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Fictitious Issues in the Campaign, 1936.

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FICTITIOUS ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN

WRHS
By
Rabbi Abba Hillel Silver

At
The Temple

On
Sunday Morning, October 18, 1936



I have frequently maintained that the salvation of our world today lies with those people who can think with a minimum of bias and feel with a maximum of restraint. Propaganda aims to achieve the opposite of this. It aims to make man think, if he thinks at all, with a maximum of bias and to feel with a minimum of restraint.

I have also maintained that civilization today is a race between propaganda and education. Propaganda today is a perfected art by which the minds of men are befuddled with catch-words, slogans, half-truths and passionate appeals to the primitive in man. Propaganda has an elaborate technique for undermining human reason and for stampeding people into acts which they would not do when in possession of calm judgment. Propaganda today, aided by the million-throated radio, is attacking the citadels of human thought in almost every part of the world.

Now in a national campaign, propaganda, of course, runs riot. The high pressure, expensive propaganda machine is improvised. Every device known to the blackguard is exploited in order to make men vote in accordance with the interest of his party. The press, radio, platform, movies, pamphlets, parades - all of these are exploited for the one purpose of making this party or that party win. There is far less reliance placed on reason, logic, fact than upon hysteria, fear and suspicion. This, of course, is true of all political campaigns. It is the price we have to pay for democratic government. In my judgment it is not too high a price to pay. It is far more desirable than a condition when you have one party in power - dictatorship, totalitarian state where every dissenter is sent to the concentration camp.

Occasionally, however, a national political campaign becomes particularly venement, bitter. Such a campaign usually attends a period of crisis in our national life - in war or depression.

You may recall from your history, the campaign of 1861 and the abuse, the infamous abuse which was heaped on Abraham Lincoln. When one reads the records of those days, one is amazed, one is shocked to see how his contemporaries could have so completely misunderstood the greatness of the man as to bring down upon him such vile charges and denunciations. You may recall the bitter campaign of 1896, some of you from your own personal experience - one of the leading papers in the East in those days called the whole democratic campaign of 1896 an attack upon the ten commandments.

I am afraid that the campaign of 1936 has taken on a good deal of that same bitterness, acrimony. There is an amazing amount of hate abroad in the land. There are large sections in our population who can not speak of the President of the United States without hysterical hatred and violence. You would think that the President ruined them. You would think that the President was responsible for the panic in '29 and all that followed instead of having helped to pull themselves and their business out of one of the most disastrous economic depressions known in our history. Everywhere one sees evidences of returning prosperity. Economic authorities have agreed that the condition in 1937-38 will improve even more. Everyone seems to have more confidence, more hope. You would think, at least, that these people even if not being favorably disposed to the President, would not hate him as so many to. That, unfortunately, is the case.

The other day I listend to a young man rant against the President. I know this young man and that he has never earned a dollar in his life and never will. He has innerited some money from an estate and that, of course, made him an autocrat. During the depression the values of his estate naturally decreased. He walked about for four or five years a deflated zero. A zero, my friends, is the most puffed up numeral. Last year, stocks and bonds picked up a little and the zero became inflated again. And now he is bringing down maledictions upon the President and the administration. I am sure that all the time he was collecting dividends and clipping coupon books.

I suspect that our feature writer and journalist, Mr. Wm. F. McDermott of the Plain Dealer, is absolutely correct when he sums up this situation as follows:

"I suspect that some of the bitter feeling now shown toward Roosevelt is not rooted in resentment against what can reasonably be regarded as mistakes and failures. It is not aroused by objection against the way in which reforms have been carried out. It is based rather in hostility toward any reform.

"The old guard stands just where it was. It wants a return to things as they were with all their iniquities and their injustices. The glimpse of a returning prosperity has encouraged its members to believe that the clock can be turned back and the world remodeled in the ancient patterns that they found highly comfortable.

"There is no longer the same acute consciousness of the prevalence and pain of poverty. The realization that society at the best

has meant wretched living for millions of people is comfortably put out of mind.

"With the first faint blush of prosperity the old arrogances are coming back, the familiar cockiness, the carelessness about the lives of others so long as one's own is well upholstered.

"Greed, ruthlessness, callous cynicism we have with us always, but they seem to be softened by a depression and brought into their most exquisite flower by the first winds of prosperity."

We have many, so many fictitious issues which have been injected into this campaign of 1936 that I have time to expose but a few of them. I am doing this, my friends, not out of any sense of partisanship. Naturally, like other citizens of this country, I have my own political preferences. But I assure you it is not that preference that leads me to discuss this subject this morning. I am not a doctrinaire. I am not so radically partisan as to imagine that if the opposition party receives the vote of the American people and Landon is elected that America is doomed, and that in the next few years we can experience nothing but disaster. The American people are not teetering on the edge of an abyss and all the frantic blood-curdling warnings from one party or another are utterly unfair and uncalled for. Those who resort to them are just swindlers.

One of the fictitious issues introduced into this campaign is the absurd and fantastic charge that the President of the United States is a communist, that he has communist leanings. I assure you that President Roosevelt is no more a communist than Governor Landon is a fascist. Anyone who has any respect for the meaning of words, for the clear definition

of words realizes that communism is not an issue in this campaign. It is a red herring, but it is not an issue.

In the depths of the depression in 1932, when you would have expected a terrific vote of resentment and indignation, a vast outpouring of radicalism on the part of the American people ⁱⁿ -/1932, there were close on to 40,000,000 votes cast in a free election. Of the 40,000,000 votes 100,000 were communist. Less than 900,000 were even socialist votes. The socialist vote of 1932 was actually less than the socialist vote cast in 1908. Anyone who thinks that communism which hasn't one Senator in the Senate, one Congressman among 435 Congressmen in the House, not a single socialist Governor in one single state of the Union, and of the hundreds of Mayors in the United States but two socialist Mayors - anyone that thinks that communism in 1936 is an issue is speaking through madness or mendacity.

And yet here you have a great newspaper owner and publisher, Wm. R. Hearst whose daily publication is spread over this country from coast to coast whose daily diatribe is the communist President in Washington and who intimates a close tie-up between Washington and Moscow. He is not the only one who does that. He is only the least scrupulous and the most dishonest. And here is a priest, a ghostly Father, ranting from one end of the country to the other about the communist leanings of the president of the United States, this priest who recently in Cleveland, I believe, advised the Jews to give up their religion of "an eye for an eye and a tooth for a tooth" and to accept his religion of brotherhood, whose lips verily spit with venom and hate for his political opponents who calls the President of the United States a liar and a double-crosser and then offers what a reporter termed a "shyster apology" -

this man who would drive the moneychangers out of the country and yet finds time himself to do a little speculating on the side, a man who speaks in the Master who taught men to turn ^{the} other cheek but when one strikes him advises his followers to use bullets when they can't get all they want with ballots, a man who said he would never go into politics and who now joins up in a political party with a group of people - the Townsendites whose economic platform he said was lunacy - this man is now arousing, rabble-rousing the American people against the present administration because it is communist.

Now what is there communistic about the present Administration? Was the NIRA, the NRA communist? The Republicans voted for it and the business of the United States marched in parades in hilarious enthusiastic endorsement of it to pass all legislation. Was the AAA communistic - an effort which was made to restrict by voluntary agreement the production of certain agricultural products. Was the Federal farm credit communistic - an attempt to save the farmer who had been struggling for more than twelve desperate years against declining prices, against losing his farm? Was the Home Loan Relief communistic? Were various relief acts which our administration set up to keep fifteen million people from starving and going Bolshevik - was that communistic? Was the Securities Act which was passed which was aimed to protect the American private investor against that kind of dishonest fluctuation of the stock market, domestic and foreign, which in ten years cost the American investor nearly \$25,000,000 - was that communistic? Was the Social Securities Act, perhaps communistic -

that act which sets out to grant the American worker insurance against periods of unemployment, old age pensions, insurance for protection of women and children - is that communistic? Why England has had this thing for twenty years. England in 1933 spend 80 million pounds on unemployment insurance and 40 million pounds on old age pensions and England is held up as a model of conservatism to the American people. No, my friends, it is not a true charge of communism. I make bold to say that if the Republican Party had been in power during the last four years that most, if not all of these measures would have been enacted. The crisis would have forced it.

Governor George Earle of Pennsylvania recently made this significant statement: "I warn you that our civilization is in danger if we heed the deceptive cries of special privilege, if we permit our men of great wealth to send us on a wild goose chase after so-called radicals while they continue to plunder the people....We are told constantly of the evils of Socialism and Communism. The label is applied to every man, woman and child who dares to say a word which does not have the approval of Wall Street."

There is another fictitious issue which was introduced - and that is the Constitution of the United States. I received, a few days ago, an appeal from the Republican National Committee for a contribution to the campaign. This was sent broadcast to a great number of people, I am sure. The contribution was asked so that it would be a great demonstration to preserve constitutional government in the United States. At the top of this appeal was a line from Lincoln's Gettysburg address - Lincoln who is troubled in his grave every four years - "That this nation..shall not perish from the earth". I am to make a contribution - just one dollar -

they don't ask for much money - but my one dollar will see to it that this nation will not perish from the earth.

Now it is interesting that this appeal to the Constitution is frequently made in national elections not only by Republicans/^{but}by Democrats as well. It all depends on the party in power, that is all. In 1904, following the years in office of Theodore Roosevelt, the Democrats drafted a platform in which they said: "We favor the nomination and election of a president imbued with the principles of the Constitution, who will set his face sternly against executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions, whether that usurpation be veiled under the guise of executive construction of existing laws or whether it take refuge in the tyrant's plea of necessity or superior wisdom." This is what the Democrats said about the Republicans.

Now nobody is trying to destroy the Constitution of the United States in 1936. There have always been "loose" constructionists and "strict" constructionists of the Constitution. There have always been advocates of Federalism and advocates of States Rights. It is an interesting thing to note that historically, the Democratic Party represented the champions of States Rights and the Republicans represented the Federalists. In 1936 the positions are reversed.

The Constitution is a great document - one of the greatest documents of mankind - by the way, the first written Constitution ever given to a great nation. And the greatness is attested by the fact that it has survived so long and has so adequately served a growing people for more than one hundred and fifty years. It is not sacrosanct. It is not an untouchable document. It was never intended to be that. The Constitution was the

outgrowth of struggle, compromise, and the men who framed it knew that ^{if} it was to survive as a vital document that it must make provisions for the amendment of this Constitution. Within two years of adoption, there were twelve proposed amendments. Of these, ten were finally adopted and incorporated into the Constitution of the United States.

In our own day we witnessed the 16th amendment - the income tax amendment; the 17th amendment - direct election of senators by the people of the United States; the 18th amendment, prohibition; the 19th amendment - women's suffrage; the 20th amendment - shifting the President's term of office from March to January; the 21st amendment - the repeal of prohibition. It is a living organism. It grows, changes. The fact that a law passed by the Congress of the United States is declared unconstitutional does not mean that these laws may not tomorrow or ^{the} next day become the law of the land or an amendment to the Constitution. The Income Tax law was declared unconstitutional. The Income Tax Law is not a law of the land through an amendment to the Constitution.

Likewise, all this talk about the Supreme Court of the United States is campaign stuff. The Supreme Court of the United States is not a party possessed of unassailable and ineffable wisdom and legal objectivity and the decisions rendered by the Supreme Court of the United States are not law handed down from Mt. Sinai. Many of the most important decisions of the Supreme Court were 5-4 decisions. It has often reversed itself. And it must also be remembered that the Constitution of the United States does not expressly give the Supreme Court the power of reviewing legislation. And it is well to remember that for seventy years following the adoption of the Constitution the Supreme Court never declared one act of Congress

unconstitutional. Today is becoming altogether too commonplace and judges of the Supreme Court have condemned this tendency of checking legislation through an intricate and technical interpretation of the Constitution of the United States. The Supreme Court was not intended to run the life of the country. It is decidedly not the law-making body of the United States. The Republicans in the past as well as the Democrats have attacked the Supreme Court of the United States. The Supreme Court is not an issue in the campaign of 1936. Nor is extravagance. I am not impressed by it. It is only a charge made by the party out of power to the party in power.

In 1896 the Republicans had this to say about the Democrats - that was following the administration of Cleveland: "For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule."

A few years later, in 1912, the Democrats had this to say about the Republicans: "We denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government and a reduction in the number

of useless offices, the salaries from which drain the substance of the people."

Vast, of course, were the moneys spent last year to feed the hungry. The hungry had to be fed! Every possible aid had to be given to the small farmer, the big industrialists, the banker, to keep our national economy from collapsing altogether. I suppose in the process of a great emergency when so many new and startlingly new things had to be done, there might have been considerable waste. But no one particularly cried 'waste!' when America poured \$35,000,000,000 in a war in which we had no business to save a world which did not want to be saved. Why should there be indignation when billions of dollars are spent to feed our own people? A balanced budget, of course, is necessary. No government can go on indefinitely spending more money than is coming in. But you cannot balance a budget in depression times. No government has ever succeeded in doing that. Hoover, in the last two years of his administration couldn't balance the budget. Budgets should be balanced and with the return of prosperity, can be balanced.

Another fictitious issue in the campaign is religion. The religious issue is the most despicable issue in the campaign. - Governor Landon charged with being anti-Semitic. This is a lie. Nothing in the record of the Governor shows that the Governor is anything but a broad-minded tolerant American. It is infamous to tie such a despicable lie upon him or upon the Republican Party. Unfortunately in the heat of the campaign this sort of thing is resorted to. There is now a representative committee in Cleveland which is on the lookout for fictitious issues in the campaign to repudiate them. It is true that certain small groups of

anti-Semites would like to see him defeated. There are certain groups of anti-Semites everywhere who think that the Jews have been too prominent. Nevertheless, you cannot hold Governor Landon nor the whole Republican Party responsible for that any more than President Roosevelt can be charged with communism because certain communists have said that they would vote for him.

What is the real issue in this campaign? The real issue, my friends is Progressivism Vs. Conservatism. Both are legitimate points of view in democracy. This difference has cut athwart American political life from the very beginning of our government and men in 1936 are grouping themselves on the basis of their preferences for one political philosophy or another. That is why certain democrats have left the Democratic Party and have gone over to the Republican Party and certain Republicans have left the Republican Party and gone over to the Democratic Party. There is going a blind groping/on in this country today for real party alignment.

Up until 1932, the differences between the Republican Party and the Democratic Party were hardly distinguishable. But the depression and the need which it created for positive and decisive action and the positive leadership of the President of the United States has brought about a sharper definition of political alignment and political platform. There distinctive will everge out of this campaign two definitepolitical/groups in the United States - one you might call the Right Center and the other the Left - Left Center - two legitimate groups.

On one hand you will have the party that believes in going slow - conservatism - and giving business and industry the maximum of encouragement and the freest reign so the which that/benefits/accrue to business and industry may

trickle down to the worker and the farmer; a party which believes in a minimum of taxation spread over the widest area, a minimum of government control and regulation except in periods of critical depression, a minimum of social security legislation and a minimum of organizational power to Labor; a party of the Right - the Right-Center.

On the other hand you have the party which believes in a quicker tomorrow, of adjusting to a new world situation, a party which believes in moving more rapidly, in readjusting our national economy to new conditions, in direct efforts to raise the income and the standard of living of the workers and farmers; a party which believes in taxation levied upon those best able to bear it; a party which believes in as much government regulation and control as are necessary to protect the little fellow from monopolistic exploitation; a party which believes in a maximum of social security legislation and the organizational power of Labor. In other words, a party of the Left Center - the square deal, the new freedom, the issues of Jefferson's, Andrew Jackson's and Bryan's day - an old American tradition. And these are the same issues in the era of Franklin D. Roosevelt.

May I repeat again: People can differ honestly on these basic issues and if one chooses this or that, it does not mean that by so doing he brands himself as a moral degenerate. And the wise and intelligent citizen will do well when he goes to the polls, November next, to choose his party and to vote for his candidate on the basis of his preferences, one political philosophy or another, on the basis of these real issues which will ultimately divide our nation for generations and will avoid fictitious fraudulent issues which irresponsible propagandists and swindlers

have introduced into this campaign.

My friends, America, after November 3 next, is going on just the same, I assure you.



1. Salvation of world lies - ~~Civilization~~ Propaganda - aims
Civilization - Prop. perfected art - elaborated - stampeding
million-throated -

2. In a Nat. Pol. Campaign - runs riot - High-pressure
Every ~~known~~ device known Black art to make -
The press - Far less reliance
This is true of all - Price
Occasionally - particularly bitter - Attends change
Lincoln - 1896 - "Ten Commandments"

3. Hate - Large sections - upper classes - cannot speak -
You would think Pres. ruined -
Everywhere on sees - Authorities - In every branch
You would think - if not personally
the other day
I suspect - (Wm. F. McDermott)

5. We have so many fictionous issues - expose -
this is not done - partisanship - Naturally -
Not doctrinaire - Not teetering - frantic -
Swindlers

6. There is absurd - Communism - Pres. R.

Anyone who has any respect - no more - Red Herring
for the depths - 1932 - 40 m - 100.000 - 900.000
To speak of a Comm. measure - not one 96 Sen. 435

7. And yet W. R. Hearst is not only - tie-up -
Father Conphers (1) advises Jews (2) driving money-changers
 (3) other chest-bullets (4) Heaven go into politics - town
and Chairman - and V. Pas.

What was there Com? NIRA-NRA? Codes -
Public Works Projects - Subsistence Homesteads - Re-employment
and Relief Taxes?

A.A.A. - Restriction by Vol. agreement of certain Agr.
Fed. Farm Credit? - Help farmers struggling
Home Loan Relief - urban

Various Relief Acts - Starvation & Rent.

Securities Act - Regulation - 25 b

Social Security Act - Eng. (1935) 80 m - 41 m 41 m 41 m

8. No! not Comm. measure - Refut. would have had -
 (Gov. Earle)

9. Constitution - Appeal for Funds (Just)
 This, too - petitions - frequently raised - 1904 (Just).

Nobody - "Loose" "Strict" - Joke -

Not sacrosanct - Outgrowth - Amend - 12.

16 - Income Tax

19 - Women's Suff.

17 - Direct Elect.

20 - Jan. 20

18 - Prohibition

21 - Repeal.

The fact that certain laws - declared

May yet become - - Income Tax - 1895

Supreme Court but it be remembered - infallible -

Important decisions - reversed - Expressly

For 70 years - common - condemned -

Repub. attacked - Fred Scott -

10. Extravagance - Not improved - Old charge

1896 - Rep. attack them -

1912. Dem. in Repul.

Feed Hungry! 35 billion World War.

Balance Budget - Hoover -

11. Religion - disrespectable - Landon not Anti-Party.
Even if certain - Our Community.

12. Real Issue - Progressivism - Conservatism.

As old - Legitimate -

Men will pump Eis -

This is why certain have left party

(4)

A blind movement towards real party alignment
2 Parties:

A - Gony Slow - Conservative

Concession to Bus - Trickle down

Minimum Taxation - widest base

" Gov. Control - except -

" Soc. Sec. Legis.

" Org power to labor

= Party of Right Center

B - More more rapidly - readjustment -

Courageous Experimentation

Direct efforts to raise

Taxation from those best able

to much govt regulation control -

Maximum Soc. Sec. legislation

" Org. power to labor

= Party of Left Center

= Square Deal - Progressive - New Freedom - New Deal

13. Leg. breaks diff. of opinion -

Essentially diff. - Jefferson - Jackson - Byrnes - Today

Am. Amer. should choose his stand -

and avoid - which resp. prop. should be an imperfect

MISSING PAGE (S)



6. Constitution - appeal for funds from "Repub. Nat. Com."

"To preserve Const. Govt. in the U.S."

"That this nation - shall not perish from the earth"
This, too, is a pertinent issue - frequently raised by
party out of power against party in power -

In 1904 the Dem. in their party platform hurled this charge
against ^{Thurding R.} ~~Thurding R.~~ ^{Wheeler R.} as now hurled against D. F. & R.

(F. & R.)

① Nobody is trying to over throw C - There have always
been "loose" and "tight" const. The C - i. e. Federalists
and States' Right. The ~~fact~~ ^{fact} is that it is the Dem.
who has always been champion of St. R. Thep. Federalists.
Now their role is reversed - In both instances
^{sent on purpose} ~~sent on purpose~~ ^{Dem.} ~~Dem.~~ ^{interest} dictated attitude toward Const - not
policy or sentiment.

C, great doc. not sacrosanct or inviolable. ^{not} ~~not~~
^{struggle and} ~~struggle and~~ ^{conference} ~~conference~~ - Makes provision for its own amendment.
within 2 yrs. There was ~~no~~ ^{no} offer. to it - 6
within 2 yrs - 12 amen. submitted by first Congress
and 10 ratified - Others followed. 3 after Civil War.
In our own day - the 16 = Income Tax

17 = direct election of Senators

18 = Prohibition

19 = Women Suffrage

20 = Term, Pres. & VP. Rep. Jan. 20

21 = Prohibition

E

The fact that certain laws passed by Congress within 3 yrs.
were ruled unconstitutional by Supreme Court - does not mean that
these laws were a del. attempt to undermine the Const.
or that laws were undemocratic or undemocratic. They
may yet become the law, passed by way of amendment.
- Even an income Tax law - which was ruled
unconstitutional by Supreme Court in 1895.

The Supreme Court, let it be remembered, is not
an infallible source, wisdom and legal objectivity.
Its important decisions ^{on the Const. & laws} are seldom unanimous.
It has frequently ~~transgressed~~ ^{transgressed} in fields ~~as~~. At
infrequently it has ~~reverted~~ ^{reverted} itself. It should
be remembered that the Const. the U.S. does not
expressly give the Court the power of reviewing
legislation. For 70 yrs. after adop. of C. not a
single law by Congress was actually declared unconstitutional.
Now it seems to have become a common place
thing for the P.C. - and some leading judges the
S. have condemned the practice. The P.C. is
decidedly not the law-making body, the V-S - and
was not intended to run the life of the country.
^{It should be remembered}
"The right of a citizen to be heard by the Court" - as vehemently by Scott & Lee.
As alien-attached income Tax returns

7. Extrajury - not impressed - old accusation
 1896. Refut. charged H. (Jute B)
 1912. Dem. " R. (Jute C)

Feed the hungry! - no one cried waste when
 Ann. poured out 35 billions to save world.

Balance Budget - with returning sea prospect -
 not in depression - const. decreasing revenues -
 The Budget was grossly unbalanced in
 Mr. Humes last 2 yrs. in office

8. Belgium - Landau Antisem.

Despicable - Jews vote as citizens.

Not Antisem. - Nothing in his record -

No basis to charge Refut Party - with
 bias, racial & rel.

Even tho certain Ant. groups in U.S. have
 called for defeat R. bec. of alleged prominence
 of Jew in his admin -

Landau is not resp. for that - ^{now is Rep. Party} Any more
 than R. is charged with em. bec. certain em.
 have said that they would vote for him.

Our Comm. org. Comm. on Fict. Issues - Every
 else. to win a few votes some cheap word-bulky
 will dist. circulars - charging ~~as all certain candidates~~
 or alleging that such charges have been made - so as to
 have JPs to answer - Repudiate them!

9. Real Issue - Proprietary vs. Conservation

As old as the country - And men
 will jump on accordingly - & by mistake
 that is why certain conserv. dems. have
 left party - & certain prog. Reps. have left
 them. All that are "deviates" - bad people!

Blind movement towards a real party
 alignment - Heretofore - hardly distinguishable -

The depression - the need for decisive action -
 the positive leadership of Pres. - has drawn the
 line & clear demarcation -

Two Parties (1) going slow - conservative - Conserv.
 Whigs - benefits trickling down to ~~low~~ worst
 farmer - or minimum taxpayers - a minimum
 port. control except in crisis - when port. should
 rush in and carry burden - a minimum
 social ^{regulation} legislation - a minimum of org. power to take

The Party, the Right - and the Center Right

a napkins, together from there but
 able to pay it - ↑

(2) ~~Found~~ that we are rapidly ~~to~~ in reaching nat-
econ. to demands of new machine-age - enormous
experimentation - heretofore to raise standard of
living of masses, benefits nothing up to top as
well - as much prot. capital ^{for public taxation} & ~~supply~~ ^{as total}
welfare requires ^{and protection against power & vested interests} ~~as much taxation~~ of maximum
social security by taxation - a max. ^{of income} ~~of income~~
to power of labor = Square Deal - New Freedom - New Deal

These are bygone tendencies - no longer sound
democracies. — And there are real issues which
can ~~broadly~~ cause an honest discussion of
principles among citizens.

There, essentially, were the issues in Jefferson's day, in Andrew Jackson's day, in Bryan's day, in Theodore R-day - they are the same in the era of F. D. R. —
 Those years stand on the basis of these crises — and avoid the fraud and swindle of the political issues which the U.S.P. Press are rejecting, in their campaign —



Working
no they do

The American Legion and Civil Liberty

By Walter Wilson

Former Southern Secretary of the Civil Liberties Union; author of "Forced Labor in the United States", "The Militia"; contributor to the *New Republic*, *Common Sense*, *Nation*, *American Mercury*, *Harper's*

"I warn you that our civilization is in danger if we heed the deceptive cries of special privilege, if we permit our men of great wealth to send us on a wild goose chase after so-called radicals while they continue to plunder the people. . . . We are told constantly of the evils of Socialism and Communism. The label is applied to every man, woman and child who dares to say a word which does not have the approval of Wall Street."

—From Governor George H. Earle's address to the 1935 Pennsylvania Legion convention.

no
Fascism

AMERICAN CIVIL LIBERTIES UNION

31 Union Square West

New York City

September, 1936

5 cents

FOREWORD

The undersigned members or former members of the American Legion, voicing our personal sentiments as defenders of American civil liberties, express our opposition to those activities and pronouncements of Legion officials and Legion posts which deny to others their rights under the law.

We have long looked with considerable distrust upon those tendencies in the Legion which seek to uphold a false concept of Americanism which denies freedom of expression to certain so-called subversive or radical groups and ideas. No line can successfully be drawn between one kind of language and another on public issues. Once any man or body of men set themselves up as censors of what may be tolerated, they assume a power which only public authorities may legally exercise.

This pamphlet calls attention to a long and unfortunate record of such misguided action and attitudes by American Legion officials and posts. It is in the interest of those more tolerant and progressive elements within the Legion that we express the hope that this pamphlet will help to counteract what are essentially un-American attitudes, totally unworthy of men who fought for democracy.

Ernest Angell, New York

Walter G. Bergman, Detroit

Rolland Bradley, Texas

Robert M. Coates, Conn.

Gardner Jackson, Washington, D. C.

W. W. Norton, New York

George D. Pratt, Jr., Conn.

Samuel Robbins, New York

Kenneth E. Walser, New York

Second: The State Governments should be held secure in their reserved rights, and the General government sustained on its constitutional powers, and that the Union should be revered and watched over as the palladium of our liberties.

The Republican party which appeared on the stage as a national party in 1855 resolved in its platform of 1860 that:

the people justly view with alarm the reckless extravagance which pervades every department of the Federal government; that a return to rigid economy and accountability is indispensable to arrest the systematic plunder of the public treasury by favored partisans; while the recent startling developments of frauds and corruptions at the Federal metropolis show that an entire change of administration is imperatively demanded.

What strangely familiar words! Have some of the Republican "spell binders" of recent months been reading history?

In 1861 the Republican party under Lincoln assumed the responsibility of the great national emergency of the Civil War. In the presidential campaign of 1864, waged in the midst of the war, the Democratic party adopted a platform stating that it was the object of the party:

to preserve the Federal Union and the rights of the states unimpaired, and they hereby declare that they consider that the administrative usurpation of extraordinary and dangerous powers not granted by the Constitution . . . is calculated to prevent a restoration of the Union and the perpetuation of a government deriving its just powers from the consent of the governed.

In attempting to meet the emergency of the depression, the Democrats are now under similar criticism at the hands of the Republicans.

LATER NINETEENTH CENTURY POLITICS

In 1868, after the Republicans had been elected to power twice, the Democratic platform demanded "economy in the administration of government; reform of abuses in administration; the abrogation of useless offices; and the restoration of rightful authority to, and the independence of the executive and judicial departments of the government."

In this year, 1868, the Democratic party bitterly attacked the Republican party for taking away constitutional powers from the president and exercising them through Congress. In 1936 the Republicans savagely assail the Democrats for abdicating their powers as Representatives and Senators in favor of the chief executive. In other respects, too, the onslaughts of the Democrats in 1868 and the attacks of the Republicans in 1936 appear to be first cousins. Let the Democratic platform of 1868 speak:

In demanding these measures and reforms we arraign the Radical (Republican) party for its disregard of right, and the unparalleled oppression and tyranny which have marked its career . . . Its corruption and extravagance have exceeded anything known in history, and by its frauds and monopolies it has nearly doubled the burden of the debt created by the war . . . Under its assaults the pillars of the government are rocking on their base, and should it succeed in November next and inaugurate its President, we will meet, as a subjected and conquered people, amid the ruins of liberty and the scattered fragments of the Constitution.

The Republican party did succeed in November, 1868, and the Constitution is still pretty much alive!

Other comments are in order in connection with the preceding paragraph. In 1868 it was the Republican party that was accused of extravagance and corruption. In 1868 the powers of Congress waxed, while the powers of the president waned. In 1936 the powers of a Democratic president have waxed, while the powers of Congress have waned—so it is argued. In 1868 the Constitution was on the verge of being destroyed by a "Radical" Republican party; in 1936 it is the "Radical" Democratic party that is making a concerted drive upon our palladium of liberty. The death knell of the Constitution has been sounded so often in our history, few informed citizens now take the matter seriously.

In 1876 we find the Democratic party, out of office for over fifteen years, denouncing the Republicans in familiar language.

Reform is necessary to establish a sound currency, restore the public credit and maintain the national honor . . . Reform is necessary in the sum and mold of Federal taxation, to the end that capital may be set free from distrust (has anyone heard this from Republicans in recent months?) and labor lightly burdened . . . Reform is necessary in the scale of public expense, Federal, State and municipal.

Resolved that this convention, representing the Democratic party of the states, do cordially indorse the action of the present House of Representatives in reducing and curtailing the expenses of the Federal government, in cutting down the enormous salaries, extravagant appropriations, and in abolishing useless offices and places not required by the public necessities, and we shall trust to the firmness of the Democratic members of the House that no committee of conference and no misrepresentation of the rules will be allowed to defeat these wholesome measures of economy demanded by the country.

In 1880 the Democrats added to the demand stated in the preceding paragraph that of "opposition to centralization and to that dangerous spirit of encroachment which tends to consolidate the powers of all the departments in one, and thus to create whatever be the form of government, a real despotism." This is in line with the charges of the American Liberty League, the Republican party, and large corporations that we have a dictatorship in Washington.

In the Democratic platform of 1884 appears a statement that seems to be a part of the "thunder" of the Republicans in the present campaign. "We are opposed to all propositions which upon any pretext would convert the General Government into a machine for collecting taxes to be distributed among the States, or the citizens thereof." Since March, 1933, the Democratic party has been spending federal funds by the millions among the states and the "citizens thereof." What a change!

The Democratic party elected a president in 1884, lost the election of 1888, but elected Cleveland president in 1892, together with a Democratic Congress. The Republican platform of 1896 grandiloquently states:

For the first time since the Civil War the American people have witnessed the calamitous consequences of full and unrestricted Democratic control of the government. It has been a record of unparalleled incapacity, dishonor, and disaster. In administrative management it has ruthlessly sacrificed indispensable revenue, entailed an unceasing deficit, eked out ordinary expenses with borrowed money, piled up the public

debt by \$262,000,000 in time of peace, forced an adverse balance of trade, kept a perpetual menace hanging over the redemption fund, pawned American credit to alien syndicates and reversed all the measures and results of successful Republican rule. In broad effect of its policy it has precipitated panic, blighted industry and trade with prolonged depression, closed factories, reduced work and wages, halted enterprise and crippled American production, while stimulating foreign production for the American market.

The reader may draw his own conclusions.

RECENT POLITICAL HISTORY

By 1904 the country had experienced three years of the first Roosevelt. Remembering the charges hurled against President Franklin D. Roosevelt by the Republicans and others, it is informing to note that the Democrats in their platform of 1904 fling similar charges at the elder Roosevelt. Here they are:

We favor the nomination and election of a president imbued with the principles of the Constitution, who will set his face sternly against executive usurpation of legislative and judicial functions, whether that usurpation be veiled under the guise of executive construction of existing laws or whether it take refuge in the tyrant's plea of necessity or superior wisdom.

The shoe on the other foot pinches!

The outpourings of the Republicans in their platform of 1908 sound strangely similar to the charges they have been hurling at the present Democratic administration for some months past. Here are a few choice selections:

Beyond all platform declarations there are fundamental differences between the Republican party and its chief opponent which make the one worthy and the other unworthy of public trust.

The trend of Democracy is toward socialism, while the Republican party stands for wise and regulated individualism. Socialism would destroy wealth, Republicanism would prevent its abuse. Socialism would give to each an equal right to take; Republicanism would give to each an equal right to earn. Socialism would offer an equality of possession which would soon leave no one anything to possess; Republicanism would give equality of opportunity which would assure to each his share of a constantly increasing sum of possessions. In line with this tendency the Democratic party of today believes in Government ownership, while the Republican party believes in Government regulation. Ultimately Democracy would have the nation own the people, while Republicanism would have the people own the nation.

So late as 1912 the Democrats

denounce the profligate waste of the money wrung from the people by oppressive taxation through the lavish appropriations of recent Republican Congresses, which have kept taxes high and reduced the purchasing power of the people's toil. We demand a return to that simplicity and economy which befits a Democratic government and a reduction in the number of useless offices, the salaries from which drain the substance of the people.

Just now the Republicans are at the old game of trying to convince the American public that the Democrats are the enemies of the Constitution. Thus the platform adopted by the Cleveland convention in June states:

The Powers of Congress have been usurped by the President. The integrity and authority of the Supreme Court have been flouted.

The Rights and liberties of American citizens have been violated.

The New Deal administration constantly seeks to usurp the rights reserved to the States and the people.

It has insisted on the passage of laws contrary to the Constitution.

It has been guilty of frightful waste and extravagance, using public funds for partisan political purposes.

Again, how often in the past has the party out of power appealed to the citizens of all parties to step in and save the situation from the usurper! The Republicans this year, running true to the form adopted by both major parties, aver that "this campaign cannot be waged on the traditional differences between the Republican and Democratic parties. The responsibility of this election transcends all previous political divisions. We invite all Americans, irrespective of party, to join us in defense of American institutions."

Compare this statement with a plank in the Democratic platform of 1868, adopted in the midst of Reconstruction following the emergency of the Civil War.

Upon this platform the Democratic party appeals to every patriot, including all the Conservative element and all who desire to unite with us in the present great struggle for the liberties of the people; and that to all such, to whatever party they may have heretofore belonged, we extend the right hand of fellowship, and hail all such cooperating with us as friends and brethren.

THE EDUCATOR'S RESPONSIBILITY

Educators of every rank, the country over, have a vital interest in this whole matter. It is to them, more than any other group, that the American people must look for scientific analysis, calm judgment, and a steady hand in the midst of the calls of parties and the cries of special interests. Education must be the headlight in a period of seeming chaos; it must be the handmaiden of statesmanship, if we are to make progress in the years ahead.

Regardless of who is victorious in the coming November election, the defeated party will appeal to the electorate in 1940 to save the Constitution from its wreckers, the party in power. But every informed citizen knows that some day the wrecker will stand in the role of a saviour. In the meantime, orderly constitutional reform will go marching on. Deep social and economic problems in the life of the nation cannot be settled by technical interpretation based upon a narrow personal social philosophy. We have departed from the "Founding Fathers," and hence a Republican victory in November will not restore us to 1787. (Or even to 1929!)

A statement by John Morley in his life of Richard Cobden is pertinent and timely in the midst of the confused partisans and advocates that confront us at every turn.

Great economic and social forces flow with a tidal sweep over communities that are only half conscious of that which is befalling them. Wise statesmen are those who foresee what time is thus bringing and endeavor to shape institutions and to mold men's thought and purposes in accordance with the change that is silently surrounding them.

What part will the educators of America play in the shaping of institutions and the molding of men's thought and purposes in the coming years?

ROY MALCOLM

Why the Republicans Need Funds

"All supporters of Governor Landon should realize that we are in a hard campaign. To assume that the campaign is won is silly. To assume that it can't be won is cowardly. It will be won, but only by two things. *The first is that those who can do so will give freely and as never before to help the cause.* The second is that those responsible for the use of funds in organization and educational work do so wisely, taking no account of hours or personal inconvenience.

"We shall not be content with half-hearted action—we shall not be satisfied with a mere political organization, for the story to be told must be carried into every home—into every factory—into every town and hamlet of the land. We will not have great funds at our command; we will not have the assistance of a horde of political hirelings fighting to save their jobs, but we will have the aid of unselfish thousands eager and anxious to carry the message, and through their courage and spirit we shall hold the last lines of representative government and preserve the future of America."

—JOHN D. M. HAMILTON,

Chairman, Republican National Committee.

(OVER)

"That this nation . . shall not perish from the earth"

—Lincoln's Gettysburg address, Nov. 19, 1863.

The REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE asks your cooperation in making the campaign to sell one million PARTICIPATION CERTIFICATES a great demonstration of the determination of our people to preserve constitutional government in the United States.

Please send in One Dollar in the Postpaid Order Envelope, giving us your name and address in full. The PARTICIPATION CERTIFICATE will be mailed to you by the REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

If you would like additional ORDER ENVELOPES to use among your friends, we shall be glad to send you as many as you wish.

Your assistance in this important work will be deeply appreciated.

REPUBLICAN NATIONAL COMMITTEE

Box S, Chicago, Ill.



(OVER)

McDermott on Life

Can We Stand Prosperity? . . . Evidence Suggests We Can't . . . Cynicism, Greed Returning.

BY WILLIAM F. McDERMOTT.

Maybe human nature can't stand prosperity. There are still some millions of jobless folk who are probably not entirely convinced that everything is peaches and cream. But everybody knows that times are better.

You don't have to read the production indices or to examine the business charts to be sure of that. There is a certain amount of prosperity visible in the air and walking the streets. It may be fanciful, but you imagine that the very atmosphere of this town is different than it was a year ago, or two years ago. You sense hopefulness and buoyancy in the air.

The streets are crowded and the folk look livelier. Go into the shops and you find people in numbers and a good many of them seem to be buying. The commercial sections of the town have a bustling, alert and energetic look.

Prosperity doubtless has not spread its wings to cover every nest, but there is certainly more evidence of it than you could see last year. The exposition probably has something to do with the change. It organized and released a lagging spirit of enterprise.

But what is taking place here is also occurring in one degree or another all over the United States. Industry is active, merchants are selling, the business clouds are fading. We may be facing another chance to see if we can stand genuine prosperity.

Humanity Felt Sunk.

There is some evidence to suggest that we can't. I am thinking of a number of things. In the bitter depths of the depression people were nervous and frightened. The bottom had dropped out of the world and humanity was left with a sunk and dizzy feeling.

The sensation was unpleasant but it had its social recompenses. People with too much self-certainty lost it. Since nearly everybody, from the humblest to the most powerful, found himself worse off than he was before, there was an increase in sympathy for the under dog. Love of justice, they say, is simply the fear of suffering injustice, and the folk at the top were dropped into a position where they could get a better view of the under dog and what it means to be one.

Public psychology at that time was sympathetic to reform, to any measures that promised a more livable life for all the people, since everybody was in the same boat and the boat seemed to have holes in it.

This is not a political piece, but I think it is legitimate and pertinent to recall the general attitude toward President Roosevelt in these sunless days. He was an almost universal hero, a gallant and unafraid spirit who was to lead us out of the wilderness and re-orient us in a world that had become dark and confusing.

Any reform he proposed, however ill-conceived, would have been received with enthusiasm. Nowadays any reform that he might propose, however just and wise, would be torn to pieces by the same people who would have backed it up reverently in 1933, or at least would have

been resigned and complaisant about it.

It seems to me it is not Roosevelt who has changed since those days. It is the public psychology that has changed and the change, I should guess, is largely due to the removal of fear and the return, in some substantial degree, of business prosperity.

Not Defending Roosevelt.

This is no unreserved defense of the Roosevelt administration. I think it is open to the eyes of any man not entirely blinded by partisan feeling that some aspects of the administration program have been blundering, half-baked, opportunist, wasteful and dizzy.

But I suspect that some of the bitter feeling now shown toward Roosevelt is not rooted in resentment against what can reasonably be regarded as mistakes and failures. It is not aroused by objection against the way in which reforms have been carried out. It is based rather in hostility toward any reform.

The old guard stands just where it was. It wants a return to things as they were with all their inequities and their injustices. The glimpse of a returning prosperity has encouraged its members to believe that the clock can be turned back and the world remodeled in the ancient patterns that they found highly comfortable.

There is no longer the same acute consciousness of the prevalence and pain of poverty. The realization that society at the best has meant wretched living for millions of people is comfortably put out of mind.

With the first faint blush of prosperity the old arrogances are coming back, the familiar cockiness, the carelessness about the lives of others so long as one's own is well upholstered.

Greed, ruthlessness, callous cynicism we have with us always, but they seem to be softened by a depression and brought into their most exquisite flower by the first winds of prosperity.



William F. McDermott

FICTITIOUS ISSUES IN THE CAMPAIGN

The salvation of our world lies with those people who can think with a minimum of bias and feel with a maximum of restraint. Political propaganda aims to make people do the exact opposite. The clamor and confusion of a political campaign is the price we pay for democratic government and it is not too high a price. It is far better than a dictatorship with concentration camps for the opposition. Occasionally, however, our campaigns become particularly embittered and acrimonious, high-pitched and slightly hysterical. The present one is just ^{such} a campaign. Our country is not teetering on the edge of an abyss and all those frantic blood curdling warnings which fill the air are unwarranted and uncalled for. Those who use them are simply swindlers.

Communism, the preservation of constitutional government, dictatorship, ~~the~~ the inviolability of the Constitution and of the Supreme Court are fictitious ~~and~~ fraudulent issues in this campaign. President Roosevelt is no more a Communist than Governor Landon is a Fascist. The close tie-up between Moscow and Washington exists nowhere except in the minds of political partisans, millionaire publishers and politically minded ecclesiastics. Communism is the handy stick today with which to belabor every law which one does not like and every candidate of whom one does not approve. Nobody is trying to destroy the Constitution of the United States. In our long history there have always been "loose" and "strict" constructionists of the Constitution, advocates of Federalism ~~and~~ and State Rights. The fact that certain laws of the present administration have been declared ~~un~~ unconstitutional does not prove that those laws were intended to undermine the Constitution or that they may not tomorrow become the law of the land through an amendment to the Constitution.

The real issue in this campaign is the same one which cuts athwart the whole history of American political life - progressivism versus conservatism. Intelligent men are grouping themselves accordingly. A definite movement towards real in place of nominal party alignments is now going on in this country. Heretofore, the differences between the Democratic and Republican parties were hardly noticeable. As a result of the depression, the need for decisive action, and the positive leadership of the President, there has been going on and will continue a sharpening of definition between the two parties. That is why so many deserted their own allegiances in this campaign.

One will be the Right Center Party, the party of the conservative possessing groups in our country which will advocate concessions to business and industry in the hope that it will bring about prosperity which will then ~~trickle~~ trickle down to the workers and the farmers, a minimum of taxation spread over the widest area, a minimum of government control and regulation except in periods of critical depression, a minimum of social security legislation and a minimum of organizational power to Labor.

The other will be the Left Center Party which believes in moving more rapidly, in readjusting our national economy to new conditions, in direct efforts to raise the income and the standard of living of the workers and farmers, in taxation levied upon those best able to bear it, in as much government regulation and control as are necessary to protect the little fellow from monopolistic exploitation, a maximum of social security legislation, and the organizational power of Labor.

These are issues upon which men can honestly differ and have differed since the days of Hamilton and Jefferson. The American citizen going to the polls next November should choose his party on the basis of these real continuing issues in American life and avoid the fictitious issues which irresponsible propagandists and swindlers have introduced into this campaign.