaging the
the soil and plun-
d a land laid waste
e the once rich
North Africa and
of Moslem rule.
t that there is a
000,000 people to
illaging and plun-
dlooked.

NT!

with fleeting wing
his one I need
ntle parting sleep.
or you.

ame and fear your
enfold my dear
know my grateful

pain is rife
ody, sore
ling still,
rest at life.

o dancing thing;
w for her—
us hour on wing.
ERIC C. BECK.

Origines Landon's Plank

As this plank was written and approved in Kansas, and by Governor Landon's chief monetary advisers—Ogden Mills, Eugene Meyer, Benjamin Anderson and Winthrop Aldrich, among others—it was workable. This was the text:

"The first requisite to a sound and stable currency is a balanced budget. The next essential safeguard against monetary and credit instability is a currency expressed in terms of gold and convertible into gold. We pledge ourselves to: Restore to the Congress the authority lodged with it by the Constitution to coin money and regulate the value thereof, by repealing all laws delegating this authority to the Executive. To work with other countries toward stabilization of currencies as soon as we can do so with due regard for our national interests and as soon as other nations have sufficient stability to justify such action. Restore the convertibility of our currency into gold at a rate fixed by law, but not until and unless it can be done without penalizing our domestic economy, or injury to producers of agricultural and other raw materials. Terminate the present fantastic silver policy which has enriched foreign speculators. Take politics out of the banking system and end political domination of the Federal Reserve System. Improve and strengthen our currency, credit and banking system upon the recommendation of a nonpartisan commission."

That really represented the views of the candidate. His reservation merely made "mention" of gold convertibility, which Senator BORAH and the representatives of Eastern industrialists had erased. He accepted the foolish valuation brake and made no protest against the elimination of the sentence about silver, apparently accepting the argument that it was politically unwise to keep this because of the silver States of the Far West.

Silent on Retroactive Act

Governor Landon, therefore, modified his position in the name of politics, or had no strong beliefs on certain points at the start. Either that, or the platform does not truly represent the candidate and the candidate the platform on this essential pronouncement. And only in veiled terms, far apart from the currency plank, is there to be found any suggestion of criticism for the retroactive repeal of the gold contract in government paper.

There are other shoddy compromises and conflicts in the platform which will be discussed later. But this citation is enough to support the thesis that candidates and not platforms will count this year. And that the Republicans had better not rely too much on the issue of the broken pledges of 1932.

there was no mandated imperial nation to guarantee to keep Indians within control.

Happily, already criticism of England's dereliction has borne fruit. Jews are now being allowed to arm in self-defense. More protection is necessary. The military defense force at Palestine numbers 7,229. That force should be doubled. There must be made available a greater number of airplanes under the Royal Air Force. A portion of the British Mediterranean fleet should be in the offing at all times, ready for any emergency. Great Britain must punish the foul wrongdoers, suppress the agitators and do all in its power to prevent a recurrence of the civil.

The late news dispatches indicate that Great Britain has determined, properly, to intervene to stamp out the Arab disorders. This was announced by William Ormsby-Gore, new Colonial Secretary, in the House of Commons. Furthermore, emergency powers are being taken by proclamation. Thus criticism has hastened action.

EMANUEL CELLER.

New York, June 10, 1936.

UNEMPLOYMENT FIGURES

Census Held to Furnish No True Picture of the Situation.

To the Editor of The New York Times:

By their very nature, facts about unemployment cannot be established through a census. This archaic method of counting noses is so cumbersome and slow that before the figures are compiled and made available the situation may be radically changed. What then becomes necessary is to use the census figures as a "base" on top of which must be piled mathematical equations and percentages in order to guess the changed situation. Life, however, does not change by either percentages or equations.

The result of an unemployment census can not differ from the amusing statistical marathon now going on among the National Industrial Conference Board, the American Federation of Labor, the Labor Department in Washington and the latest recruit, The New York Sun. Whenever I read their unemployment figures I am reminded of three young doctors in one large hospital who suffered from a percentage complex as reported that the average temperature of the hospital's patients had dropped per cent. The fourth doctor report that ten patients had died.

There is a more realistic way checking up on the number of jobs so as to eliminate guesses. It has tried in some foreign countries, if we have to do is to adapt it to special conditions. Thus, Great Britain keeps a permanent check on her employed through the continuation of her insurance system. We unemployment insurance filing prevents us from plac-

I d
drive
they
men
ately
pres

l
t
c
a
u

BF
Platform

out the world who still look only to our United States of America for the democracy. We submit as our platform, to be "understood of the People," the record, as known far and wide, of Franklin Delano Roosevelt and John Nance Garner, as evidence of the understanding, courage, and industry, with which the "emergency greater than war," as phrased by an eminent Justice of the Supreme Court, was faced and the tide of despair turned to one of hope on March 4, 1933, with the consequent recovery progressing among the underprivileged from that time on, with extraordinary return of business activity and profits.

Still existing unemployment of millions demonstrates the necessity of a continuance of such leadership and power, now enlarged and energized by the experience of the three years of revival.

The bitter animosity displayed by representatives of certain large aggregations of capital is further proof of the vital importance to the underprivileged millions of the continuance of such masterful devotion to the ^{evolution} ~~time~~ of democratic government.

The raw materials of all wealth of every kind depend on the labor of the farmer, the lumberjack, the miner, and the fisherman. To this is added the labor in manufacture and transportation. The evidence is being accumulated by careful study as to the limited proportion of ultimate value which these millions of men and women secure in return for their manual labor.

The extraordinary industry with which Franklin Delano Roosevelt has devoted himself to the responsibility placed upon him warrants the unquestioned assertion that he will give the leadership and executive direction to the fuller enlargement of "Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness." This summary of hope in the great Declaration made, in the city of Philadelphia, in Independence Hall, 160 years ago has ever since proven the Torch of Hope, as well to millions through-

out the world who still look only to our United States of America for the demonstration that "government of the people, by the people, and for the people" is the one way out of the surges of despair which have recurred again and again through the centuries. They are today heartened, as indeed are the vast majority of our citizens by the ennobling words emphasized throughout this administration, "Be Good Neighbors".

PSF
Platform

COPY

Civil Service and the Merit System

The Democratic party believes that merit and ability should be the standards of appointment and promotion in the government service. It favors the progressive improvement of the Civil Service laws and their extension to all permanent establishments and agencies of the government, to the end that the humblest employes may with confidence expect, by industry and ability, to attain the highest positions in the government. We assert, however, that policy-making positions must be held for stated terms only, and upon appointment by the President; for otherwise, the people would lose of their government to a permanent bureaucracy.

We denounce as utterly unfounded and without justification the charge that the public service has been opened to the raids of spoilsmen during the past three years.

No administration in history has been more insistent upon merit and ability rather than partisan affiliation as a pre-requisite for appointment.

9

The cry of "spoils" is only a political device intended to undermine confidence. It proceeds from those partisans who for twelve years held in their own hands complete power over every Federal appointment and whose record is entirely barren of any evidence of non-partisan devotion to the merit system.

PSF
Platform

SUGGESTED FOR CONSIDERATION AS PART OF
THE DEMOCRATIC PLATFORM

The great bulk of the people trust
in the stability and soundness of our insurance
companies.

To the end that the insurance companies
of America might be safeguarded this administration
enacted legislation in many directions.

We assure the people of America that
our administration will continue to safeguard the
greatest economic bulwark they have through the
safety of their insurance policies.

PSF
Platform

A PLANK ON THE COLORED CITIZEN CONTAINED IN THE
PLATFORM OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY-1936.

- - -

"We favor equal opportunity for our colored citizens. We pledge our protection of their economic status and personal safety. We will do our best to further their employment in the gainfully occupied life of America, particularly in private industry, agriculture, emergency agencies and the civil service."

SUGGESTED PLANK ON THE COLORED CITIZEN FOR INCLUSION IN THE
1936 PLATFORM OF THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

- - -

"In its conclusion the 1932 Democratic platform, re-stated the earlier declaration of Thomas Jefferson, 'Equal rights to all; special privileges to none'.

"The 1936 platform of the Democratic party renews its devotion to this principle of equality and pledges continuance of the unquestioned humanitarian spirit, policy and performance of the Roosevelt administration. We can and will establish a more lasting security for all and under the stars and stripes maintain forever a nation of people dedicated to the proposition of the 'Good Neighbor' at home and abroad."

PSF
Platform

FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICIES

When this Administration came into power, a ruinous deflation had been in progress for almost four years and, instead of abating, was sweeping to a climax in complete paralysis of industry and of the monetary and credit system. There was a panic rush for an unattainable measure of liquidity of all property values; foreclosures were multiplying; values were being remorselessly wiped out with irreparable injury both to debtors and to creditors; businesses were going bankrupt; the wave of bank failures was mounting higher and higher; terror had replaced confidence in the strength and future of America; millions were out of employment and clamoring for aid that was not being granted except in the most grudging and ineffective way. This was the heritage handed over by an Administration that had boasted that it was the guardian of prosperity.

The fiscal and monetary policies which the Roosevelt Administration adopted to deal with this emergency were both courageous and wise. We take pride in the great and essential part they have had in winning the battle against depression and in setting us on the pathway to sound and stable prosperity.

The menacing drain upon the Nation's monetary reserves was stopped, the deflation of the prices paid for American goods and services was arrested, the dollar was placed in an impregnable position against all attacks, the banking system was rehabilitated, new credit

machinery was provided to protect alike millions of debtors and creditors and to restore values, and the credit of the Nation was mobilized to provide food and work for the people. The benefits have accrued to those in every walk of life. The depression was broken and the steady march to recovery began.

1. Monetary Action

Monetary acts and policies of the Democratic Administration were an important and essential factor in turning the current of the depression, in restoring the values of American products at home and abroad and in enabling business to go ahead with confidence. Their result has been that we now have the soundest currency in the world and the most ample monetary reserves that any nation ever possessed, and we have been placed in a position of unique advantage to deal with any monetary stresses to which the world may expose us. The stability and strength of the American currency are exerting a strong influence toward promoting that internal stability for other important currencies which in due time will permit exchange stabilization on a lasting and mutually satisfactory basis. We believe that this result should be earnestly sought, but under no circumstances should the economic welfare of this country be jeopardized by the entanglements of premature international commitments. We specifically approve the Administration's objective of a permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent the wide fluctuations in value which in the past have injured in turn producers, debtors, and property owners on the one hand and wage-earners and creditors on the other; a currency which will promote full utilization of the country's resources and both secure and equitable relations between debtor and creditor.

2. Banking and Credit

The banking and credit policies of the Roosevelt Administration not only saved us from disaster but laid the foundation for a secure prosperity. The shield of the Government's power and credit has been thrown about the individual citizen's property to protect it from unjust seizure.

Out of the ruins of a banking structure in collapse a new and far stronger system has been built. Impartial history will record these milestones in the march toward a better economic order, safeguarding the property rights of all Americans.

The Federal Government lent its assistance to the entire banking system of the Nation. Banks were reopened under conditions which inspired confidence and were given capital strength through Federal loans and subscriptions to their stock.

Depositors were protected through insurance of their deposits by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

By the Banking Act of 1935 the Federal Reserve System was strengthened. Public instead of private control over the use of bank credit was definitely established and thus an essential step was taken to promote the orderly economic development of the Nation, free from the destructive excesses of inflation and deflation.

Confidence has been restored. Bank deposits have shown a strong and steady increase. Bank losses have been turned into bank earnings. Bank failures have been stopped. The liquidation of the thousands of banks which had closed their doors during the twelve years of Republican administration has been carried out in an orderly and economical way with minimum loss to depositors.

Through the nation-wide operations of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration millions of homes have not only been saved for those who struggled to acquire them, but real estate values have been revived, and the construction of new homes stimulated. Enormous losses to millions whose savings were invested in mortgages have been averted through assistance extended to banks, insurance companies, savings and loan associations and other financial institutions.

The credit needs of the farmer have been met. A complete cooperative system to care for the long and short term credit requirements of agriculture has been established. Under the wise direction of the Farm Credit Administration thousands of foreclosures have been averted, hard pressed farm borrowers have been given extensions of time, and emergency loans have been granted. Interest rates paid by farmers are the lowest in American history and lower than those in effect in any other agricultural country in the world. The farmer has been placed in a position of credit equality with commerce and industry.

Trade, industry and transportation were fortified and enabled to function through loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, while municipalities and other units of government received Federal loans which permitted them to carry on needed public improvements.

The Democratic party takes pride in this great record of governmental service to all the people.

3. Recovery Expenditures

The latent power of the Nation and the Nation's credit were mobilized to rescue its people from an economic disaster. To combat the depression and to strengthen the national defenses in a time of world uneasiness, net additions to the public debt were incurred which are but a small fraction of what the World War cost us and but a small fraction of the increase in the people's wealth which has resulted directly and indirectly from the policies of the Democratic administration. It was a highly profitable investment which has returned ample dividends to the American people. Our national income has grown each year of recovery by far more than the amount of the gross national deficit for that year. An insupportable burden of private debt has been lifted from the backs of our citizens by the rise in values of all property.

Increase in Federal revenues as well as in private incomes has marked each year of recovery, proving the wisdom of the decision that the only sound road to a balanced budget lay through the gateway of a balanced recovery promoted by national action designed to that end. The amount by which expenditures, both for the regular activities of government and for relief, have exceeded revenue receipts has decreased each year of the recovery program. We are moving steadily toward our goal of a true balance in both the budget of the Federal Government and the larger budget that represents the adequacy of the people's income to meet the people's needs.

4. Financing Recovery

It was necessary that recovery expenditures be financed largely by borrowing rather than by taxation until the National income had been raised to a level sufficient to yield without hardship and without retarding recovery enough tax revenue to support necessary Government expenditures. Investors in Government securities have not been misled by the partisan attacks that have been made on the Nation's credit but have assayed the policies of this Administration as constructive. Quoted prices of Government securities have been constantly rising and the average interest rate has declined sharply, so that a rise in the gross public debt has been accompanied in the recovery period by a decreasing interest burden. The interest burden of the National debt is today materially less than it was in any of the six years immediately following the World War. Successive issues of Government obligations at low rates of interest have been eagerly oversubscribed. Our war debts have been refunded at lower rates in the midst of the recovery financing and the maturities of the public debt have been carefully spread over a range of years to facilitate repayment. Interest costs to private borrowers have declined and the prices of good commercial securities have risen along with the decline in Government interest rates and rise in the prices of Government securities. This has been an aid to business and has served as an added factor in promoting recovery. We acclaim the wisdom, initiative and prudent commonsense with which these vital operations have been directed under an Administration representing

truly the interests of all the people. The Government's credit was never sounder at any time in the Nation's history than it is today.

5. Taxation

Federal revenue receipts bear striking testimony to the progress of recovery. For the fiscal year 1936 they will exceed by two billions the receipts for 1932 and equal the average for the years 1926 to 1930. Known facts of the progress of National recovery assure at least a billion further increase for 1937. Increasing Federal revenue receipts come out of increase in income. They register advance in the National well-being. Our tax structure has been so modified as to promote recovery. It is now wholly adequate to meet the costs of Government and to begin retirement of the National debt at a stage of recovery we have nearly attained.

The Democratic party takes pride in a record of honest and zealous administration of the tax laws without favor to or discrimination against any person. It proclaims its continued adherence to the just principle of taxation according to ability to pay and to benefits received. It approves the policy of promoting greater justice and equity in the tax structure which has been the governing objective of the tax legislation enacted during this Democratic administration.

6. Prohibition Repeal

The debauchery of our National life brought about by the Prohibition Amendment and the hypocritical gestures at enforcing it made by previous administrations has been ended. The results justify the bold stand for repeal in which the Democratic party expressed the judgment of the American people. Regulation of the liquor traffic under repeal with honest and vigorous enforcement has reestablished respect for law, has improved social conditions, and has brought more than a billion dollars into the Federal Treasury, besides providing a needed source of additional revenue to States and localities. The Democratic party pledges continued cooperation with and aid to the States, their subdivisions, and their citizens, in finding and enforcing methods of dealing with the liquor problem best suited to local conditions.

PUBLIC HEALTH

For the first time a National program for public health, for maternity and child health, and for the care of crippled children has been developed as an important factor for promoting social security. These measures are being carried out in cooperation with the several States. We affirm our continued support of these efforts for the conservation of the health of the people.

The continued increasing pollution of the streams and rivers represents a needless destruction of one of our most valuable natural resources, and constitutes a hazard to the health of the people. We pledge ourselves to the development of plans, and in cooperation with the States and the municipalities, to control and abate the pollution of streams by sewage and industrial drainage.

We recognize that the fulfillment of the obligations of government requires a sound Federal economy. We shall continue the policies which rescued the Nation from fiscal panic and have made our currency and our National credit the soundest in the world. By these policies we shall continue to shield our agriculture and our industry against fluctuating prices, currency wars and the raids of international speculators.

As unemployment recedes and the National income advances an increasing percentage of Federal expenditures can and will be met from current revenues. Thus we shall steadily move toward a reduction of the National debt and toward our announced objective of balancing the Federal budget at the earliest possible moment. Since under the recovery program the American people are now once more earning more than they are required to spend, and since we have thereby already balanced the budget of the people, the eventual balancing of the Federal budget can be assured.

and taxation based on the principle of ability to pay

We have made swift progress in ~~providing~~ ^{balancing} means for the people, ~~insufficient~~ ^{adequate} to meet the larger budget which represents the adequacy of the people's income to meet the people's needs. The ~~eventual~~ balancing of the Federal budget through national recovery is assured.

FISCAL AND MONETARY POLICIES

When this Administration came into power, a ruinous deflation had been in progress for almost four years and, instead of abating, was sweeping to a climax in complete paralysis of industry and of the monetary and credit system. There was a panic rush for an unattainable measure of liquidity of all property values; foreclosures were multiplying; values were being remorselessly wiped out with irreparable injury both to debtors and to creditors; businesses were going bankrupt; the wave of bank failures was mounting higher and higher; terror had replaced confidence in the strength and future of America; millions were out of employment and clamoring for aid that was not being granted except in the most grudging and ineffective way. This was the heritage handed over by an Administration that had boasted that it was the guardian of prosperity.

The fiscal and monetary policies which the Roosevelt Administration adopted to deal with this emergency were both courageous and wise. We take pride in the great and essential part they have had in winning the battle against depression and in setting us on the pathway to sound and stable prosperity.

The menacing drain upon the Nation's monetary reserves was stopped, the deflation of the prices paid for American goods and services was arrested, the dollar was placed in an impregnable position against all attacks, the banking system was rehabilitated, new credit

machinery was provided to protect alike millions of debtors and creditors and to restore values, and the credit of the Nation was mobilized to provide food and work for the people. The benefits have accrued to those in every walk of life. The depression was broken and the steady march to recovery began.

1. Monetary Action

Monetary acts and policies of the Democratic Administration were an important and essential factor in turning the current of the depression, in restoring the values of American products at home and abroad and in enabling business to go ahead with confidence. Their result has been that we now have the soundest currency in the world and the most ample monetary reserves that any nation ever possessed, and we have been placed in a position of unique advantage to deal with any monetary stresses to which the world may expose us. The stability and strength of the American currency are exerting a strong influence toward promoting that internal stability for other important currencies which in due time will permit exchange stabilization on a lasting and mutually satisfactory basis. We believe that this result should be earnestly sought, but under no circumstances should the economic welfare of this country be jeopardized by the entanglements of premature international commitments. We specifically approve the Administration's objective of a permanently sound currency so stabilized as to prevent the wide fluctuations in value which in the past have injured in turn producers, debtors, and property owners on the one hand and wage-earners and creditors on the other; a currency which will promote full utilization of the country's resources and both secure and equitable relations between debtor and creditor.

2. Banking and Credit

The banking and credit policies of the Roosevelt Administration not only saved us from disaster but laid the foundation for a secure prosperity. The shield of the Government's power and credit has been thrown about the individual citizen's property to protect it from unjust seizure.

Out of the ruins of a banking structure in collapse a new and far stronger system has been built. Impartial history will record these milestones in the march toward a better economic order, safeguarding the property rights of all Americans.

The Federal Government lent its assistance to the entire banking system of the Nation. Banks were reopened under conditions which inspired confidence and were given capital strength through Federal loans and subscriptions to their stock.

Depositors were protected through insurance of their deposits by the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation.

By the Banking Act of 1935 the Federal Reserve System was strengthened. Public instead of private control over the use of bank credit was definitely established and thus an essential step was taken to promote the orderly economic development of the Nation, free from the destructive excesses of inflation and deflation.

Confidence has been restored. Bank deposits have shown a strong and steady increase. Bank losses have been turned into bank earnings. Bank failures have been stopped. The liquidation of the thousands of banks which had closed their doors during the twelve years of Republican administration has been carried out in an orderly and economical way with minimum loss to depositors.

Through the nation-wide operations of the Home Owners' Loan Corporation and the Federal Housing Administration millions of homes have not only been saved for those who struggled to acquire them, but real estate values have been revived, and the construction of new homes stimulated. Enormous losses to millions whose savings were invested in mortgages have been averted through assistance extended to banks, insurance companies, savings and loan associations and other financial institutions.

The credit needs of the farmer have been met. A complete cooperative system to care for the long and short term credit requirements of agriculture has been established. Under the wise direction of the Farm Credit Administration thousands of foreclosures have been averted, hard pressed farm borrowers have been given extensions of time, and emergency loans have been granted. Interest rates paid by farmers are the lowest in American history and lower than those in effect in any other agricultural country in the world. The farmer has been placed in a position of credit equality with commerce and industry.

Trade, industry and transportation were fortified and enabled to function through loans by the Reconstruction Finance Corporation, while municipalities and other units of government received Federal loans which permitted them to carry on needed public improvements.

The Democratic party takes pride in this great record of governmental service to all the people.

3. Recovery Expenditures

The latent power of the Nation and the Nation's credit were mobilized to rescue its people from an economic disaster. To combat the depression and to strengthen the national defenses in a time of world uneasiness, net additions to the public debt were incurred which are but a small fraction of what the World War cost us and but a small fraction of the increase in the people's wealth which has resulted directly and indirectly from the policies of the Democratic administration. It was a highly profitable investment which has returned ample dividends to the American people. Our national income has grown each year of recovery by far more than the amount of the gross national deficit for that year. An insupportable burden of private debt has been lifted from the backs of our citizens by the rise in values of all property.

Increase in Federal revenues as well as in private incomes has marked each year of recovery, proving the wisdom of the decision that the only sound road to a balanced budget lay through the gateway of a balanced recovery promoted by national action designed to that end. The amount by which expenditures, both for the regular activities of government and for relief, have exceeded revenue receipts has decreased each year of the recovery program. We are moving steadily toward our goal of a true balance in both the budget of the Federal Government and the larger budget that represents the adequacy of the people's income to meet the people's needs.

4. Financing Recovery

It was necessary that recovery expenditures be financed largely by borrowing rather than by taxation until the National income had been raised to a level sufficient to yield without hardship and without retarding recovery enough tax revenue to support necessary Government expenditures. Investors in Government securities have not been misled by the partisan attacks that have been made on the Nation's credit but have assayed the policies of this Administration as constructive. Quoted prices of Government securities have been constantly rising and the average interest rate has declined sharply, so that a rise in the gross public debt has been accompanied in the recovery period by a decreasing interest burden. The interest burden of the National debt is today materially less than it was in any of the six years immediately following the World War. Successive issues of Government obligations at low rates of interest have been eagerly oversubscribed. Our war debts have been refunded at lower rates in the midst of the recovery financing and the maturities of the public debt have been carefully spread over a range of years to facilitate repayment. Interest costs to private borrowers have declined and the prices of good commercial securities have risen along with the decline in Government interest rates and rise in the prices of Government securities. This has been an aid to business and has served as an added factor in promoting recovery. We acclaim the wisdom, initiative and prudent commonsense with which these vital operations have been directed under an Administration representing

truly the interests of all the people. The Government's credit was never sounder at any time in the Nation's history than it is today.

5. Taxation

Federal revenue receipts bear striking testimony to the progress of recovery. For the fiscal year 1936 they will exceed by two billions the receipts for 1932 and equal the average for the years 1926 to 1930. Known facts of the progress of National recovery assure at least a billion further increase for 1937. Increasing Federal revenue receipts come out of increase in income. They register advance in the National well-being. Our tax structure has been so modified as to promote recovery. It is now wholly adequate to meet the costs of Government and to begin retirement of the National debt at a stage of recovery we have nearly attained.

The Democratic party takes pride in a record of honest and zealous administration of the tax laws without favor to or discrimination against any person. It proclaims its continued adherence to the just principle of taxation according to ability to pay and to benefits received. It approves the policy of promoting greater justice and equity in the tax structure which has been the governing objective of the tax legislation enacted during this Democratic administration.

6. Prohibition Repeal

The debauchery of our National life brought about by the Prohibition Amendment and the hypocritical gestures at enforcing it made by previous administrations has been ended. The results justify the bold stand for repeal in which the Democratic party expressed the judgment of the American people. Regulation of the liquor traffic under repeal with honest and vigorous enforcement has reestablished respect for law, has improved social conditions, and has brought more than a billion dollars into the Federal Treasury, besides providing a needed source of additional revenue to States and localities. The Democratic party pledges continued cooperation with and aid to the States, their subdivisions, and their citizens, in finding and enforcing methods of dealing with the liquor problem best suited to local conditions.

PUBLIC HEALTH

For the first time a National program for public health, for maternity and child health, and for the care of crippled children has been developed as an important factor for promoting social security. These measures are being carried out in cooperation with the several States. We affirm our continued support of these efforts for the conservation of the health of the people.

The continued increasing pollution of the streams and rivers represents a needless destruction of one of our most valuable natural resources, and constitutes a hazard to the health of the people. We pledge ourselves to the development of plans, and in cooperation with the States and the municipalities, to control and abate the pollution of streams by sewage and industrial drainage.

PSF
Platform

THE BUDGET

We favor reduction of Federal expenditures, balancing of the budget, and retirement of the national debt as rapidly as is made possible by continuation of the improvement in business, employment and the annual national income, which is already more than twenty billions of dollars greater than in 1932.

The last Republican Administration made a tragic failure of its attempts to balance the budget because of failure to adopt effective measures to stop the ruinous deflation which resulted in a shrinkage of the national income by more than one-half, thus drying up the source of revenue necessary to balance the budget.

By the constructive measures through which the Democratic Administration has revived business activity, supplied employment and restored the incomes and buying-power of our people, it has established the only sound and sure means by which the budget can be brought into balance and debt reduced.

Abandonment of these policies of fundamental restoration would jeopardize the recovery evidenced in every phase of the nation's life.

BANKING AND CURRENCY

We indorse the monetary policies by which the Administration has made the dollar the soundest money in the world today. The nation's credit was never more secure.

We pledge continuance of policies that make for an honest dollar, providing justice alike for debtor and creditor, and an equitable relationship between prices of agricultural and industrial products.

We approve continuance of the discretionary power vested in the Executive to defend the dollar in the international markets so long as the interests of American producers and workers can be put in peril by excessive depreciation of foreign currencies. It is essential that the United States be prepared to act promptly and effectively to meet whatever contingencies may arise in the international monetary situation.

We favor stabilization of world currencies under conditions which will protect the interests of American agriculture, industry and trade, and promote the international exchange of goods and services.

We oppose a return to ^{the} that type of gold standard which would again ^d make American agriculture and industry helpless against a world-wide fall in prices, put the American dollar at a competitive disadvantage with depreciated currencies abroad, or expose the nation's reserves to raids for the benefit of private hoarders and international speculators. Such a course would invite a recurrence of national disaster, ^v ^d such as we experienced under the former gold standard that has broken down throughout the world.

We oppose any resort to the printing presses.

We pledge continued adherence to the policies by which the Democratic Administration rescued the banking and currency system from the worst

collapse in all history and restored that system to greater strength and stability than ever before.

We indorse the policies by which banker control over the money system has been replaced by control through a public body representing the public interest.

For the first time in our history deposits of the great mass of our citizens have been made secure against loss. We pledge a continuance of coordinated monetary and fiscal policies that will avoid the twin evils of inflation and deflation and thus promote the orderly economic progress essential to enduring prosperity.

PSF
Platform

Why does the Roosevelt Administration continue to leave the budget unbalanced while piling up deficits?

Won't the burden of new taxes, coupled with local and state levies, eventually send us downward into a new depression? or will the anti-trust laws be sufficient?

Why has the Administration persisted in ignoring the Civil Service? Has the Administration really built up a vast patronage machine?

Using tax money, which comes from New England, the government is Why not go back to a straight deal instead of continuing the huge waste of boondoggling? power and cheaper labor. How can the bill of the New Bedford compete under such

What has the Administration contributed to the solution of unemployment?

The 1932 Democratic platform promised to advance the cause of Why has the government insisted in building up a huge bureaucracy instead of turning the administration of work relief and public works over to existing state authorities?

Why have the "ordinary, normal expenditures" of government been allowed to increase greatly in view of the platform pledge to cut down normal expenditures?

Why are food imports allowed to grow while the government is paying our own farmers to reduce production?

Why does the government persist in its slum clearance activities and housing program when both those activities have proved dismal failures?

President Roosevelt has been talking about flood relief for three years or more. Why was it that the recent floods in the East found the government unprepared and demonstrated that little or nothing had been done to prevent such floods?

What is the Federal government going to do with the huge surplus of silver that has been accumulated under the silver purchasing act?

What is the government going to do with the large cotton surplus that has been acquired under the farm aid act?

President Roosevelt is always talking about international peace? He promised a relief from the burden of armaments in the 1932 campaign. Why then has he proceeded to build up the Army and Navy to the highest point in history?

The 1932 Democratic platform advocated a "competitive tariff for revenue". Why has the administration done nothing to put that into effect?

Suppose industry continues to heed President Roosevelt's numerous warnings and fails to employ more men even though business improves. What will the President do about employment in such an event?

WPA has the advantage of being able to
eventually send us down into a new debliss
WPA, of the burden of new taxes, combined with
WPA goes the Roosevelt administration continue

During the last three years monopolies have grown extensively. Will the Justice Department continue to let them grow or will the anti-trust laws be enforced?

The policies of the Roosevelt administration will wreck New England. Using tax money, much of which comes from New England, the government is building huge power plants at Muscle Shoals and other points. Industry will go there for cheaper power and cheaper labor. How can the mills of Fall River and New Bedford compete under such circumstances?

The 1932 Democratic platform promised to advance the cause of social security under "state laws." Why then was social security set up under a federal law?

ADDRESS OFFICIAL COMMUNICATIONS TO
THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON, D. C.

[July 1936]



DEPARTMENT OF STATE
WASHINGTON

PSF
Platform

"Fair promises better
no partnerships"

is a famous saying (from
Dickens I think)

In view of many promises by
Republicans you may find
this quotation applicable

JD

M/A. ROMJUE
FIRST DISTRICT
MISSOURI

Congress of the United States

House of Representatives

Washington, D. C.

June 12, 1936

PSF
Platform file

Hon. Marvin McIntyre,
Secretary to the President,
The White House

Dear Mr. Secretary:

After listening to the proceedings of the Republican National Convention it is very apparent that a number of fellows who had been mentioned through the press, as probable candidates for the presidency must feel that they did not care particularly to take up the burden of defeating Mr. Roosevelt themselves, but were quite contented merely to be mentioned as probable candidates without making any particular efforts, either themselves or through their friends in their behalf, to be nominated.

Despite what reports have come in relative to the younger element of the Republican Party having control of things, the Old Guard was in control and in the saddle and could have stopped Mr. Landon had they desired to do so, and they would have done so had it appeared to them that there was any reasonable chance of defeating Mr. Roosevelt.

The permanent chairman of the Convention, Mr. Snell, of course belongs to the Old Guard, likewise does Mr. Landon's floor leader, Mr. Martin, and I believe a great many people will see the situation as it is and with a little added publicity through the proper channels their minds may well be focused on the point that it was not believed a Republican nominee would have a chance to defeat Mr. Roosevelt, so men like Knox, Vandenberg, and their friends proceeded on the theory that it was sufficient to merely be mentioned as a probable candidate without making any special effort to secure the nomination, and the powers that be—that really control the Convention, were quite content to let Mr. Landon have the ball to carry through, which clearly appears even to them, as a losing game. If these Old Guard leaders had believed there was really an excellent chance of winning they would never have let matters run as they did.

It is true that some of the presses carried the suggestion that the old leaders of the G.O.P. had been displaced at the Convention by the young Republicans, which if so is merely for the purpose as I have pointed out, and that is, they are quite willing to let him carry the ball to defeat.

Hon. Marvin McIntyre,
Secretary to the President,
The White House

#2

If the young Republicans do control the Convention the Party then should change its emblem from GOP to GYP. The latter Party slogan is more appropriate for their Party anyway.

It seems Mr. Landon has placed himself in a hole to start with in his telegram. Some few weeks back he praised the Supreme Court for its decision in the AAA legislation, and the Republican leaders hailed the Supreme Court as the salvation of the country, but after the ruling of the Supreme Court on the minimum wage proposition, which decision was not so much welcomed by the leaders of the GOP or GYP, the Republican Party has found itself in an embarrassing situation in regard to the Constitution. In other words when they ruled the farmers out under the AAA Republican leaders threw their heads into the air, but when they ruled on the minimum wage law they saw it was dangerous to their Party to hail that as they had hailed the ruling in regard to the farmers and they found themselves embarrassed because they did not want to recommend the Constitutional amendment. In Mr. Landon's telegram he refers to the fact that the Convention has found in their opinion that the minimum wage can be established under the present Constitution, and if not they can later take the matter up, which puts the Republican Party square up against the proposition that the presidential candidate has placed the Republican National Convention above the Supreme Court, and Mr. Landon holds that he prefers to accept the opinion of the Republican National Convention on the minimum wage in preference to the Supreme Court.

Do not bother to acknowledge receipt of this. I merely desire to call your attention to this matter.

Very truly yours,

Marvin McIntyre

MAR'b

Background for plank BF Platform

From the point of view of political psychology, the most vigorous attacks against the Roosevelt Administration will in all probability take the form of an effort to stir up fear and alarm on two interrelated financial grounds:

1. That the Roosevelt Administration has been unwarrantedly extravagant in its expenditures and dangerously imprudent in its borrowings.

2. That unrestrained spending and continued resort to borrowing will destroy the national credit, lead inevitably to inflation, and destroy the hard-earned savings which people have accumulated in bank accounts, life insurance policies, building and loan shares, and all other forms of investment that are expressed in terms of the dollar.

On these two points the Roosevelt Administration will be on the defensive unless its monetary and fiscal actions of the past three years can be stated and expounded so forcibly as to appeal to the mind of the independent voter, to whom certain other actions of the Roosevelt Administration still appeal with great force. Among the most notable of the actions that are in high favor with impartial persons regardless of their political affiliation are the following:

1. The quick clean-up of the banking mess and the subsequent guarantee of bank deposits.

2. The saving of homes and farms from foreclosure and the subsequent revival of the long-depressed building industry.

3. The prompt measures to relieve the human privation and want resulting from long-continued unemployment and exhaustion or destruction of savings.

4. The regulation of security and commodity speculation and the protection of investments against misleading information and fraud.

5. The repeal of prohibition and the wiping out of bootlegging.

6. The capture of notorious bandits and gangsters and the vigorous suppression of kidnapping, bank robbery, and racketeering.

7. The protection of young men and women not yet assimilated by private industry and the protection of the persons no longer able to work against destitution in their old age.

8. The restoration of public confidence from the defeatism of depression and deflation, the rescue of agriculture, industry, and investment from the catastrophic fall in prices, the stimulation of business activity and employment, and the steady raising of the national income from the paralyzing level of 1932.

The problem of the platform makers, keynoters, and campaign speakers, then, is to make the monetary and fiscal actions as understandable and as appealing to the political psychology as these other actions are. If this is done the whole Democratic campaign can be conducted in the affirmative and on the aggressive, and the voters whose minds are open to persuasion between now and November can be moved by fear, not that the monetary and fiscal policies of the Roosevelt Administration will be adhered to, but by

fear that the monetary and fiscal policies which characterized the last three Republican administrations will be reverted to.

PSF
Platform

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

Sam
JFB - Ben Cohen
Stenbeck
Normis Ernst
Wm Draper Lewis

June 21, 1936

My dear Mr. President:

I am submitting herewith two drafts on the constitutional issue. The first short draft is limited to the issue raised by Governor Landon's telegram to the Republican Convention and if in any way acceptable, should follow the platform provisions dealing with Labor.

The other draft is a broad, basic one which I have combined with certain suggestions heretofore made touching a declaration of fundamental principles of the Party relative to our form of government.

I am not sure that either draft is in any way helpful. As to the first, I can see no real objection. It squarely meets Governor Landon's position and brings into sharp relief the fact that his proposal is inadequate. It is not submitted simply as an alternative to the more general one. Whether the broader plank should be used or not, it would seem still desirable to have this specific plank as a part of the labor provisions of the platform.

As to the more basic suggestion, it will unquestionably be met with the criticism that it is too general to be informative, and your critics will insist that you give a bill of particulars as to your interpretation of it.

To illustrate, demands would unquestionably be made as to whether it was proposed to amend the Constitution so as to give the Federal government control over agriculture, mining, etc.; whether by it was meant that the Party would seek power for regimentation of industry generally; does it mean making constitutional NRA and AAA and other statutes which have been invalidated by the Supreme Court?

SWAGAR SHERLEY
AMERICAN SECURITY BUILDING
WASHINGTON

2.

As I have given more thought to the matter since our brief talk of yesterday, I have reached definitely the conclusion that the insertion of this plank in the platform, or any similar one, is not advisable. The Party's position as to a liberal construction of the Constitution, in the light of modern conditions, is well understood. The insertion of the plank would simply serve to emphasize unduly a constitutional issue.

I appreciate however that the question of policy is one to be determined by you and your advisers and I have accordingly submitted the draft in a form that I consider least open to criticism, assuming that a declaration of policy in this regard is to be made.

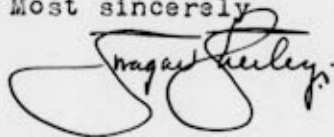
Permit me to again suggest that I think that the platform should contain a declaration in regard to foreign affairs and settlement of international disputes that indicates that the Party is not abandoning its liberal views in these regards.

By this I do not mean anything that could possibly be construed into an endorsement of the League or of the World Court; neither need be mentioned, but the Republican platform is distinctly one of extreme nationalism and embodies in its narrowness the old answer of Cain.

If I can be of any further service please command me. It is my expectation to be in Philadelphia Tuesday and if I can be of any service to Senator Wagner please have him so advise me.

With assurances of my high esteem, I am

Most sincerely



(Basic constitutional amendment plank)

Undue concentration of power, political or economic, has always been a threat to liberty.

As protection against the former we advocate maintenance of the balance of power between the Federal government and the States, and the separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers, as ordained in the Constitution.

As protection against the latter we advocate maintenance of the competitive system of industry by unyielding enforcement of the laws against monopolies and restraint of trade.

But we also recognize that in the evolution of society conditions constantly change, giving rise to new problems, the solutions of which are necessary in the highest interests of the people and may require enlargement of power in the Federal government in its sphere, or in the States in theirs, subject always to the guaranties of life, liberty and property.

The powers conferred on the Federal government and those reserved to the States were not intended to deny, but rather to promote the exercise of governmental authority, "in order to form a more perfect union, establish Justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity". It was not contemplated, save as to those powers expressly denied any government, that there should be a sphere in which evils of society might continue free from the restraint of either State or Federal authority.

(NOTE: To be inserted in the labor plank in lieu of the words, "we pledge ourselves to employ all necessary means to accomplish these purposes".)

We pledge ourselves to employ all means available under the Constitution to accomplish these purposes, and if it should be necessary, we advocate an amendment to the Constitution authorizing both the States and the Federal government, in their respective fields of action under the Constitution to regulate wages and hours and condition of labor.

PSP
Platform

KEY PITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
 JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
 PAT HARRISON, MISS.
 WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
 HUBB L. BLACK, ALA.
 ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
 TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
 J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
 NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
 ELMERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
 FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
 F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
 JAMES F. POPE, IDAHO
 ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
 JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
 DIDRICK CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
 HENRIK SHIPPSTEAD, MINN.
 EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS

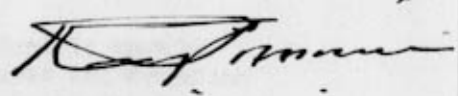
Washington, D. C.
June 13, 1936.

My dear Mr. President:

Senator Wagner asked me and others to draft some suggested planks. He wanted them early Monday for the purpose of getting your judgment in the matter. As I know that these matters will be submitted to you by Wagner I thought I might aid Bob by sending you directly a copy of my suggestions and a copy of my letter to Bob.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,



The President,
The White House.

Encs.

PSP
Platform

KEY FITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK.
PAT HARRISON, MISS.
WALTER F. GEORGE, GA.
HUGO L. BLACK, ALA.
ROBERT F. WAGNER, N. Y.
TOM CONNALLY, TEX.
J. HAMILTON LEWIS, ILL.
NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN.
ELBERT D. THOMAS, UTAH
FREDERICK VAN NUYS, IND.
F. RYAN DUFFY, WIS.
JAMES P. POPE, IDAHO
ROBERT J. BULKLEY, OHIO
JAMES E. MURRAY, MONT.
DINNES CHAVEZ, N. MEX.
HENRIK SHIPSTEAD, MINN.
WILLIAM E. BORAH, IDAHO
HIRAM W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
ARTHUR CAPPER, KANS.
ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
ARTHUR H. VANDENBERG, MICH.
WALLACE H. WHITE, JR., MAINE
EDWARD J. TRENWITH, CLERK

United States Senate

COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS


Washington, D. C.
June 13, 1936.

My dear Mr. President:

Senator Wagner asked me and others to draft some suggested planks. He wanted them early Monday for the purpose of getting your judgment in the matter. As I know that these matters will be submitted to you by Wagner I thought I might aid Bob by sending you directly a copy of my suggestions and a copy of my letter to Bob.

With best wishes, I am,

Sincerely,



The President,
The White House.

Encs.

KEY FITTMAN, NEV., CHAIRMAN
 JOSEPH T. ROBINSON, ARK. WILLIAM E. BIRNHAM, IDAHO
 PAT HARRISON, MISS. HENRY W. JOHNSON, CALIF.
 WALTER P. GEORGE, GA. ARTHUR GARDNER, KANS.
 HENRY L. BLACK, ALA. DAVID A. REED, PA.
 ROBERT F. WAGNER, N.Y. RICHARD S. PETER, OHIO
 TIM CONNELLEY, TEX. ROBERT M. LA FOLLETTE, JR., WIS.
 J. HAMILTON LEWIS, S.C. ARTHUR H. VANDERBERG, MISS.
 NATHAN L. BACHMAN, TENN. ARTHUR S. BURNETT, IND.
 ELMER D. THOMAS, UTAH
 FREDERICK VAN HOUTE, IND.
 F. RYAN KUFFY, WIS.
 JAMES P. POPE, IOWA
 ROBERT J. BOLLEA, OHIO
 HENRY HOPKINSON, MINN.
 EDWARD J. TRENTHAM, CLERK

United States Senate
 COMMITTEE ON FOREIGN RELATIONS
 Washington, D. C.
 June 15, 1956.

CONFIDENTIAL

Hon. Robert F. Wagner,
 United States Senate,
 Washington, D. C.

My dear Senator:

I herewith enclose you a suggested draft that I feel might be inserted in the platform after your opening statement and prior to the paragraph entitled "Fundamentals."

I believe that we should, on the very start, call to the attention of the American people the purposes and the force and effect of party platforms. It will serve to expose and discredit the Republican platform. It will justify President Roosevelt in suspending action on the 1952 platform to meet the paramount demand of the emergency. It will also, in my opinion, direct the attention of the voters to the ultimate and real issues and prevent them from being led off into the confusion of attempting to analyze and construe ambiguous and inconsistent details of a platform.

Hoover's main charge against the President is that he seeks a dictatorship. His discussion of the rights and functions of the States and of the Federal Government and his pledge to maintain local self-government in accordance with the principles he lays down is a clearer and more emphatic and authoritative promise than could possibly be made by any platform committee or convention. This statement also very definitely answers the charge that he has a contempt for the Constitution. His definition of the obligations of the Federal Government in matters of relief is unanswerable.

It is true that this speech has already been made and has been given great publicity but, in my opinion, that portion which I have copied should be adopted and approved by the Convention. If the Convention attempts to adopt its own language intending to convey the same meaning such language may be subject to a different interpretation. We are unanimously behind the President and there must be but one interpretation and that's his interpretation. The platform will be in the possession of all Party leaders. His Little Rock speech, unless placed in the platform, will be more or less forgotten in the confusion aroused by many other speeches.

There seems to be no issue on the monetary question. The Republican platform adopts the first half of the Democratic platform of 1932 and in no place contains any criticism of the President's monetary policy except a pledge to prevent the further reduction of the gold content of the dollar. They make no objection to the reduction of 41%, but they make a great deal out of a further reduction of 9%. Having found nothing to criticize it would seem that we could have a very short plank praising and approving our monetary policy without attempting to go into detail of legislation and administration.

I anticipate more trouble with our tariff plank. I believe that a platform is a complaint, or bill, and that evidence and argument, as far as possible, should be presented separately. I doubt if Cordell agrees with me in this. If the charge made by Steiwer--to the effect that we had imported farm products to substantially the amount that we reduced production in this country--is correct, we will have some trouble with the farmers in the Middle West.

I intend to attempt to draft a suggested plank on our foreign policy and also one on neutrality. These are matters, however, that I recognize that the President has fixed views upon and should, therefore, draft such planks himself.

Sincerely,

(Signed) KEY PITTMAN

Enc.

Proposed by *W. H. H. H.*
PURPOSES, FORCE AND EFFECT OF PLATFORMS

Before going further with this pronouncement to the citizens of the United States, let us frankly and clearly describe the purposes and the force and effect of party platforms. The primary purpose of a platform is to define the fundamental issues between parties. This is a difficult undertaking because there are factions within parties which differ as widely with regard to fundamentals as the members of different parties. If such factions are sufficiently strong, as was the case at the recent Republican Convention, expediency and the desire for harmony generally result in the adoption of a platform of high-sounding and meaningless phrases and ambiguous, inconsistent and deceptive expressions of policy that may be construed subsequently to sustain the contentions of both factions, coupled with an unrestrained and violent attack upon the contention intended to serve as a smoke-screen to obscure the frauds of the platform while providing the only common ground upon which such factions can meet. Such a platform is unpatriotic. Its purpose is not constructive, but destructive. Such is the Republican platform of 1936.

Self-defense is the highest law of Nature. The defense of our country and the maintenance of the lives, liberties and happiness of our people is paramount, and in great and dangerous emergencies such as we have been experiencing all other considerations must yield and during the entire period of such emergencies.

The party that is out of power must rely upon its promises,

while the party that is in control must stand or fall upon its record. Even honest promises are weak assurances against glorious performances.

Here is the ultimate issue: Shall it be a return to the three long years of the dying Hoover Administration, or shall it be continued advancement under the three long years of the growing Roosevelt Administration? Shall our people attempt to exist again under the cruel and discredited, conservative principle of the Republican Party of "Let Nature take its course" and liquidation continue--unrestrained liquidation--until there remain but the survival of the richest, or shall our people be preserved from such a fate under the protection of the emergency laws enacted by the Democratic Congress and able, courageous and humane administration of Franklin D. Roosevelt? A united Democracy accepts the issue with joy and confidence.

SPIRIT OF NEW DEAL

Recognizing that the most authoritative statement that can be made upon the subject of the spirit of the New Deal is by the leader of our Party and the present and next President of the United States, we quote, adopt, and unanimously approve of the following pronouncement of Franklin D. Roosevelt made in a public speech at Little Rock, Arkansas, on June 10, 1936:

"In the early days of the Republic * * * our life was simple. There was little need of formal arrangements, or of government interest, or action, to insure the social and economic well-being of the American people. * * * Today that life is gone. Its simplicity has vanished and we are each and all of us parts of

a social civilization which ever tends to greater complexity. Latterly, the imperiled well-being, the very existence of large numbers of our people, have called for measures of organized government assistance which the more spontaneous and personal prompting of a pioneer generosity could never alone have obtained.

"Our country is indeed passing through a period which is urgently in need of ardent protectors of the rights of the common man. Mechanization of industry and mass production have put unparalleled power in the hands of the few. No small part of our problem today is to bring the fruits of this mechanization to the whole period.

"The measure of the need has been the measure of the organization necessary to meet it. The human sympathy of our people would have tolerated nothing less. Common sense will tolerate nothing more."

STATES RIGHTS

"Self-government we must and shall maintain. Let me put it thus, in a way which every man and woman can understand: local government must continue to act with full freedom in matters which are primarily of local concern; county government must retain the functions which logically belong to the county unit; State governments must and shall retain State sovereignty over all those activities of government which effectively and efficiently can be met by the States.

"Federal Union itself was organized under a Constitution because in the days following the Revolution it was discovered that a mere federation of States was such a loose organization, with constant conflicts between the Thirteen States themselves, that a Constitution and a national organization to take care of government beyond

State lines was a necessity.

"The Constitution provided the best instrument devised for the continuation of these fundamental principles. Under its broad purposes we can and intend to march forward believing, as the overwhelming majority of Americans believe, that it is intended to meet and fit the amazing physical, economic and social requirements that confront us in this generation.

"Times change but man's basic problems remain the same. He must seek a new approach to their solution when old approaches fail him.

"The roar of the airplane has replaced the rumble of the covered wagon and the frontiers of a continent are spanned in less time than it took to cross a county in those century-old days. It is idle for us now, as it was for the flatterers of King Canute, to ignore the facts of physics or the economic and social consequences of applied sciences.

"These problems, with growing intensity, now flow past all sectional limitations and extend over the vast breadth of our whole domain.

"Prices, wages, hours of labor, conditions of employment, social security—in short, the enjoyment by all men of their constitutional guarantees of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness—these questions, so delicate in their economic balance that any change in their status is reflected with the speed of light from Maine to California—we are commencing to solve.

"The new approach to these problems may not be immediately discernable; but organization to meet human suffering can never be predicated on the relaxation of human effort.

"Whether it be in the crowded tenements of the great cities or on many of the farm lands of the Nation we know that there dwell millions of our fellow human beings who suffer from the kind of poverty that spells undernourishment and under-privilege.

"If local government, if State government, after exerting every reasonable effort, is unable to better their conditions, to raise or restore their purchasing power, then surely it would take a foolish and short-sighted man to say that it is no concern of the national Government itself.

"We know that equality of individual ability has never existed and never will, but we insist that equality of opportunity still must be sought. We know that equality of local justice is, alas, not yet an established fact; this also is a goal we must and do seek."

PSF
Platform

H. R. 10839

The democratic party reaffirms its fealty to the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that any fair and just interpretation of this ancient document would grant to the Congress of the United States ample authority to enact legislation to care for the changing economic and social condition of the United States.

And we believe Congress should, under the power granted to it by the Constitution, pass legislation that would prohibit an interpretation of the Constitution that is contrary to the general welfare of the republic.

74TH CONGRESS
2D SESSION

H. R. 10839

IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES

FEBRUARY 3, 1936

Mr. RAMSAY introduced the following bill; which was referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and ordered to be printed

A BILL

To regulate the jurisdiction of the inferior Federal courts of the United States of America.

- 1 *Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representa-*
2 *tives of the United States of America in Congress assembled,*
3 That title 28, section 371, of the Code of Laws of the United
4 States of America, be amended by adding thereto section
5 371A, so that the same shall read as follows:
6 “The inferior Federal courts of the United States and
7 the courts of the District of Columbia and the Territories of
8 the United States, shall have no jurisdiction to declare any
9 Acts or statutes of the United States unconstitutional or void,
10 and any bill, declaration, petition, or other pleading filed by
11 any litigant in any of said courts, which shall draw in ques-

1 tion the validity of an Act of Congress or statute of the
2 United States on the ground of repugnancy to the Constitu-
3 tion shall be by the presiding judge of any such court ordered
4 stricken from the record of any case pending therein, and
5 in case of appeal, such case shall be heard only upon the
6 record made in the trial court, disregarding the matter so
7 required to be stricken from the record."

74th CONGRESS }
2d Session

H. R. 10839

A BILL

To regulate the jurisdiction of the inferior
Federal courts of the United States of
America.

By Mr. RAMSAY

FebruARY 3, 1896

Referred to the Committee on the Judiciary and
ordered to be printed

PSF

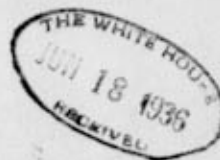
F. J. BISSON
330 Dist. New York

VERA C. MEYER
SECRETARY

PST
Platform

COMMITTEE
BANKING AND CURRENCY

Congress of the United States
House of Representatives
Washington, D. C.



June 17, 1936.

Hon. Franklin D. Roosevelt,
The White House,
Washington, D.C.

Dear Mr. President:

I am writing you with reference to a possible Plank in the Platform on "Nullification of Acts of Congress by the Courts."

It is the opinion of leading Democrats on the Hill, including Senator Robinson, that the Convention cannot get by without making some declaration on the subject of judicial nullification of Acts of Congress and of the States. It, therefore, becomes a matter of crucial importance that the Plank, whatever it be, should not commit the Party to a futile promise of relief through Constitutional Amendment.

At the suggestion of Senator Robinson, Congressman Lewis of Maryland, Congressman Ramsey of West Virginia, and myself have each essayed to outline a Plank which would give the necessary recognition to the problem, without tying the Party's hands as to the method of treatment. I am enclosing a copy of each of our proposals.

Faithfully yours,

F. J. Bisson

S:M

Cong - Ramsay

The Democratic party reaffirms its fealty to the Constitution of the United States.

We believe that any fair and just interpretation of this ancient document should grant to the Congress of the United States ample authority to enact legislation to care for the changing economic and social condition of the United States.

And we believe Congress should, under the power granted to it by the Constitution, pass legislation that would prohibit an interpretation of the Constitution that is contrary to the general welfare of the republic.

Congressman - Lewis - Md

Whereas, a series of decisions culminating in the invalidation of the law of the State of New York regulating the labor in industry of women and children have resulted in the creation of a "No Man's Land" where legislative power is denied to both the states and the general government to act on great and crucial subjects of the General Welfare, such as sweat shops, wages, hours of labor, social security insurance, the protection of agriculture, of mining, and of the right to work; and

Whereas, it was clearly the intention of the authors of the Constitution that the sum total of the legislative powers of the States and the General Government should be adequate to protect the citizen in his right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness; and to empower Congress to legislate when the "individual State is incompetent to act" as specifically stated in the General Welfare Clause, Section 8, Article I of the Constitution; and

denial and

Whereas, such nullification of all legislative powers to enact laws to meet economic and social crises imperils the existence of our institutions and constitutional government;

Now, therefore, we, the representatives of the Democratic Party which has been the devoted custodian of the Constitution since the beginning of the Government, pledge the forthcoming Congress to give the most patriotic consideration to the wisest method or methods of restoring to the States and the General Government their rightful legislative powers to enact laws for the protection of the citizen and the safeguarding of

our institutions under the Constitution.

COPY

Congressman in Session of New York.

The founding fathers of this Republic and its form of government engaged in the task of making a Nation that should endure so long as the powers and purposes of that Nation and that form of government should be honestly and fairly carried out.

To that end they framed a great statesmen's document, a broad charter of powers,-- the Federal Constitution. Necessarily, in order to make the Constitution adequate for future and changing conditions, as well as for the then immediate present, they expressed the powers therein granted in terms that were general but readily comprehended and understood.

In that great document they provided that the legislative branch of the general government-- the Congress of the United States-- should have the power to legislate upon all subjects necessary to promote the general welfare and happiness of the people, and wherein the several States, sovereign within their own spheres, were themselves incompetent to act.

They intended to and did provide in that great charter of powers, in order that there might not be any vacuum or gap or No-Man's Land between the powers of the general government and the powers of the governments of the several States, that the powers not delegated to the general government should be reserved to the States respectively, or to the people, and they did this in order to carry out their intention that the combined powers of the people, as represented in the Congress of the United States and as repre-

Page two

sented in the legislatures of the several States, should together equal the powers of the British Parliament and of the other sovereign nations of the world.

Such was the government framed in the Constitutional Convention of 1787 under the leadership of Washington, Madison, Randolph and others.

Such was the government as expounded to the several States in order to secure their ratification of that Constitution by Madison, Hamilton and others.

Such was the government as administered under the leadership of ^{Washington,} Jefferson, Madison, Jackson and Lincoln.

Such is the government and its Constitution as framed and defended by the Democratic Party and its great founders and leaders, to which we pay our ancient and continued devotion and service and which we now seek to preserve against the assaults of organized greed seeking, as ever, to strip both the general government and the State governments of their powers.

Our written Constitution, if construed as it was written by the founding fathers,- if construed as it was intended by the founding fathers,- needs no amendment to make it adequate to enable the general government and the governments of the several States, each within their respective spheres, to pass such laws regulating social and economic conditions and protecting labor, industry,

Page three

and business from those now able to operate within the No-Man's Land between the Federal powers and the State powers, wrongfully and unlawfully created by the continued usurpation of certain judges and courts exercising powers which they have assumed and which were not delegated to them by the Constitution.

We are alarmed at the growing usurpation of legislative powers by the courts. We are alarmed at the accumulated effect of decisions which have gradually stripped the States of their reserved powers, and at the same time have denied to the general government the exercise of the same powers. These usurpations have produced a situation where neither the general government nor the state government can legislate so as to promote and ~~protect~~ the general welfare and happiness of our people and protect them against unjust and oppressive conditions.

We cannot allow these abuses to continue. To do so will, in the light of history, inevitably result in the destruction of our form of government and of our economic system. To do so will, as the experience of other countries shows, inevitably result in Fascism or a dictatorship.

We pledge ourselves, therefore, to such an assertion and exercise of the legislative powers of the general government as were intended and granted in the Federal Constitution.

We pledge ourselves to the restoration to the States of their sovereign powers reserved to them under our form of government and its Constitution, and to the

Page four

protection of those powers against judicial usurpation.

DONALD R. RICHBERG
LAWYER
701-706
726 JACKSON PLACE
WASHINGTON, D. C.
TELEPHONE NATIONAL 8414

PSF
Platform file
Democratic
Platform

For the President
P.S.

May 27, 1936.

Honorable Stephen Early,
Assistant Secretary to the President,
The White House,
Washington, D. C.

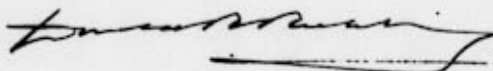
Dear Steve:

The enclosed speech which I am making in New York City Thursday, May 28th, has a good deal of vigor in its explanation of the difficulties of running a government under an uncertain and comprehensive veto power of the Supreme Court.

I do not know whether it will attract any particular attention. But since it may, I think you ought to have a copy. I think perhaps even the Boss might be interested in the independent right of the executive and the legislative to interpret the Constitution, covered in the last five pages, and particularly in the answer to the charge of "violating" the oath of office and the Constitution.

I will report to you on the results of my New York conference shortly thereafter.

Sincerely yours,



DRR:AH

Democratic PSF Platform

Address of Donald R. Richberg at the Banquet of the National Institute of Credit, Hotel New Yorker, New York City, May 28, 1936.

Can We Have a Business-like Government?

In the last few years we have heard so much about the necessity of "balancing the budget" that it would probably surprise most people to learn that the United States Government never had a budget until about fifteen years ago. It was on December 5, 1921, that the President submitted to the Congress the first Budget of the United States, which was for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1923.

This long delayed process of making government more business-like had been urged by President Taft and President Wilson, so that its inauguration under President Harding met general and non-partisan approval. But no well-informed person then assumed that the mere improvement of methods and accuracy in the collection and expenditure of public moneys would produce a "business-like" government.

There are two principal reasons for the so-called unbusiness-like character of our government: First, our government is not organized to accomplish the aims of a business enterprise. Second, no democratic government can be administered with business-like economy or efficiency, because the checks and balances of power, necessary to preserve self-government and to prevent the development of a centralized autocracy, guarantee a continuing and enormous waste of money and human energy. We must pay this price for political freedom, just as we accept the wastes of competition as the price paid for economic freedom.

Page two.

Let me expand these two points briefly.

The object of a business is to perform a definite service for a definite compensation. If you undertake to manufacture or to sell or to repair automobiles, you must figure your costs and charge a price sufficient to cover outgoes and compensation for the use of your property and for your work. If you build too big a plant, and employ too many people, and produce more than you can sell, you will lose money; and if you produce too little you will make little or no money. The objects of a business and the elements that determine economy and efficiency are comparatively simple, although great intelligence and skill are needed to organize and administer a complex business mechanism.

But very few agencies of government can be operated on a profit and loss basis; and the objectives of government are neither simple nor certain. How much police protection should be provided? What agencies of law enforcement should be maintained? What educational facilities? And for what purposes? Every question opens the door to hundreds, even thousands of debatable issues. You cannot make each person pay a fair compensation for what he receives; so you levy taxes on all and spend the money according to your best judgment of how the general welfare will be served.

Without paying the cost of the service, anyone can call for a policeman, or demand the aid of a judge and jury, or send one or more children to school; and thousands of people pay for policemen, and courts and schools which they never use. This is not a business-like operation and it can never be run according to business principles.

Page three.

Every group in the community calls upon the government to aid its group interests with what are "free services" -- in the sense that they are not paid for directly by those who receive them. And so pressure groups of infinite number and variety engage in politics and compel public officials to serve their interests. There is no single program to be laid before a board of directors which, if efficiently carried out, will satisfy the stockholders. The board of directors must somehow try to carry out the wishes of a majority of hundreds of groups of stockholders, who are continually devising new programs and demanding action by telegrams, letters, mass meetings and the outpouring of the press.

How are you going to get an economical, efficient, business-like administration from a board of directors operating under such conditions and subject to dismissal if they do not succeed in doing what a majority of the stockholders want to have done each year -- although that may be very different from what a majority wanted done last year?

But, even among those who recognize that running a government and running a business are two very different operations for very different purposes, there is a persistent faith that -- when public policies have been determined and public projects have been launched -- there should be business-like methods employed in their execution. Indeed, this is the dream of almost every new public official, which sometimes survives two, four, six or eight years of public service.

Why is it so hard to realize this ideal? Let me draw upon the experiences of two men, markedly different in political experience, in background and outlook, who were required to deal with similar problems of government under very dissimilar administrations. One

Page four.

was General Dawes, who, as the first Director of the Budget, found himself the first duly appointed co-ordinator of a national administration, under a republican president who had dedicated himself to putting more business in government. The other was another Chicagoan, named Richberg, who as Executive Director of the National Emergency Council, found himself the dubiously anointed co-ordinator in a democratic administration which was compelled by an unprecedented depression to put the government into more businesses than it had ever been in before.

Probably few people realize today that when the office of Director of the Budget was created, it was accepted by General Dawes largely because he saw in it a great opportunity to coordinate the work of the various departments of the government into a more business-like mechanism. -- But it is a fact, carefully explained in his book on The First Year of the Budget, that General Dawes envisioned this program. He saw that by controlling the purse strings, as the immediate representative of the President, the Director of the Budget could help to coordinate all the executive departments in a consistent administration of those fundamental policies laid down by the Chief Executive within the scope of his authority.

He took the position that members of the Cabinet should properly act as independent advisers of the President in matters of national policy; but that "as the administrators of routine business they must be subordinate at all times to the President and to the co-ordinating machinery now created by him for the transmission of a unified business program". He likened the Director of the Budget to a man in the stoke hole of the ship of state "put there by the captain to see that coal is not wasted"; and vividly said: "In whatever direction as a matter of policy those in higher place and

Page five.

authority may turn the ship, the way the coal is handled and conserved determines how far in a given direction the ship will sail."

To get the full force of General Dawes' observation you must understand that "coal" is not merely "money"; but that the coal which moves the ship consists also of the energy and ability of thousands of subordinate officials, which must be used for the advancement of a consistent program toward common objectives.

If, for example, two or more departments are working to save the soil, or to promote better housing, or to relieve unemployment, and they are not working in harmony, there is going to be just as much waste of coal as though more money were appropriated for one department than it could wisely spend.

This task of coordination which General Dawes undertook in the Harding administration grew steadily in the following years and had expanded to terrifying size by the end of the first year of the New Deal. A large number of the much-maligned alphabetical agencies had been added to normal federal departments to meet the needs of a national emergency. The National Emergency Council, as a coordinating mechanism, included the President, the Cabinet, the Director of the Budget and the heads of seventeen major agencies.

The mere preparation and maintenance of a budget was imposing a sufficient load upon the Director of the Budget - and, let it be noted, was insuring about all the unpopularity which one official could carry! There was the aching need for another functionary to relieve the President of some of intolerable detail of weaving separate departmental strands into a consistent administrative pattern; someone to help disentangle inevitable snarls before they became Gordian knots that would yield only to the sword of the Chief Executive.

Page six.

Shortly after undertaking an exploration in this field of humble service under glamorous titles, I was surprised and pleased to find that there was at least one man in the country outside the administration who appreciated to the full the difficulties of the adventure and its urgency. This was General Dawes who volunteered to encourage most heartily the effort, while at the same time he gave me sagacious warnings of all the tribulations which would be and were encountered, and all the pitfalls which would be and were dug, into which, in due course of time, I would be expected to stumble. From the ripeness of his experience and mine I can testify that he knew whereof he spoke.

It is only my purpose, in this brief reference to a personal experience and to that of a predecessor in a similar field, to make it quite clear that the problem of producing a business-like administration is not a new one arising out of recent expansions in the field of governmental activities. Nor is it a problem which will yield to any simple solution, such as cutting down the number of federal activities or agencies. Nor will it be solved, or even ameliorated in the visible future, by any change in the political control of the national government.

So far as partisan politics hampers administrative efficiency, any party gaining control of the government in the next twenty years will probably embarrass its leaders, and be embarrassed by the opposition party, to exactly the same extent as heretofore. And any Chief Executive, whether seasoned by experience, or emboldened by inexperience, will find it impossible to do away with these partisan political handicaps upon economical, efficient administration.

Page seven.

The underlying causes of confusion, contention and conflict in the exercise of political powers, are to be found in the very structure of our government. The question which should be propounded to those who cry aloud for a more business-like government is: Do you really wish to create a government more responsive to an intelligent, consistent and scientific program of political progress, or do you prefer to retain our present controls of government? I do not ask this as a rhetorical question, nor do I intend to answer it, but merely to offer the alternatives.

Our present controls of government are to a considerable degree responsive to more or less transient and often emotional public opinion. For example, there may be a nation-wide desire for a reduction in public expenditures, and at the same time there may be such a nation-wide pressure that two thirds of the Senate and the House will pass a law over the President's veto, to pay a soldiers' bonus of more than Two Billion Dollars.

On the other hand, there may be a nation-wide demand for the relief of agriculture and yet laws enacted for that purpose may be nullified by a ruling of the Supreme Court, because in our Constitution we have limited the legislative powers of the Congress and created a Supreme Court which has the power to construe and to enforce those limitations.

These two examples bring forward clearly one of the fundamental reasons why we cannot have a business-like government. In order to establish self-government we make our legislative and executive officials responsive to public opinion. They must seek to satisfy the popular will, or they will be replaced by others who will respond to it. But, fearing the exercises of unrestrained authority, we have qualified our powers of self-government by limitations on legislative

Page eight.

and executive power, and we have placed their enforcement in the hands of a judiciary appointed for life - so that they will not be responsive to the shifting currents of public opinion.

Herein undoubtedly is an element of enduring strength in our government; but we must pay for it by accepting the wastes and inefficiencies of a system wherein the control of law making and law enforcement is so divided that no group of public officials and no political party can be made entirely responsible for the control of the government. There are many people today who feel that the Supreme Court is the safest repository of ultimate authority, and are entirely willing to have a majority of that Court decide every great issue of public policy. But they should remember that the Court has only a negative power and that effective government must be a positive force.

To nullify the NRA meant to leave all unsolved our profound problems of unfair competition, restraint of monopoly, maintenance of fair labor conditions and the waste of natural resources.

To nullify the AAA meant to leave all unsolved our profound problems of agricultural relief and progress, of dust storms, of flood control and soil conservation.

To nullify the Guffey Act meant to leave all unsolved the distressed condition of the great bituminous coal industry.

Even if it be assumed that these decisions were right and unavoidable, it must be recognized that the perplexing and uncertain limitations thus imposed upon the positive, constructive powers of government, entrusted to the legislative and executive branches, make business-like government impossible. If the board of directors of a business corporation could not run its business except under the

Page nine.

remote control of a super-directorate of learned scholars, who could not give any advice in advance nor accept any of the responsibilities of management, but who could veto any action taken, either one year or five years afterward, shut down operations and stop the collection of revenues, how long would the corporation be likely to remain solvent?

Even a private board of directors could probably find more aid than misguidance in the associated activity of a cooperative, advisory brain trust; but could it function successfully under the ever threatening veto power of an independent brain trust, composed of retired deans of business who disagreed fundamentally with modern methods and objectives of business organization?

Now it may be the thought of some that even a corporation has to stick to its charter; and that if the board of directors of the United States would stay within the charter of the government its members need not worry about the veto power of the Supreme Court. Unfortunately the answer to our problem is not as simple as that. It may seem that simple to many editorial and column writers in the newspapers and to their readers, who have not spent their lives studying constitutional law, and reading opinions of the Supreme Court, and trying to guess what the Court will do next.

But it should appeal to a few million people of reasonable intelligence that, when Justices of the Supreme Court have been disagreeing bitterly for nearly one hundred and fifty years over what a score or more phrases in the Constitution mean, and when they are still disagreeing bitterly over the same phrases, the truth is that nobody knows exactly what the Constitution permits or prohibits until the Supreme Court decides a particular case; and then nobody

Page ten.

knows whether the same words are going to mean the same thing in the next case which will be decided.

Now that may seem funny or exaggerated, so I am going to give you two or three examples - not in criticism of the Court, but to make it clear why, in the language of Justice Hughes, "the Constitution is what the judges say it is."

Many years ago the Supreme Court decided in the Lochner case that the State of New York could not regulate hours of work; and that decision was severely criticised through the country. Then a few years later the Court held in two cases that the State of Oregon could regulate hours of work; and lawyers everywhere assumed that the Lochner case had been overruled. But a few years later a majority of the Court held that Congress could not enact a minimum wage law for the District of Columbia, and based this ruling on the opinion in the Lochner case. Whereupon, Chief Justice Taft, writing the dissenting opinion, expressed his amazement, because he said he had always supposed that the Lochner decision had been overruled, sub silentio. Now how could 48 State legislatures and the Congress be expected to know whether the Constitution meant what the Court said in the Lochner case, or what it said in the Oregon cases when the members of the Supreme Court themselves did not know?

Here is another case, very near to my heart, in fact it went right through my heart. In the year 1934 the employers and workers in the Live Poultry Industry in the Metropolitan District of New York City had been indicted and convicted of violating a federal law in trying to control prices and wages in their industry. They appealed to the Supreme Court on the ground that they were not engaged in interstate commerce and, therefore, were not subject to a law

Page eleven.

enacted by Congress. But the Supreme Court held that the activities of the defendants wholly within New York State operated "substantially and directly to restrain and burden the untrammelled shipment and movement of the poultry while unquestionably it is in interstate commerce". So the convictions were upheld in a case entitled Local 167 V. U. S.

About a year later some members of this same industry were convicted of violating the NRA code; and the U. S. Circuit Court of Appeals unanimously upheld the conviction, holding, as lawyers might naturally expect, that the local practices of the industry were subject to federal regulation to prevent unfair competition because of its effect on interstate commerce, since they had been held subject to federal law a year before when such practices restrained fair competition. But on May 27, 1935, the Supreme Court held that the NRA code was invalid, and announced as one of its two main reasons - that the local practices which were regulated did not so directly affect and burden interstate commerce as to be subject to federal regulation. Now how was any lawyer to assume before this decision that the Constitution meant that Congress could prevent restraint of competition in this industry, because that affected interstate commerce, but could not prevent unfair competition which had an equally harmful effect upon interstate commerce?

Here's another very recent and startling example. In the AAA case the Supreme Court decided a question which had been debated ever since the Constitution was adopted. The Court held, contrary to the opinion of James Madison and in favor of the opinion of Alexander Hamilton, that the power "to provide for the general welfare" was an additional grant of power to the Congress not limited by the other

Page twelve.

enumerated powers; and held expressly that "Congress consequently has a substantive power to tax and to appropriate, limited only by the requirement that it shall be exercised to provide for the general welfare of the United States". This opinion was delivered January 6, 1936, written by Justice Roberts, in behalf also of Justices Hughes, VanDevanter, McReynolds, Sutherland and Butler.

But, on May 18, 1936, Justice Sutherland delivered the opinion supported by Justices VanDevanter, McReynolds, Butler and Roberts, which held that the Guffey Act was unconstitutional (Carter v. Carter Coal Co.); and in this opinion the Justice said that the "notion that Congress, entirely apart from those powers delegated by the Constitution, may enact laws to promote the general welfare". . . had "never been accepted but always definitely rejected by this Court." Following this, he also stated that the Constitutional Convention of 1787 "made no grant of authority to Congress to legislate substantively for the general welfare" (citing the AAA case!); "and no such authority exists, save as the general welfare may be promoted by the exercise of the powers which are granted".

Now how is any lawyer to tell in the future whether the Congress has a "substantive power" to tax and appropriate to provide for the general welfare, which is not limited by the other enumerated powers, as was decided on January 6, 1936, or whether the Congress has no authority "to legislate substantively for the general welfare . . . save as the general welfare may be promoted by the exercise of the powers that are granted", as was decided on May 18, 1936?

Page thirteen.

Presumably the Justices of the Supreme Court who approve of the Lochner case and the Oregon cases, who joined in the opinion in Local 167 and in the opinion in the Schechter case, and who subscribed to the opinion in the AAA case and in the Guffey Act case, can find some distinction between apparently conflicting rulings. But no one else can do any more than guess at what the Constitution will be held to mean when the Supreme Court decides the next case raising these questions.

The cases which I have cited do not provide exceptional examples of the prevailing uncertainty as to the requirements of the Constitution. It is practically impossible today - and it has been impossible for many years - to draft a law providing for the effective exercise of the powers of government in meeting the gravest political problems of our day, with any assurance that the substantive law, or the administrative procedure for its execution, will be held constitutional.

The people of the United States have faith in their form of government. They are justly fearful of conferring unlimited power upon any branch of their government. They wish to retain the powers of State sovereignty and local self-government. They wish to maintain constitutional safeguards against abuses of political power, particularly safeguards of individual freedom. But they must resign themselves to the fact that such a government will never be "business-like", according to the standards of private business.

But when they do resign themselves to accept the difficulties and uncertainties and waste motion inevitable in such a government of divided responsibilities and conflicting authorities, they should also make sure that a government of checks and balances and independent

Page fourteen.

powers is actually maintained and that they do not drift into the opinion that any branch of the government has an unlimited final authority to dictate public policy to another or to force its debatable interpretation of the Constitution upon another.

It is generally recognized today that the executive cannot and should not dictate policy to the legislative; and the defense against any such effort is easily employed. Whenever the Chief Executive in the exercise of his constitutional authority seeks to influence legislation contrary to prevailing public opinion he will lose control either immediately, or, at the latest, in the next general election which will come within two years. Whenever the legislative branch exercises its constitutional authority contrary to prevailing public opinion or exceeds the constitutional limitations on its authority, it subjects itself to executive veto, or to judicial veto, or to popular veto in the next election.

These checks upon excesses of executive or legislative power are well recognized and all can be effectively employed. But the only check upon an excessive exercise of the constitutional authority of the judiciary will be found in a clear understanding by the people as well as by legislators and executives, that the judicial authority also has constitutional limitations which must be observed.

It is provided in the Constitution that "this Constitution and the laws of the United States which shall be made in pursuance thereof. . . shall be the supreme Law of the Land." There is not a word in the Constitution providing that the Supreme Court has the sole or supreme authority to decide what the Constitution means. It is,

Page fifteen.

however, the duty of the Supreme Court when a case presents an apparent conflict between the law laid down in the Constitution and a law written by a legislature, to decide whether there is a necessary conflict and, if such is found, to enforce the Constitution as the Supreme law and to refuse enforcement of any law in conflict with the supreme law.

But there is nothing in the Constitution which requires any public official or any citizen to agree with the opinion of the Supreme Court, or to do anything more than to accept the final authority of the decision made in the one case before the court. Of course, it would be a waste of energy and in many cases an abuse of authority for a legislature to go on passing laws, or for an executive to attempt to enforce laws, which in all probability will be held unconstitutional and unenforceable by the court. But every public official takes an oath to support the Constitution, which means precisely that he is sworn to support the Constitution as he understands and interprets its meaning. He cannot fulfill that moral obligation by qualifying it to read: "I will support the Constitution as it may be interpreted from day to day in the opinions of the Supreme Court, and when I am in doubt as to whether a law will be invalid under the Lochner Case or valid under the Oregon Cases, or valid under Local 167, or invalid under the NRA case, or valid under the AAA Case, or invalid under the Guffey Act Case, then I will not enact or enforce such a law, in order that no one can charge me with violating the Constitution".

Let us review a little history. The Supreme Court held the charter of the Bank of the United States constitutional. Andrew Jackson vetoed an extension of the charter on the ground that it was unconstitutional. President Taft vetoed the Webb-Kenyon Act because he thought

Page sixteen

it unconstitutional. The Supreme Court held it to be constitutional. President Roosevelt has approved various Acts which he believed to be constitutional, which have been held unconstitutional. Not one of these Presidents violated the Constitution. Each one exercised his independent, executive authority in conformity with his own conscientious maintenance of his oath of office, in which he swore "I will . . . to the best of my ability, preserve, protect and defend the Constitution of the United States." No president has authority to amend that oath, nor has any Member of Congress authority to amend his oath, so as to delegate the exercise of independent executive or legislative power to the control of a majority of the Justices of the Supreme Court.

Consider another historical precedent. When the Supreme Court held the Legal Tender Acts invalid, was it the duty of President Grant to call for their repeal? As a matter of fact, another case was presented to the Court shortly thereafter and the Court, with two new Justices sitting, held the same Acts to be constitutional. Who violated the Constitution? Did the President or the Congress, who approved the law, or the Justices who held it invalid, or those who held it valid? No one violated the Constitution. Each official acted in conformity with his conscientious conviction of his public duty as he was required to act under his oath of office, which did not permit him to transfer his individual, direct responsibility, under the Constitution, to any other individual or to any body of public officials.

Now that is the Law of the Land under which we live, a law which imposes the command of the people directly on every elected or appointed public official. This is the law so well established that even a subordinate official can be restrained by a court from

Page seventeen

enforcing an unconstitutional law on the ground that he cannot justify his action by the command of higher authority, but will be held to be an individual wrongdoer because ^{he} ~~she~~ is responsible directly to the people under his oath to support the Constitution.

There might be some justification in denouncing as a violator of the Constitution an official who refused to obey an order of the court which, under the Constitution, is vested with the judicial power of the United States; but no such violation has been charged against any public official within recent memory. There is no justification whatsoever for charging public officers with having violated their oath of office and violated the Constitution, simply because their acts as independent officers of the legislative or executive branches of the government have not met with approval of a majority of the Justices of the Supreme Court.

In behalf of those maligned public officers, as a former law officer of government, acting on the basis of thirty-five years of study and practice of constitutional law, I resent most deeply those libelous statements which are being broadcast by men ignorant of the law, or shameless in ignoring the law, who charge conscientious and well-advised public officials with violating their oath of office and violating the Constitution of the United States, because these officials have not always conformed in advance with a future opinion of the Supreme Court interpreting the Constitution, which will probably leave the law uncertain even after it has been written; and subject always to revision in the next opinion which may be delivered.

In what I have said there is no criticism of the Supreme Court, or any member of it, for the conscientious performance of a difficult and essential public service. But I do intend to criticise the political hangers-on of the Court who appropriate the

Page eighteen.

robes of the Justices when the Court is not in session, and, ascending the bench, issue fraudulent interdicts excommunicating all who disagree with their version of the opinions and powers of the Court.

There is no room in our democratic system of government for any such hierarchy, which can undertake to destroy the independent authority of the Congress and the President to interpret for themselves their powers under the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court itself has never claimed to be such a hierarchy, possessing any such authority to control the legislative and executive powers, or to dictate public policy. The counterfeit, privately created Supreme Court, which issues political opinions without authority and political anathemas without virtue, has played its poor farce nearly to the end. Only the hired claque is maintaining fitful laughter and applause while the bored audience is moving towards the exits.

The ease with which for a time popular antagonism can be roused against faithful, even though not always wise, public servants, demonstrates, however, another difficulty in seeking to achieve more business-like efficiency in government. We have a long cultivated tradition in this country which classifies almost all public officials as men of mediocre ability and dubious motives. This arises largely from the fact that the compensations of public service, either in money or public esteem, are so inadequate. The man to whom a small salary make a monetary appeal, or who craves publicity regardless of its character, finds inducements to enter public life. But men able to earn a superior living, or ambitious for genuine respect and honor, find a hundred good opportunities in business or in the professions compared with one doubtful opportunity for a comparable achievement, always at a money sacrifice, in public office.

Page nineteen.

And so openings in public office attract only a comparatively few of those who are capable of first class service. Those who are attracted find early in their political experience that neither the electorate nor the press will be inclined to credit them with the motives which really inspire them. When a man cuts off his private income and accepts a salary of one half or one third as much, he is still classified as a "tax-eater" anxious to remain on a public payroll. When a man with years of specialized training and experience seeks to contribute these to a public work, moved by either an idealism or by the excusable desire for public recognition of his talents and the enjoyment of public approval, he is still classified as a publicity seeker who is probably inspired also by even lower motives. Indeed, within recent years we have gone so far in this degradation of public employment that it has been made almost a disqualification that a man should be suspected of having brains - it being apparently desirable to have all public projects planned and controlled by some other part of the human anatomy.

There is no immediate cure for this state of the public mind. It is useless to exhort people to change their fixed prejudices. Only time and the gradual education of millions will bring a change. But it may be well to point out to business men and to other leaders of common opinion that this prevailing attitude toward public men is another cause for the persistence of unbusiness-like government. Only when government can command and can appropriately reward first class public servants shall we be able to realize our ideals of a first class government.

Meanwhile we may as well remind ourselves frequently that a government does not create, but only exposes, the weaknesses of a people. An incompetent public service is simply an incompetent citizenship turned inside out.

Democratic Platform

THE WHITE HOUSE
JUN 18 1936
RECEIVED

DEMOCRATIC NATIONAL COMMITTEE

HOTEL BILTMORE
NEW YORK CITY

JAMES A. FARLEY
CHAIRMAN

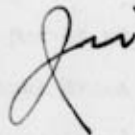
June 17, 1936

Honorable Franklin D. Roosevelt
The White House
Washington, D.C.

My dear Mr. President:

The attached memorandum has come to me from a very interested friend, who before he was retired, was associated with one of the biggest carpet manufacturing companies in the country and who, because of that association, I feel, is in a good position to have the necessary intimate knowledge of labor's attitude.

Sincerely yours,



JAF
h
attachment

".....The U.S. Supreme Court decision on the NY State Minimum Wage Law has caused a wave of indignation around here. It does seem that they are out to wreck the New Deal humanitarian program. The people fail in their State Legislatures to correct economic conditions as demanded by the voters, because competition in other states renders such regulation impracticable. They then appeal to their representatives in Congress to put all States on a fair competitive basis by passing Federal regulation laws. Those whose pocketbooks would be affected tie things up in the Courts, and in the end the Supreme Court says "Constitution will not permit--that's something for each State to do". Then a State attempts to do it and the same long drawn-out litigation ensues, and in the end the Supreme Court says, "Constitution will not permit - the State cannot interfere in the freedom of contract." The wishes of the people as represented in State and Federal Legislatures are nullified. Instead of a government of people, we are governed by the divergent opinions of nine old men whose in hands no one would entrust a large business, but the ideas of five of them govern or deprive of the protection of government of the people. 120,000,000 "free" people - free to starve or submit to the few who dictate wages, conditions of employment and the prices of necessities. That kind of "freedom" is below par at present. I believe we are witnessing the opening act in a political drama that will result in the near future in radical change in our political and economic system. Therefore it is worthy of careful study and follow-up by all interested in the world's political progress. I think FDR may make this idea his rallying point in the coming convention. Watch and see how near right I am....."

11
1940

Convention
Draft of Foreign Policy

except in
case of attack

PSF
Platform

The American people are determined that war, raging in Europe, Asia and Africa shall not come to America.

We will not participate in foreign wars.

We will not send our Army, Naval or Air Forces to fight in foreign lands outside of America

The direction and aim of our foreign policies have been and will continue to be the security and defense of our own land and the maintenance of its peace. To that end we favor and shall enforce the rigorous application of the Monroe Doctrine. For years our President has warned the nation that organized assaults against religion, democracy and international good faith threatened our own peace and security.

Men blinded by partisanship brushed these warnings aside as war-mongering and officious intermeddling.

The fall of twelve nations was necessary to bring their belated approval of legislative and executive action that the President had urged and undertaken with the full support of the people. It is a tribute to the President's foresight and action that our defense forces are at the peak of their peace-time effectiveness.



GENERAL SERVICES ADMINISTRATION

National Archives and Records Service

FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT LIBRARY

WIDE PARK, N. Y.

From the Papers of

Samuel I. Rosenman

-2-

Weakness and unpreparedness invite aggression. We must be so strong that no possible combination of powers would dare to attack us.

We propose to provide America with an invincible air force, a navy strong enough to protect all our seacoast and a fully equipped and mechanized army. We shall coordinate these implements of defense with the necessary expansion of industrial productive capacity



GENERAL

PSF Platform folder 4-44
143

July 15, 1944.

Dear Bob:-

I am sending you some other Platforms which I think John McDermack would like to look over. He may get some ideas or phrases out of them. I still think they are -- all of them -- along the old-fashioned type and can be boiled down to five hundred words.

Please be sure that I get them back, as I have to have them for my own files.

Remember that fifteen hundred or two thousand words will not go into a box on the front page.

That box idea is really good, I think, and will save us many headaches on many subjects.

Always sincerely,

Honorable Robert E. Hannegan,
Blackstone Hotel,
Chicago,
Illinois.

(Enclosures)

Platform folder
3-44
PSF
on Train

July 18, 1944.

Dear Bob:

Will you give the enclosed rough draft of a "Gettysburg Address" type of platform to John McGermain? People are tired of the old type -- don't read them -- don't remember them, if they do.

Furthermore, if some group says ^{their} ~~our~~ particular item was not listed in the Democratic Platform, the very simple answer is the record of the Administration.

The Republicans had to put the fifty-seven different varieties of items into their platform because they had no record -- or if they did it was the record of their failures more than twelve years ago.

As ever yours,

ZSR

Honorable Robert Hannegan,
Chairman,
Democratic National Committee.

Blackstone Hotel

Enclosure.

The Democratic Party in convention assembled does not seek to list scores of so-called planks in a so-called platform reminiscent of an outworn era. It believes in the realism of the American people. It lives in the present and refers to the past only to prove its vitality in acting rather than in mere words.

In 1933 it brought order ~~to~~ chaos. Hoovervilles disappeared from every countryside, banks resumed, breadlines ceased, young people got a chance and the forgotten man became a normal citizen. *Famer and laborer and clerk rejoined*
There Then came a series of forward steps long overdue -- *faith*
employment offices, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, flood prevention, soil conservation and crop price stabilization.

It is not charged that our opponents ~~will~~ *would* repeal all these measures, but it is a fact that during the preceding years of terror they did not propose them, nor were they gracious in helping to pass them.

With every passing year good policy calls for the improvement of our social and economic life because humanity is capable of vast improvement. On the factual record, the gains have come through ~~Democratic~~ *but* leadership.

So much for the past. It has been attacked by the opposition in such broad terms that they do not constitute evidence but mere repetition. Inefficiency? Where? Bureaucracy? Who? The Government is accused of these without specifications and at the same time the accusers applaud the efficiency of the Army and Navy which are run on the same system and are spending 95% of the money.

The truth of the matter is that the opposition is going through the nightmare of thinking that it is "the out" and wants desperately to be "the in". It forgets that the Government of the United States today is not being conducted on Party lines, that millions of Republicans are being employed, and that the effort to win the war transcends Party allegiances. *In this war*

*we are winning by national effort, not
loud party claims.*

J

The Democratic Party in convention assembled does not seek to list scores of so-called planks in a so-called platform reminiscent of an outworn era. It believes in the realism of the American people. It lives in the present and refers to the past only to prove its vitality in acting rather than in mere words.

In 1933 it brought order from chaos. Hoovervilles disappeared from every countryside, banks resumed, breadlines ceased, young people got a chance and the forgotten man became a normal citizen. Farmer and laborer and clerk regained faith.

There came a series of forward steps long overdue -- employment offices, old age pensions, unemployment insurance, flood prevention, soil conservation, crop price stabilization.

It is not charged that our opponents would repeal all these measures, but it is a fact that during the preceding years of terror they did not propose them, nor were they gracious in helping to pass them.

With every passing year good policy calls for the improvement of our social and economic life because humanity is capable of vast improvement. On the factual record, the gains have come through our leadership.

So much for the past. It has been attacked by the opposition in such broad terms that they do not constitute evidence but mere repetition. Inefficiency? Where? Bureaucracy? Who? The Government is accused of these without specifications and at the same time the accusers-applaud the efficiency of the Army and Navy which are run on the same system and are spending 90% of the money.

The truth of the matter is that the opposition is going through the nightmare of thinking that it is "the outs" and wants desperately to be "the ins". It forgets that the Government of the United States today is not being conducted on Party lines, that millions of Republicans are being employed, and that the effort to win the war transcends party allegiances. In this war we are winning by national effort, not loud party claims.

It is this fact that Generals and Admirals and plant managers have not been chosen for their political affiliations, plus the fact that neither the selective draft nor the great invasion of North Africa were timed to suit election days which give us a high average of efficiency in conducting the war.

Our officers and men are well trained, well fed, and clothed, well armed and well transported. We are proud of their efficiency, their bravery and their progress. And we are proud of the cooperation with and by our Allies in every part of the world.

We do not forget those who at home are, with few exceptions, making this winning of the war with all speed possible.

Mankind overwhelmingly seeks peace in future years.

Mankind does not sneer at the Four Freedoms. Mankind applauds the United Nations and approves the practical efforts to resolve problems through conference and without guns. Overwhelmingly the people of the world believe that without loss of sovereignty world development will come with a freer flow of goods and of ideas; that racial, religious and political minorities have the right to live and develop; and that the least ^{of} ill results in the ^{most of} greatest good to the greatest number. That is true in our own nation and in the whole world.

Finally, those of our uniformed citizens who have borne the danger must be made secure in their futures. We believe that we can accomplish this more truly than those who silently ~~are~~ ^{withhold} hunger marchers and apple vendors.

We ask the opportunity to proceed with the well rounded
plans for the organization of the ~~World~~ Nations ^{of the world} into bodies
to attain for us and for the world the maintenance of a long
sought peace.