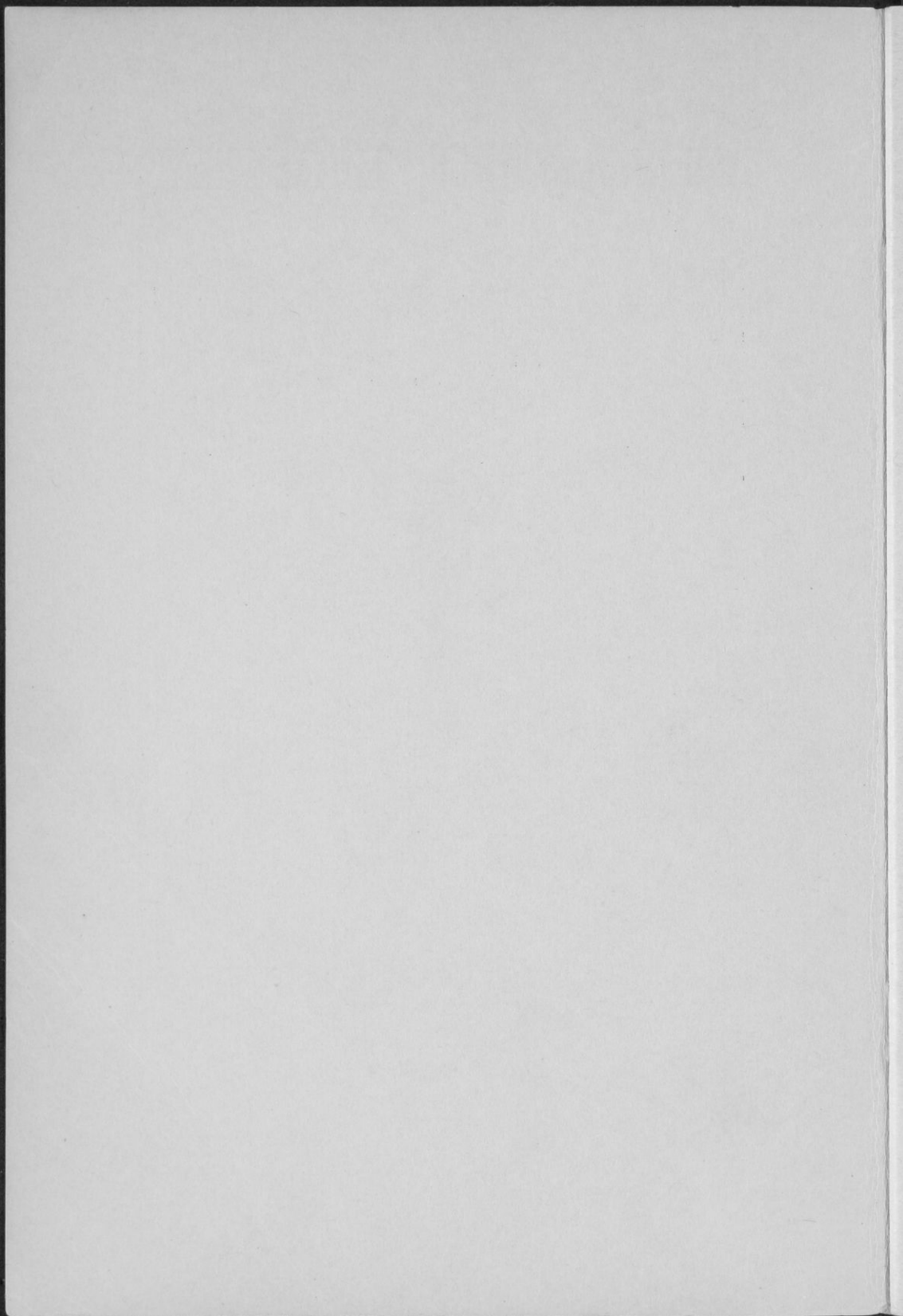


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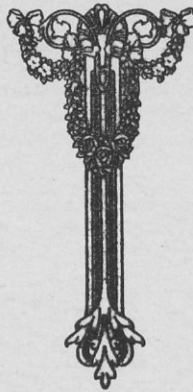
# America Under Three Flags

By  
Samuel Cleland



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## INTRODUCTION

### America Under Three Flags

In this booklet is published an article written for us by a non-Catholic lawyer entitled AMERICA UNDER THREE FLAGS.

It opens with an address of the lawyer to an assembly of Legionnaires, of whom he himself is one. It is replete with genuine patriotism and Americanism as contrasted with Communism, Socialism, political dishonesty, capitalistic selfishness and the many other social and economic ills which, if not checked and cured, will lead to the death of our republic, and its democracy.

Summed up, the argument of Mr. Samuel Cleland, the author, may be reduced to this thought: "There is only one safe Ism in America, and that is Americanism."

This doctrine should be more widely taught both from the editor's desk and the political platform. With all its evil there is absolutely no doubt that the American form of government is the best in the world, and that its principles can conduce to prosperity, peace and happiness as can those of no other political policy obtaining on earth.

It is unnecessary to destroy our government or to substitute another form for it, precisely because there is much to criticize in the present state of society in the United States. The fault lies not with our constitution or form of government, but with the people who, reared without a knowledge of religious principles and, therefore, not given to religious practice, grow up into a citizenry which is unable to distinguish between right and wrong. If we will only build up our lives along the lines of fundamental Christian morality, and demand that those who would serve us in political life actually be bent on serving us instead of themselves, we shall see a returning contentment and prosperity promoted by the blessing of Heaven.

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# AMERICA UNDER THREE FLAGS

## Something For Others Besides Legionnaires To Think About

### I. PREAMBLE TO THE AMERICAN LEGION CONSTITUTION:

"For God and country we associate ourselves together for the following purposes: To uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States of America; to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one hundred percent Americanism; to preserve the memories and incidents of our association in the great War; to inculcate a sense of individual obligation to the community, state and nation; to combat the autocracy of both the classes and the masses; to make right the Master of Might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and Democracy; to consecrate and sanctify our comradeship by our devotion to mutual helpfulness."

At meeting after meeting, month after month, for sixteen years, more than a half million men throughout America in American Legion meetings have heard this great declaration of principle.

Since the American Legion has become so disturbed over the growth of Communism, Fascism and other Isms in America, I wonder sometimes how many of this great mass of men really appreciate or give any serious thought to the significance of this declaration of principle.

I sometimes wonder whether it would not be worth while at a series of American Legion meetings to study this preamble to its Constitution, clause by clause, and discuss it so that our membership might be impressed with the fact that there is embodied in it, not only the aspirations of a great military order, but the hopes and aspirations of a nation and a guide for civilization everywhere, if these principles are carried out and made virile in the lives of men.

I sometimes feel that too many of us are inclined toward the belief that this declaration of principle is intangible in its character, and furnishes only an inspiration for the artist and poet.

Certain it is that the artist could take this preamble and from it put on canvass thousands of beautiful pictures which would provide an inspiration for all mankind, and poets likewise with their pens could be inspired to write volumes of poetry, expressive of the great sentiment contained in it.

This preamble is the expression of an ideal, but it is also the declaration of a principle upon which the happiness of a whole people is grounded.

#### A. DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE.

If we in our more thoughtless moods are inclined to regard the preamble to the Constitution of the American Legion as merely an ideal, it might be worth our while to draw the analogy between this preamble and the Declaration of Independence of the United States of America, or the Constitution upon which a great nation has been built, and under which our hundred thirty millions of people live.

Possibly the preamble to the Declaration of Independence may have been at one time regarded as an intangible, indefinite expression of sentiment when the writer said:

"We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights, that among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights governments are instituted among men, deriving their just power from the consent of the governed."

That may be the expression of an ideal, but it is more than that.

It is the germ from which a great nation grew, and it is still the norm by which our rights are measured. There is no element of absolutism in the expression of this principle, for on it was grounded the Constitution of the United States of America—the safeguard of human rights.

This is the expression of a heritage handed down from generation to generation which belongs to you and to me.

#### B. THE CONSTITUTION OF THE UNITED STATES.

That those men who penned the Constitution of the United States did not regard the rights guaranteed by it as intangible is evidenced by the fact that in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States they said:

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

A recognition, if you please, of an ideal expressed in the Declaration of Independence, that there are certain rights which men are entitled to enjoy under our form of government, which do not come from men, rights which are inherent in human nature.

They are rights which may be traced back far beyond the birth of our nation; rights which may be traced back through the dim distant past to the rugged brow of Mount Sinai where the Decalogue was



handed down as a guide for the conduct of man in his relationships and associations with other men.

When we are confronted with the question of this Ism or that Ism, and hear the advocacy of a change of our form of government for the purpose of giving to the common man of America more rights and more liberties, we find the complete answer in the Preamble to the Constitution itself, comprised of only four or five lines.

In fact we find it in the first seven words accentuated and emphasized by the first word in the preamble, "We, the people of the United States". There is no form of government in which the principle is more clearly or definitely asserted that the powers of government come directly from the people than in that of our own.

Why, then, should we become unduly alarmed in our bewilderment caused by distress and dislocated economic institutions and impulsively go forth as Don Quixotes fighting windmills, only to exhaust ourselves, and in the end accomplish little but an illogical and unintelligent approach to the problem.

There is a logical and intelligent answer to Communism. There is a logical and intelligent approach to the problem found in the preamble to our own Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States, and nothing is said in any one of the three of them that we should accomplish our purpose by cracking men's skulls.

The preamble to the Constitution of the American Legion is more than a pledge for the purpose of lip-service and repetition in order to get our meetings opened up.

## II. RESPONSIBILITY OF THE AMERICAN LEGION

It is a pledge on our part as members of the greatest lay organization in America to make virile and active in American life the principles declared in this preamble.

This is a responsibility which we have voluntarily assumed, and the American Legion is not just another organization.

The responsibilities of the men who belong to the American Legion are perhaps more grave today in the face of a distressed people and a divided public opinion as to the efficacy and usefulness of our form of government than was our responsibility when we as boys shouldered the rifle and took our departure to the battle front.

We carried on then! we assumed our responsibility; we discharged our obligation to our country, and the victory was ours. How happy were we and how happy were the American people when victory was accomplished!

How proud was the American people of the men who had worn the khaki and borne the brunt of battle!

You remember as do I, when we returned home and marched down the streets of the great American cities, people standing on the curbs

with waving flags and tears streaming down the cheeks of mothers and wives in their happiness and elation that it was finished.

The treaty of Versailles was written with pens dipped in the blood of our fellow soldiers which had flowed across the plains of Flanders Fields, in the very shadow of the white crosses, row on row, by world diplomats and statesmen who endeavored to define a lasting peace.

It is not strange, as we look back and review the history of the brief years which have passed, that a treaty written in the blood of thousands of men in the very shadow of the crosses, row on row, could not be written in a spirit of magnanimity, Christian principle, fairness and justice to every nation represented at that table.

Even then when memories were fresh, and sorrows great, selfishness, avariciousness and greed raised their heads over the edge of the peace table and crept into the very terms of the treaty itself, bringing to a sad and sorrowing world not peace, not a feeling of common brotherhood, but jealousy, hatred, and animosity which has spread throughout the entire world, creating a condition where civilization itself stands on the edge of the precipice and gazes down into the black swirling muddy waters of Fascism, Communism, Dictatorship, poverty, distress, dissension, distrust, and hatred.

A disjointed and dislocated world-economic structure has carried much of this into America. It is here, and it has become our problem.

It is ours for solution, and let me call your attention to the fact that hate cannot be destroyed by hate, distrust by distrust, dissension by abuse, lack of confidence by suspicion.

America truly must have a new birth of freedom, a new birth of thought, a re-birth of the original ideals upon which she was founded, and no organization in these United States can contribute so much toward that re-birth as the American Legion if it but will assume its responsibility and discharge it in a practical, definite, concrete way.

### III. ONE HUNDRED PERCENT AMERICANISM

I am aware of the fact that we have assumed the obligation to discharge this responsibility in our Americanization program, and in the expression of our belief in a One Hundred Percent Americanism under the Constitution of the United States of America, and under law and order.

I am aware of the fact that we have likewise contributed much more than the public of America have any conception of, in our child welfare program alone.

The Child Welfare Program of the American Legion is not based upon the idea that we discharge a responsibility today and tomorrow, this year and the next, but that we have assumed an obligation that reaches through the years into the future, and we have undertaken the task, not only of regenerating a new conception of our practical ideals



of government in the adults of the present age, but we look to the future with a full appreciation and consciousness that the future citizen of tomorrow is the child of today.

We cannot for one moment neglect to carry out to the fullest extent the building of American citizenship by building it upon the foundations of childhood.

We may have been a little careless in our Americanization program insofar as meeting the present problems are concerned.

We may have adopted the wrong course, and we may be following the wrong procedure in our attempt to meet the spirit of Radicalism and Communism in America.

I hold the conviction that the approach cannot and must not be made by abuse, criticism and bitterness.

It must be made in the spirit of helpfulness, by the spirit of knowledge; by inculcating into our associates and the people with whom we come in contact a new conception of what our government is, what it stands for, and the degree of control the individual citizen has over it if he will but exercise his right of citizenship.

The government belongs to him. It is an instrumentality created for his protection, and if he does not derive the full benefit of it, if he has allowed himself to be exploited and plundered by an unfair and unjust economic system, he has done it because he has lost consciousness of his rights, and of the greatness and efficacy of his form of government.

I do not hold the conviction that to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States there is any obligation on the part of the common man and woman of America to sit idly by and allow himself to be plundered and exploited by an economic system which is grounded upon selfishness.

I do not believe that to uphold and defend the Constitution of the United States means that the American citizen must sit by and allow the Capitalistic system to be operated as it has been too often operated in the past for the profit of the few and the poverty of the many.

#### IV. AMERICA UNDER THREE FLAGS

As a matter of fact, exploitation and plunder was never contemplated by the founders of the nation.

The Constitution does not give to any class or group the right to exploit and plunder the common man.

We set up at the beginning a cooperative state under democratically free institutions, and it can be made a cooperative state where political liberty will be secured, the right to private property saved by a discharge of our responsibilities, and the mere giving effect to the fundamental principles underlying our whole social and economic structure as they are defined and determined by our form of government.

I need not argue or press the point that our government in years that have gone by since the war, has failed to accomplish the purpose expressed in the preamble to the Constitution.

No argument is needed to convince any honest thinking man that our government has failed to discharge its full responsibility in affording the protection to the individual citizen, to which he is entitled.

It has not done it because the individual citizen has become lethargic, and has permitted the control of his government, and I say his government advisedly, to get out of his hands and into the hands and control of a small group actuated by avarice and greed.

He has allowed the control of his government to depart from him into the hands of the American Bourgeoisie. He has permitted under this form of government, by virtue of the power which has been grasped by those who control the nation's wealth and resources, the development of class differences and distinctions which were not contemplated under our form of government, and it is his to retrieve if he wants it badly enough to use the God-given intellect which he possesses, rather than to vote party emblems.

I know of no reason why a halo should be thrown about a man's head because he happens to be a Democrat; I know of no rule which vests in a man a superior intellect because he happens to be a Republican.

The only thing of which I am certain is that the failure of our government to function has arisen largely because our people have chosen to vote party emblems rather than principle, integrity, character and intellect.

The common man of America has allowed his government to escape from his control and today we find a nation living under three flags.

That assertion might startle you somewhat, but is it not true in substance and in fact? The stars and stripes, the red, white and blue, has been the emblem under which our nation has been builded under a Democratic form of government emanating directly from the people.

As it waves in the breeze from its staffs all over the nation, it gently unfolds to a great people the silent expression of principle contained in the Declaration of Independence, of the Constitution of the United States.

For almost a century and a half it was not challenged. The challenge came with poverty and distress, with dissension and distrust, and a substantial group of people have been seeking to raise and have raised within a rather sizeable group a new flag with the expression of an entirely different theory of government, and an entirely different ideal.

It is red. To me it signifies and stands for the blood of terrorism, militarism, dictatorship of the Proletariat, the destruction of political

liberty, the destruction of private and property rights, yea, verily, even the destruction of the right to worship the Creator as we may choose.

From another source a different flag has been raised. The black flag of the Fascist,—to me the symbol of despair, of darkness, of lost hope, of a Dictatorship not of the Proletariat, but of the Bourgeoisie.

You have heard the expression many, many times during this depression that what we need in America is a Dictator. That the best form of government in the world is a benign Dictatorship, but you should bear in mind that there is no such thing as benignity in Dictatorships.

The Dictator may be benign so long as you do not disagree, but as soon as disagreement arises with the Dictator in power, benignity is transformed into cruelty, destruction and death.

To many of us America under three flags is utterly inconceivable.

#### V. OUR SMUG COMPLACENCY

That grows out of the fact that during the better part of a century and a half of national existence, we have developed a smug complacency that our institutions are infallible; that our capacity to produce wealth is unlimited; that our ability to assure distribution so that men everywhere may participate in the benefits of production of wealth is beyond question. In this smugness and self-satisfaction we have become oblivious to the fact that gradually there has been taken away from the common man and woman in America his political rights.

They were not taken away from him by force. He still has the right of free speech; he still has the right of franchise; he still has the right to own property if he can get hold of it; he still has every right that was guaranteed to him under the Constitution of the United States, but he has surrendered his ability to exercise those rights.

He surrendered his ability to exercise those rights by his lethargy and growing belief that the thing that mattered most in America was material wealth, and that wealth brought with it power.

That wealth brings with it power cannot be denied, and that wealth has great influence over government, at various times since the war is, I think, too amply demonstrated to require argument.

I do not make this assertion from a partisan point of view at all. If we are to remain bitter partisans and refuse to recognize true facts because of party labels, how under God's heaven may we ever hope to get out of the dilemma we are in?

We never dreamed of the possibility of more than one flag, and one form of Government; but let me tell you that that one flag and that one form of government today stands in a very definite position of peril.

It is ours to preserve; it is ours to save; it is ours to maintain, and it is the responsibility of every citizen to forget his party affiliations and recognize the responsibilities of citizenship as Americans first.

I am tired of Democrats. I am tired of Republicans. I love Americans.

A devastating depression, the greatest in all the history of the nation, has precipitated millions of men into the bread lines, reduced to a state of abject poverty one-fifth of the entire population, and reduced another one-fourth of our population to a state of near poverty, and brought to another one-third of our population an economic insecurity, that has destroyed a confidence in our government.

My theory is that the approach to this problem, and the only intelligent and effective approach that can be made is by a campaign of education accomplished by cooperative effort on the part of the press of America, without any bitter partisan attitudes, and without its party ties, recognizing first of all that Americanism is more important than Democrats or Republicans; recognizing likewise that principles of government are more important than party labels; recognizing further that economic security cannot be attained under the god of profit and of greed; recognizing that America cannot live under a system where the balance sheet is substituted for the Bible.

#### VI. THE THREE THEORIES OF GOVERNMENT

When we speak of America under three flags there arises in our minds the postulate that the three flags are symbolic of three different forms of government arising out of three ideals, which are different.

Ours is the democratic form of government under which we have builded a great nation, a form of government representative both in substance and in fact.

The second theory of government of which I have spoken, the Communistic theory, is symbolized by the red flag, a Dictatorship of the Proletariat governed by the reign of terror.

The third, the Fascistic theory, is rather indefinite in its character, but the outstanding example of which we have exemplified in Italy and in Germany.

Let us first briefly analyze and consider the Communistic theory of government.

#### VII. COMMUNISTIC THEORY

We are inclined to create much furore over the reputed spread of Communism and the Communistic theories of government in this country.

Unfortunately the opposition to Communism has been based upon assertion that those who believe in Communistic theories of government are traitorous and Benedict Arnolds.

With this approach, those of us who believe in Democratic forms of government might in the abstract agree. We are not, however, confronted with the theory that we can down this movement by a wave of the hand or by the assertion that those who do believe in it are traitors or are insane.



The basic elements underlying the movement are too deep-seated to be disposed of so lightly or easily.

Perhaps we have not definitely enough defined the distinction between Democracy and Communism.

Democracy is a system of political institutions, wherein there is sought to perpetuate and retain power in the people themselves by virtue of political liberty, as distinguished from economic liberty; to recall laws that have been enacted to change policies; to define rights; to prescribe new regulations for the conduct of society generally.

On the other hand, Communism is a system of economic institutions. The whole theory of Communism is based upon that of the hard, cold-blooded rules of economy and business; upon the theory that upon cold-blooded business transactions are reposed all of the rights of the people.

It should be remembered that a system of political institutions and a system of economic institutions are neither the same nor are they direct opposites. They are, however, different.

#### A. POLITICAL LIBERTY & PRIVATE PROPERTY

Communism destroys political freedom, and private property with one stroke of the pen. Democracy may regulate and control the use of private property, so that it may not be used to abridge or destroy the rights of fellow citizens. It never has had for its purpose the destruction of private property rights.

As our institutions have grown more complex, it has become apparent that regulations of the use of private property, particularly with reference to basic industries controlled by large wealth, affecting a large number of people, is necessary to the preservation of our Democratic institutions.

The recent theory which has been developed is that the government itself possesses the inherent right to regulate the use of such property, in order that the largest number of people may derive a benefit therefrom, and at the same time permit those who have the investment of such property to derive a return from its use.

It therefore resolves itself somewhat into the question of profits, in that in a socially-controlled Democracy it is contended, and I think logically, that the government not only has the right to, but must, if it discharges its duty, regulate those profits in such manner that they are not derived from the exploitation of any class or any group of people.

#### B. DIRECT CENTRALISM

The theory of Communism is a direct centralism based upon the idea of making the people politically literate, and of rendering them immune to the demagogy which has prevailed in all ages, rendering them immune to appeals to passion based upon illiteracy, appeals to prejudice based upon lack of reason and thought.

It concedes the theory that the ultimate seat of authority of government is in the people, and from those premises it arrives at the conclusion that this cannot be worked out in a Democracy, because capitalism has grown to such proportions and has attained such a degree of power as to give the capitalistic class an undue advantage and a preponderance of power, and that this class on account of this preponderance of power, accompanied by selfishness, avariciousness and greed, cannot obliterate from their minds the thought that they are of the elite and that they have the right to exploit the common mass of men and women in America.

When we sit down and coldly view this theory in the light of present day economic conditions, it is not at all strange that many distressed people have become interested in it.

There is also a theory of a class Dictatorship predicated upon a class war wherein the Dictatorship shall be that of the Proletariat, and in order to accomplish this purpose it is necessary to destroy Capitalism, and all of its attributes.

As a basis for their progress they classify labor, and by that I mean the blue shirt man at the bench wherein muscle and brawn count, foster strikes in an effort to disrupt industry and breed dissension among the workers.

Unconsciously or subconsciously their leaders have classified the people into three groups: The capitalistic class, the middle class, or bourgeoisie, and the worker, which they themselves automatically class in the lowest of the stratas in American society.

Their appeal is that the capitalistic class are their natural enemies; that they are motivated by the desire to exploit and destroy the worker, they keep him repressed, and to make of him an industrial slave.

They view the middle class as a weak and vacillating group, which has no definite or set convictions, and will eventually get on the wagon carrying the largest band and making the most noise; that the middle class has a desire to always be on the winning side; that it has no class consciousness because it is a middle class, and it has no opportunity to develop one because it has been living in reasonable comfort, and has been enjoying not only the benefits of oppressed labor, but likewise the benefits of a capitalistic system as it has been conducted in America.

We have witnessed the ascendancy of Communism in Russia, Spain, Mexico and to a lesser degree in France.

Their Democratic centralism based upon the idea of making the people politically literate in order that their liberties may be more secure, and that they may enjoy them more fully, has developed into a Dictatorship of the Proletariat accompanied by a militarism which we have not seen in the world prior to the rise of Hitler; a terrorism, which strikes panic into the hearts of the people, and causes them to



applaud the principles of government, which has been crushing them under the heel of tyranny by the suppression of their civil liberties.

They claim the ultimate object is to free the individual and protect his rights, but that it is necessary until the transition can be made to follow a policy of tyranny; that as soon as all class distinction can be obliterated and wiped out, equal freedom will then be granted to all, and that there will be no destruction of race, no recognition of creed, no distinction with reference to intellectual capacity.

That their theory is appalling cannot be denied, and that they are ambitious in their program goes without dispute.

### C. WORLD WIDE PROGRAM

They (the Communists) have set out on a program world-wide in its scope, and have established a system of propaganda equal to none ever seen in the history of the human race.

They have called in representatives from practically every nation in the world, from almost every race of people living on the face of the globe, and from these representatives and the directors at the top of the pyramid they are directing what they choose to call an educational program in an effort to interest the entire world in the theory of Communism.

This system of direction in their educational program has been very effective in its character, reaches out into almost every country, and into every city of any size in these United States of America.

Their chief weapon has been the fostering of strikes through the labor group.

In other words, the worker is their chosen group. Their plan is to build up a bitter and passionate hatred toward the employer and the industrialist.

This has been rather easy to build during this period of depression, when people lost their savings in the banks, became unemployed, and had visited upon them a degree of distress never before known in the history of the nation.

That they have made some progress, perhaps more than we are able to appreciate, has been rather clearly demonstrated.

Their program has been unique in that it destroys absolute standards of science, and repudiates all spiritual authority. There is no God. There is no Church. There are no spiritual motives worth while, out of which the human race may be elevated.

They say it has been proven conclusively in the past that the capitalistic class controls all religious institutions, and they themselves have been used in a large measure to destroy the worker.

• To those of us who are not atheists, to those of us who believe that the future does hold in store a hope which makes life worth while, such a doctrine is most repugnant. Even though it may be repugnant, it has taken root.

They strive to standardize the individual, to submerge him in the

mass. The submerging of the individual in the mass is perhaps one of the inconsistencies in the tenets of Communism.

They start out with the premise that they seek to give the individual the widest degree of liberty possible, and immediately set about to submerge him to the degree that he loses his identity, and is deprived of all liberties excepting that of mass action.

However, when we seek to answer this question, the ugly question which raises its head, and which we are seeking to answer in America today and which must be answered if Communism is to be met and destroyed, is whether or not the individual under the Capitalistic system, which has been in vogue in the years that have gone by, likewise submerges the individual in the mass by making his actions and his control subject to capitalistic domination.

We have heard talk of Fascism, but Fascism as it has been carried out in Germany and in Italy submerges the individual into the state perhaps even to a more substantial degree than does Communism.

In Russia they have liquidated almost entirely capitalism, and the plans for liquidation of capitalism in America come from the pigeon-holes in Moscow.

Their theory is that capitalism is sick. That it is sick we do not deny. That it has been sick for some years all of us admit.

It is our theory that it ought to be cured; that the right to own private property ought to be restrained; that the right to its use is inherent in the people so long as its use does not destroy the liberty and freedom of our fellowmen and does not exploit him. We do not cure by killing.

#### D. EDUCATION

We are seeking to cure the disease; to correct it; to convince the capitalistic class that they owe a duty to the common man; that a part of this task of correction is capitalistic responsibility, perhaps the major part of it; that the corrective must come from a sense of responsibility accompanied by correlated effort and cooperative enterprise on the part of big business.

The Communist would kill it rather than try to cure it, and with it would kill our Democratically free institutions and destroy our form of government.

In our bewilderment we have been seeking the answer to the problem.

Unfortunately, as I have already remarked, in seeking the answer to the problem we have elected the method of trying to destroy Communism by hatred, by bitterness and by persecution.

I do not recall a single so-called reform movement in the history of civilization that has been destroyed by this method. It cannot now be destroyed by this method.

If we are to destroy it or to combat it, we must do it by diagnosis

of the disease which we seek to cure, and must give recognition to the fact that giant corporate enterprise in America has been used as a vehicle for the exploitation of the middle and lower classes in America.

That exploitation has been rampant we cannot very well deny, and it is difficult to convince the common man that during a period of time, when we have had millions on the relief rolls degenerated into the pauper class, and he was willing to work and earn a livelihood, heads of great corporate structures should in addition to fabulous salaries be drawing large sums in bonuses.

#### E. RESPONSIBILITY OF BUSINESS

If giant corporate enterprise will not seek to inoculate itself against the disease, which almost brought to the doorstep of this great Republic an incurable illness, then it becomes the problem of government not only to look into the matter, but to lend its agencies to the regulation of such enterprises with a view of destroying exploitation.

Exploitation has no place in American life. It has no place under Democratically free institutions. It is no part of our theory or form of government. It is an extra-constitutional movement that has crept into our government when our people were happy and prosperous and ceased to be alert.

Perhaps even more pertinent than at the time it was said by Patrick Henry "Eternal vigilance is the price of Liberty". Our concept of private property actuated by the profit motive must be modified.

I know of no instance in history where the Proletariat became set against the Bourgeoisie excepting during those times when the Bourgeoisie or the elite were exploiting the common people.

If we have a class distinction in America which has grown up in the last decade, it is a class distinction which has been created, fostered and builded by those who control the nation's resources and the nation's wealth.

They sowed the seeds from which the harvest is being reaped; seeds of poverty and distress which have become the most prolific weed patch in America, and which now threatens to choke out the waving grain of political economic liberty.

They having planted the seed, the weed is theirs to destroy; to destroy not by force, not by bitterness; not by hatred, but by co-operative effort; and under the Golden Rule, "Do unto others that which ye would have them do unto you."

Whether they like it or not, and whether we like it or not, we are still our brothers' keeper, and from this great principle there is no escape.

We may repeal economic laws; we may operate them upstream for a while, but we never can repeal the law that was handed down from Mount Sinai. That is ingrained and imbedded in the hearts of

humankind everywhere. It is not subject to repeal. It is a part of life, a part of liberty, a part of hope. It cannot be destroyed.

This great mass of people in America who are economically unable to protect themselves; who are unable economically to guarantee their own right to a livelihood, have no instrumentality to which they may look excepting our free Democratic government. The vehicle was created by them, for them, for their protection.

It is an obligation of government in providing for the general welfare, as the Constitution of the United States declares to be one of the purposes of government, to take whatever steps may be logically and reasonably necessary to carry out that purpose.

It is likewise our province and our responsibility in combating Communism in America not to crack men's skulls who belong to the movement, but by a process and system of education to convince them that if they exercise their duties of citizenship as contemplated by the Constitution of the United States, the common man of America possesses under our form of government the most direct, the most reasonable, and the most effective control over his government, its institutions and its laws that exists under any form of government anywhere in the world.

We cannot convince men by hitting them on the head. They may be convinced by reason, logic and facts.

Intelligence must be the basis of approach, sincerity of purpose, accompanied by cooperative and correlated effort and action.

We must remember in our approach to Communism and the solution of the problem that a large majority of the people in America who belong to the movement, or are becoming a part of it, are made of the same flesh and blood that we are; that they are prompted by the same desires, actuated by the same motives, worship the same God, and are looking forward to a new and better day when all mankind may have better opportunity to develop life to its true fullness.

They have joined this movement because they are thoroughly convinced that the economic system under which they have lived has dealt harshly with them; that life under our form of government has been unkind to them, and that our government has been wholly ineffective to prevent the abuses which have been prevalent.

This being true, all that is required in America is that this same group be convinced that our government can be and will be made effective in protecting their rights, their liberties, and their right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

It cannot be done by suppression; it cannot be done by the destruction of the right of free speech; it cannot be done by insincerity on the part of the political organization dominating and controlling our government and its operation. It must be done in the light of the great principle expressed in the Golden Rule.

I am convinced that this is the only effective way in which



principles of Communism and Communistic development can be combated in America, and its growth stopped.

In our contest with Communism we should always bear in mind that it is a movement founded upon class hatred and class strife; that in America we have not drawn definite class lines. Ours is largely a middle class nation made up of middle class people.

Communism has originated in other countries in the worker class which has been definitely set off from the middle class group.

In the United States our workers are in fact middle class people, and are in the true sense little capitalists. They own land. They own homes. In these they find a certain degree of social security. They desire to protect them and there is small danger of their becoming seriously a part of a movement which will destroy these ownership rights.

The Communist cannot build in America the necessary class hatred upon which to predicate a live, virile and effective Communistic movement.

By the same token and for the same reason I believe we are imperiled by the growth of a movement nearly as dangerous as Communism, a movement which has had for its purpose the protection of economic security of the middle class people and in other countries has had its origin as middle class reforms.

#### IX. FASCIST THEORY

As a substitute and alternate for Communism, we have witnessed the development of Fascism.

When finally analyzed, particularly as it has been exemplified in Germany, it is the final attempt on the part of the capitalist to squeeze the last vestige of profits out of a dying economic system at the expense of the middle class and the working class of people.

Under this system workers are completely subjugated to the extent of requiring a monopoly of power, and under Fascist capitalism as we have seen it operate, workers have been ruthlessly crushed by the weight of authority in the State.

It has nothing in common with liberty, equality, or democracy, and where the Fascistic dictator is subjected to the influences of the capitalistic class, the workers are at the mercy of this class of people, who own the machines and are deprived of their only defensive weapon, the trades union.

Even in the absence of Fascism, with our industrial system as complex as it is, technocracy has almost rendered ineffective the trade unions.

Machine development owned by the capitalists has brought about lower standards of living for the entire working class.

There are capitalists in America today who believe that the worker should be brought under a Totalitarian capitalistic state, and

a suggestion that a dictatorship is the only solution is heard many times and in many places in America.

#### A. FASCISM IN ITALY

We might examine Fascism briefly. First, we have seen it develop in Italy, where a constitutional monarchy had existed for years before the coming of the Black Shirts.

After the war, confusion, dissension, distrust and unrest were prevalent throughout the entire Italian nation.

Mussolini and a few associates decided to form a Fascist movement, and soon marched into Rome, and on account of the tenseness of the times, with Bolshevik agents taking advantage of the situation, Mussolini was asked by the King of Italy to form a Cabinet, and was given a vote of confidence.

Whatever may have been the origin of the Fascist state in Italy, the fact still remains that Italy was saved from Communism and under Fascism has made much material progress.

However, the progress and the accumulation of material wealth has been accomplished at the sacrifice of other things which free human beings cherish.

Labor in Italy has no right to strike. You may join Unions and bargain collectively under government supervision, which renders an organization innocuous excepting as it may assist in the finding of facts and may serve in the presentation of one's case to influence the judgment of the Duce in his supervisory capacity of labor and production in Italy.

Freedom of speech has been curtailed in that public criticism of the government is not tolerated. The Italian citizen may criticize and complain of the government in private conversation, but public criticism and public opposition to the government is not permitted.

All teachers are required to take the oath of fealty to the Fascist government, and you will recall that when this order was made, many of the American people protested against such high-handed methods. But now there is considerable demand for it here.

New York passed the Ives Bill requiring its teachers to subscribe to an oath to support the Constitution of the United States upon the theory that the state cannot be expected to subsidize educational institutions only to be confronted by propaganda paid for by taxation directed toward the destruction of the government itself.

Mussolini has said: "The individual does not exist except insofar as he is within the state, and subordinated to the matters of the state; and as civilization assumes more and more complex forms, the freedom of the individual becomes more and more restricted."

Not only has Fascism destroyed economic liberty in Italy, but it has very seriously curtailed political liberty and political action as we in America understand it.



On the other hand, so successful has been the leadership of Mussolini in the development of the Fascist state that he has created a feeling on the part of the Italian people that they are a part and parcel of the organic state for the good of everybody.

The question which arises in the minds of every student of government is "Can Fascism in Italy survive after Mussolini?" Even if it does not survive Mussolini, perhaps on account of the degree of liberality which he has injected into his government, readjustment can be made without serious confusion.

### B. FASCISM IN GERMANY

When I think of Fascism in Germany I am reminded of the Philosophy of Plato when he spoke of the supremacy of State, thinking that the State should have supreme right in all relations over all of its citizens.

Totalitarianism is Hitler's theme song. The Totalitarian state of Germany is based upon the supremacy of executive power. The executive power dictates to the legislative bodies what it wants, and legislators in fear of losing their jobs or even heads readily subscribe to the will of the dictator.

Not only are they influenced by fear, but in view of the fact that the dictatorship is complete, supreme and absolute, those in the legislative bodies are anxious to curry favor with the Dictator.

The distinction between supremacy in legislative bodies and supremacy in the executive grows out of the fact that supremacy vested in legislative bodies gives tone and temper to the theory that government with supremacy vested in the legislative branch is a government of laws and not of man.

Executive power is fluctuating and law loses its character and stability; it loses its equality for all citizens. It is dependent upon the whims and the fancies of the executive or the Dictator. Constitutions and laws mean nothing.

In fact, Hitler's ascendancy to power in Germany was in direct violation of Germany's democratic constitution adopted with the establishment of a Republic after the War. This power is now complete and absolute. The radio broadcasts are under government supervision. The press is completely under government domination, or rather Hitler domination.

Two policies established by Hitler have been outstanding in character. One a discrimination against the Non-Aryans or Jews in all phases of political, social and economic life and activity; and secondly, the policy of deliberate violence to those who are unsympathetic to the present regime.

The first policy which, given effect, deprived thousands of German citizens of a means of livelihood, and the other cost thousands their lives. To justify these two policies of government, Hitler propounded the new theory of a Totalitarian State.

### 1. TOTALITARIANISM

One of the Fascist leaders said: "The Nazi state is different from a Democratic state. That means the present state has the right to embrace all forces of the country, to embrace the human beings, body, soul and spirit, and all their activities whatever they may be."

Certainly under that theory of government Totalitarianism is complete and absolute. Under that theory of government, what rights can be left to the people?

The Weimar Constitution devoted pages to the rights of the individual in which the powers of the state were limited. All of these were wiped out in a single stroke by Hitler.

Cabinet Minister Scheum said: "The state is everything, the ego is death", and certainly they have demonstrated that those were not idle words.

They ignore the fact that the foundations of the state are human, and proceed upon the theory that human beings are nothing more than cogs in a great machine; that human life is of no value excepting as it serves the purposes of developing a state. Human hopes and human happiness are only of secondary consequence. Freedom of the press, freedom of speech, public assemblage, are unknown in Germany. Opposition in any form is not tolerated.

Even the freedom of the courts has been destroyed, and it is possible under the Hitler system, even in the face of the Weimar Constitution, to imprison man for years without trial. Nearly one hundred thousand people are now living in concentration camps.

The judges of the courts are bound by no law, and the citizens know not when they may be called before a judicial tribunal, and tried for a crime which does not exist in law excepting in the minds of Hitler and his henchmen. The only law is the desire of the state and Hitler has set himself up as the state.

The organized labor party in Germany was considered dangerous in the state, and although the trade unions were used as the vehicle whereby much of the power of Hitler was achieved, once in power he immediately recognized the danger of power attendant upon any organized group, and therefore decreed that the trades unions should be dissolved.

He controls education, which has become largely propaganda. He controls science, which he has made his own instrumentality for his perpetuation in power. He has destroyed cultural values in a great cultural country.

True it is he has been approved by elections, but have those elections been free?

Is it likely that a citizen when he goes into the ballot booth with a picture in the back of his mind of a concentration camp, a guillotine, or a hangman's noose, is going to take any chances in running into either one of them? In the last two elections Hitler was the only

candidate to vote for. Everyone was expected to vote "yes" or "no"—and it required a martyr's crown to vote "no."

In the face of this how can any sane American assert that what we need in this Country is a Dictator? Yet Hitlerism was provoked by the danger of Communism.

### C. FASCISM IN AMERICA

The capitalists in America now say that under the present system we are going Fascist, and that it will be the end of liberal capitalism.

Communists on the other hand say that we are going fascist under the present system, because it will be the only salvation of the present capitalistic order, and that the policies, which have been pursued, have been pursued in order to save the capitalistic system.

What the capitalists desire in America is a capitalistic dictator, if dictatorship at all.

The Communists on the other hand want a Proletariat revolution, with powers reserved to the Proletariat.

This being the situation in America, the question of preserving Democratic free government is dependent upon intelligent cooperation of America's great middle class. The security of the nation lies in this class. This has been the bulwark of all American development and progress in the years that have gone by, and it is upon this class that the preservation of Democratic free institutions depends.

Middle class America has become convinced in the last few years that something is wrong with our system, and the great middle class revolution, bloodless in character, has begun and is now in progress.

It should be remembered, when we are considering the possibility of the spread of Fascism or Communism, that it is not necessary that any proof be offered that any particular system will be efficacious in the bringing about the change.

The outstanding fact is that our old equality system has failed. That has been established in the minds of the people everywhere. Distress has become so prevalent that change is not at all unlikely.

The question is, then, shall we maintain a democracy? Shall we maintain our free democratic institutions? Shall we maintain liberty of political action?

If we do maintain it, it is my judgment that it must be maintained as a socially controlled democracy. By that I do not mean socialism. I mean a democracy under whatever party may be in power, wherein social conditions and economic machinery are sufficiently controlled and regulated to guarantee to the working-man a decent standard of living, and an opportunity for a degree of economic security which will erase from his mind the fear that destroys confidence in our very institutions themselves—a socialized democracy regulated by the people, and a socially and democratically controlled industrial system.

The public generally, I think, reasons something like this. The old state has had its chance since 1914, and it has failed. Therefore,

the mass of people generally are not concerned with or interested in excuses for the failure.

It is still fresh in their minds that the banks could not open and remain open without government aid. They are convinced that even today public order could not be maintained excepting for the relief that has been extended by governmental agencies.

People are now cognizant of the fact that the banks with great surpluses have had shrinkage in loans, and that idle currency is everywhere; that it is not being loaned or invested in new enterprise, because the returns are not attractive enough.

They are aware of the fact that not only are the unemployed on the dole, but industry itself in many, many instances, and in a large measure it too has been subsidized by the government.

The elite, if you choose to call it that, of the present order can assume its leadership only by joining the offensive on the technological development, with the ideal ever standing out before them, a higher standard of living on the part of the American people, and cooperative effort toward the control of sociological problems of production and distribution.

It is regarded as necessary by many to nationalize banking so that credit may be extended without excessive interest charges. It may be necessary in the end to have government regulate our industry to assure a fair deal and fair profits, fair wages and fair prices to the consumer.

The ideological content of government, and the governmental agencies alone will not answer this problem, but there must be practical application of the ideological content.

If it is necessary to have these reforms and such control, it may be had under our form of government itself without resorting to Fascism or Communism, or any other kind of Ism aside from Americanism.

People in America can have public order with subsistence under our form of government.

The old system of those who are not holding the offices fighting those who do hold them; the old practice of the outs fighting the ins is not going to answer the problem, and the old political parties have their choice of either reformation or death.

If they refuse to reform then they must die, because they cannot exist in the face of our present development by living up to the old standards of the past.

The American people demand more than that. They will have more than that, because they have a political liberty and a political freedom which gives them the opportunity, not only to demand but to enforce the demand. Fascism and Communism, or any other kind of Ism are only the consequence of Democracy's decline.

#### X. DEMOCRACY

I have suggested that many reforms now demanded could be made



under a Democratic theory of government, and they can be obtained under our theory, because a theory of government underlying a Democracy is entirely different from that underlying Fascism or Communism.

A governmental system, which reaches down into the hearts and minds of the people, when fully and thoroughly understood, is the only effective hedge against either of these Isms.

Democracy is based upon the recognition of people's rights, and on the principle that in matters political no one is infallible; that mistakes will be made; that no one possesses the full secret of good government, and that the social sciences are the most complex of any, and that objective standards cannot always be applied to them.

We recognize political parties; we put them in power. If they fail to discharge their responsibilities, we change them.

This has been the history of our government from its beginning. We have always proceeded on the trial and error method. Our leaders say to us "We think we are right, let us try out these principles", "and then observe the practical result of our actions. If they are bad you may throw us out."

While change may be hard for us on account of the partisan spirit that has been built up as a result of heated political contests and of the refusal to recognize and respect the dignity of our opponents, we should always bear in mind that while it may be easier to crack their skulls than it is to convince them, cracked heads never accomplished constructive reform.

Count Cavour once said: "Any idiot can rule the country by martial law". We do not want the country ruled by martial law. We want it ruled under our concepts of liberty. They are not absolute and permanent in character. That we recognize and understand.

The liberty of the feudal period, for example, was not the liberty of today. It was not our definition of the right to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness. Even our own liberties we have voluntarily permitted to be reduced and restricted during times of war and emergency.

Democracy does not subscribe to the theory of Totalitarianism. It is based upon private ownership of the means of production, and it postulates the theory of equity to all citizens.

We have permitted to develop in the past in practice a dominant hidden economic control, which has in a measure defeated the real purpose of our Democratic institutions. The right to life, and the right to work, and the right to earn a living is inherent in our form of government; but we have allowed to be created a system for us under which realization of these rights cannot be enjoyed by a very substantial portion of our citizenry.

We have allowed this to be created and developed for us on account of political illiteracy. That may be a rather harsh and inelegant term to use, but does not it follow that as long as the people are politically illiterate the machinery of government can be readily oper-

ated by those behind the scenes, with available grease in the nature of gold, so that their desires and wishes may be imposed upon the people for their own selfish profit, and their own aggrandizement?

If the system has been disintegrating, it is because it has been operated as a grossly indifferent economic system, assuming or guaranteeing to no one economic security.

The danger lies in the fact that the great middle classes, which have always been the stabilizing influence of our government are being rapidly pushed into economic insecurity and the lower classes pushed into economic servitude.

The government is of the people. It belongs to the people. The people have a right to operate it, and the people have a right to require their government to assume some control over economic operations if that control can bring about or guarantee to them a degree of economic security, which will not be voluntarily provided by those controlling the economic system. I assert again that to do this does not require a dictatorship.

#### XI. DICTATORSHIP

Dictatorships are repulsive to our very notions of government, decency and rectitude. The Dictatorships in Europe have risen on the ruins and ashes of democratic reformation and governments which were created after the war.

Under these dictatorships personal rights and personal liberty have become only a sham, and only the party in power, dominated, and controlled by the dictator, is permitted to exist.

Dictatorships are of necessity based upon the hypothesis that society is composed of two unequal parts. The common mass of people at the bottom, who know nothing at all, who are merely given life by their Creator and are obliged to look to those of the Bourgeoisie for succor.

The other group, the minority or the chosen few, who assume to know the solution of all problems of government, and who profit upon the theory that authority, intellect and all that is good, comes from the top down.

Under these dictatorships even God Himself has occupied a rather insecure position. If dictators refuse to recognize the existence of God, the Creator; if they even seek to overthrow or displace God, what chance has common man to establish his position under this form of government?

They operate on the principle that every man is either for or against them. The greatest of all the benefits of government, insofar as the happiness of mankind is concerned is wiped out—that of political liberty.

I do not mean to contend that Democracy does not have its weak spots. It has.



## XII. DEMOCRACY—WEAK SPOTS

Substantially all of the "isms" which have been visited upon America in recent years feed and fatten upon deficiencies in Democratic institutions, political, social and economic. The weak spots in a Democracy, which are outstanding are three.

### A. MEDIOCRITY

Unfortunately in a Democracy, particularly in the United States of America, our people seem to have the uncanny faculty of selecting as its representatives and officers, who are responsible for the administration of governmental affairs, men of mediocre quality.

Intellect, ability, integrity, and even honesty itself seems to be at a disadvantage in the political arena.

Seldom do we see the selection of the best available material. Not only do we find the best available material defeated in elections, but, on account of the peculiar quirk which our political contests have taken in America, so often resulting in the defeat of those best qualified to occupy official positions, the refusal to seek office on the part of those best qualified to participate in politics.

Our political campaigns have degenerated into appeals to prejudice, fed to the people through the shot-gun of propaganda, until reason and serious thought have become inconsequential in the determination of the outcome.

Secondly, people have been deceived so many times in years past that they not only do not believe men who are aspiring to public office, but they approach the polls with the feeling in their hearts that regardless of who wins, they will get the worst of the bargain.

It is not strange, therefore, that our government, by and large, must be run by the mediocre rather than by the intellectually qualified.

### B. LEGISLATION

One of the singularly weak spots in Democracy grows out of our legislative activities.

When the Republic was young, progress was slow, step by step, until custom developed, and finally became embodied in the public law.

As these changes were made slowly and gradually, demand for their being made a part of our public law was universal, and the laws were generally enacted with a view to the benefit of the largest group of people.

In recent years, however, change has been rapid. New thoughts and new ideas have rushed upon us like the waves before the hurricane, flooding over our social and economic institutions until people were not only bewildered, but frightened.

Our social and economic institutions with the development of machinery, technology, and the like, became so complex in a short period of time that one new problem after another was created and was crying out for solution by those in legislative halls.

With mediocrity of material in, and the lobbyist on the outside, who had only a selfish interest at heart, it is not strange that the nation during the last decade has been deluged with unsound and bad legislation.

Those who do not like our form of government—those who have ulterior motives to serve—therefore point to the bad legislation which the nation has had as proof of the fact that Democracy has failed.

Usually our State legislators do not receive a sufficient amount of compensation to attract men of integrity and ability. We send to our legislative halls inexperienced men, who know nothing of economics, and many of whom do not even understand the fundamentals of our government.

I would hazard the guess that ninety-eight per cent of the men who go to the legislative chambers in any State have never read the Constitution of the United States of America; I would hazard the guess that not five per cent of the men in the legislative halls today could recite the preamble to the Declaration of Independence; I would hazard the guess that not five per cent of the men in legislative halls today could define or state the purposes of government as they are outlined in the preamble to the Constitution of the United States.

With all of the pressure that is exerted by the interests of one character or another with their lobbies, the strange part of our legislative procedure is that we do not get more bad legislation than we do. Taking into consideration the timber which we send to legislative halls to represent us, it must be admitted that in the past we have "muddled through" reasonably well.

### C. DAILY PRESS

The third outstanding weak spot in our Democracy and in our form of government, and by that I mean in its practical application, is the daily press of the United States of America.

When the country was young and was being developed, and before we had developed a great capitalistic system in the nation, one man with a little capital, some genius, the power of independent thought, and some original ideas, could start a newspaper and convey his ideas to his readers.

As time passed and our economic institutions developed into great capitalistic enterprises, operated by remote control through corporate ownership, our daily press drifted into political channels until it has become one of the large capitalistic ventures in America, requiring great capital with millions of dollars to operate.

Consolidations, the purchase of corporate stock, has placed the control of the press in the hands of a very few men who dictate the policies of the press, who determine what news the people may or may not have, with the result that the nation is flooded day by day with

millions of tons of paper purporting to carry with it day by day the facts pertaining to the development of new institutions and social changes as they occur.

These great newspapers by and large may be operated by men—and usually are—whose only genius in the newspaper field consists in knowing what kind of crime, what kind of divorce scandal, and the brand of feminine legs, that appeal to the sensibilities of the less educated in America. Their only power consists in a knowledge of the character of propaganda that can conquer the minds of a great people for the purpose of influencing their judgment, not by independent thought, but by prejudice.

Certainly the American press has misconceived its responsibility to the American people, and the grave responsibility which it holds toward the perpetuation and the preservation of our democratic form of government.

Many big publishers seem to have overlooked the fact that it is theirs to cultivate an appreciation of beauty, of art, and above all things to cultivate in a people, whose government comes directly from them, the faculty of independent thinking based upon positive fact. They do not seem to appreciate that in the last analysis Democratic institutions are theirs to develop in strength and beauty or to blight and destroy.

Nothing can develop a Democratic Institution into its true fullness of beauty and service as readily as the development of independent thinking on the part of a great people.

Many newspapers published today in America are subservient to the personal vanity of the capitalists who control the policies of the paper. One publisher can poison the minds of the whole people by mendacious stories, by half truths, by falsehoods, or even by the suppression of facts behind the news.

It seems to me that the outstanding example of personal vanity in the newspaper field is the vanity of Mr. Hearst. He owns a large chain of newspapers, some of which I have read for years, and the striking and outstanding feature of his newspapers is the fact that the owner and publisher is the center from which its news radiates. I know of no publisher today who is so much in his own newspapers as is Mr. Hearst. I think the readers of his paper who do independent thinking for themselves must be convinced now of his own fickleness as shown by the rapidity of his change of front on major public questions.

Great publishers do not seem to recognize the fact that they occupy the position of a despot without responsibility to anyone for the exercise of authority. That theirs is liberty without responsibility so long as they remain within the limitations of the law of libel.

Theirs is a unique dictatorship planted in the middle of free in-

stitutions which they may cultivate and build, or insidiously pervert and destroy.

Those great newspapers either consciously or unconsciously have usurped the power of the legislative, executive and judicial branches of government without any regard to our free institutions or the people at large. This is an awful responsibility which they have assumed.

Until the radio was developed, what opportunity, I ask, did the American people have to obtain any basic facts if the great publishers controlled by the capitalistic class in America decided that these facts did not fit into their scheme of things, and would result in reactions detrimental to the propagation, cultivation, and building of their own selfish institutions and the realization of their own personal selfish ambitions.

If the daily press were not so stupid as to place its own selfish interests ahead of our governmental institutions, of our democratic institutions, of the building of a great social and economic nation; it could by the direction of an honest and intelligent press and the dissemination of honest and intelligent facts and the cultivation of independent thought on the part of our people, require this great government of ours from its highest to its lowest unit to function more efficiently, much more cheaply, and build the confidence on the part of the people in governmental institutions which would be unwavering, and not subject to challenge by any ism which might raise its head in America.

In addition to the vanities of the publishers themselves, the American people are confronted with the vanities of the large advertisers, who in no small degree direct the policies of the public press.

It must be remembered that the larger the advertiser the more capital there is standing in the background, the more incentive there is to exploit the common mass of mankind, in order that profits may be bigger, and the power of money may be greater. Unfortunately, selfishness forms no small part of the determined policies of the public press in America.

### XIII. THE APPROACH TO THE CURE

As we observe and think about the deficiencies in our Democratic institutions, we naturally give some thought to how those deficiencies might be corrected. Perhaps there are two attitudes of approach to the problem, the Liberal approach, and the Communistic, Fascist approach.

#### A. THE LIBERAL APPROACH

Those who believe in the Liberal approach to the corrective, desire to heal and to cure our free Democratic institutions from their present illness. That these institutions are sick, and have been sick for a number of years, goes without saying. That the illness has been progressive in character since the World War everyone recognizes.



Many good people in America have been looking and thinking of ways and means whereby these institutions may be made more sincere and efficient through free discussion and cooperation.

I have an abiding faith in the good common sense of the American people. I have not the slightest doubt that if the American people are given the facts from which to reason, they can work out their own problems through our representative form of government; through our own democratic institutions, and can arrive at their goal in the vehicle of free discussion and cooperation on the part of the people.

Free discussion is the very ambit of Democracy, and co-operation is the force by which Democratic institutions must be made effective.

If an intelligent and enlightened people were permitted by the dissemination of the truth, to create the habit of independent thought on the part of the rank and file of the public, there would be a positive and absolute refusal on their part to surrender the right to one man to operate their governmental agencies as he saw fit, or to surrender their right to one party to work its will through its political machinations upon a people on the theory that they were deaf mutes and slaves.

Self-assertiveness would become prevalent and party responsibility would become keen. Political machines, as machine politics, would lose much of their effectiveness and force, and there would be developed on the part of the Party the power of consciousness, or responsibility, if after the election officials ceased to be Democrats or Republicans, but rather representatives of all the people.

#### B. COMMUNIST, FASCIST APPROACH

The Communist and Fascist approach to the cure of the deficiencies in democracies is substantially the same. They capitalize grievances which people endure under the existing order, whether the order itself be responsible or not. They point to poverty and say Democratic institutions have failed. They point to bank failures, and say to the man who lost his money "See what your form of government permitted the bankers to do to you?" They say to the farmer who lost his farm by mortgage foreclosure or tax sale: "If you had a Fascist or Communist form of government this could not happen to you. Your government has failed you else you would not have been pauperized."

I think sometimes we fail to recognize how effective this approach is when distress is so prevalent as it has been since 1929.

I sometimes think we fail to recognize the fact that Fascism and Communism have obtained a foothold in a large group of our people, which can be uprooted only by education accompanied by co-operative intelligent action.

We must remember that corrective measures lie primarily in freedom of the people. Free discussion without limitation or hindrance. Discussion is not free if it leads to a concentration camp; discussion cannot be free if it leads to jail.

The most absolute tyrant who ever lived in any age always contended that he was ruling in behalf of a majority of the people; that he was doing the things that a majority of the people wanted done; that he was doing the things which would redound to the good of the majority of the people, and he was able to rule on that basis because the majority of the people did not dare express ideas or thoughts contrary to the policies of the tyrant. Under these rulers tyranny went on and on and on until finally it was exploded in bloody revolution.

It must be remembered that Democracy gives the people not only the right to elect their rulers, but the right to criticise freely and without fear. Criticism, however, to be intelligent and constructive in its character must emanate from the minds and hearts of those who are in possession of the positive facts from which they may reason and draw sound conclusions.

Wider powers conferred upon an executive in an emergency are not necessarily a dictatorship. A democracy which confers these wider powers, but at the same time reserves the right to recall them at will, is still a Democracy.

There is a difference between economic liberty and political liberty. There is a wide difference between economic regulation and control, and the control and regulation of political liberty.

In a democracy and under democratic institutions there may be a demand on the part of the people from whom the government emanates, and by whom it was created and who have the right of control for more regulation of our economic life in order that there may be produced by that regulation a more integral nation. In securing that regulation our democratic institutions may confer upon any branch, either the legislative or the executive branch of government, the power of that regulation and control.

With the growing complexity of our growing economic and social institutions, the development of technocracy and the actuating influences of selfishness, greed and avarice on the part of those who control the nation's wealth, we have passed the point in America where our Democracy can survive with our economic institutions unregulated, uncontrolled, and unrestrained to pursue profits, regardless of consequences, to the great mass of people. This proposition, however, is accompanied by a necessary corollary, that the more regulation our democratic institutions impose in our economic life, and the more power we confer upon any particular branch of our government under a Democracy, makes it the more necessary that we keep alive our free institutions and our political liberty.

On account of the fallibility of those upon whom we confer powers, our development in this age must be largely by the trial and error method, and we dare not confer any department of government the power of absolutism under a state of lethargy, where not only we may

have surrendered our economic liberty, but with it may lose our political liberty.

When we lose our political liberty, free institutions are washed out. When we lose our political liberty, the right to free speech is gone. When we lose our political liberty, the right to worship as we believe may be denied. In other words, when we lose our political liberty, all of our rights guaranteed to us under the Bill of Rights in our Constitution may be taken away from us.

Therefore, we may with perfect safety delegate to any branch of our government the power to regulate our economic liberty so long as we keep alive, preserve and maintain our free institutions, our political institutions, the right to think, the right to criticise, and are given true facts from which to reason out our own problems.

#### XIV. CITIZENSHIP.

The solution of all these problems lies in an intelligent and responsible citizenship.

A full appreciation of the privileges of citizenship and a recognition of the responsibilities which accompany it will enable us to approach these problems from the point of view of reason and intelligent action.

Our citizenship has been so commonplace with us that we have not been inclined to attach to it very much importance.

During our entire lives we have lived under its beneficent influence; it has always been one of the elements of our daily life, and has become so much a part of us that we have not regarded it as a very significant attribute of our daily happiness and welfare.

I believe that due to the distress, the new theories of government which have been germinating, lawlessness, which has grown to proportions where our social structure is being threatened, people generally have begun to think more seriously of their citizenship than they have in years past.

The germ of American citizenship was planted in the Declaration of Independence, and has developed in a century and a half of national life under the Constitution of the United States.

The purpose of the founders was to create a government, which would elevate man to a position which his Creator intended he should occupy, in order that he might develop a life and a personality under the teachings as they are found in the Decalogue.

They intended that the subjects of this nation might occupy not only the status of free men, but likewise that of sovereign citizens.

They recognized the fact that the race and civilization itself does not stand still; that it either progresses or retrogresses; that man either grows or decays, and that governments being comprised of the same composite group follow the same cycle.

If there has been any failure on the part of our government, and we must admit that during the past few years it has failed, the fault

was not with the founders nor the system created, but is the result of our own shortcomings and the failure on our part to assume and discharge our responsibilities of citizenship.

They formed for us a government recognizing that the rights which they intended to protect were inherent in human nature, and a part of man. They created a form of government which, when the responsibilities of citizenship were fully discharged, will enable man to enjoy those rights.

The whole theory of our citizenship is based upon self-control, self-constraint, and a sense of mutual obligation whereby we grant to other citizens the same privilege of exercising the rights and privileges which we claim to exercise of our own right.

The right to the pursuit of happiness recognizes the right of the individual citizen to work out his own destiny.

Perhaps his opportunity has been curtailed, but the knowledge that the right exists is burned deeply into his heart and mind. What we demand now is a restoration of the opportunity. The demand grows more insistent as time passes.

If there could be burned into the consciousness of our people the responsibility of citizenship as deeply as has been burned the feeling of their personal rights, then the exercise of our personal rights would automatically follow.

The nation was originally conceived with the idea that its development should be under the theory of individual effort accompanied by punishment and reward as merited by the effort. When the nation was young this spirit of individualism worked without serious difficulty, but with the complexity of our institutions as I have already pointed out, we have diverted our course to a sufficient degree that a large group of people can no longer enjoy the rights which they know to be theirs.

We must therefore obtain a new consciousness of citizenship to the degree that we are willing by cooperative effort and mutuality of obligation to work out our destiny. If this obligation will not be voluntarily imposed, then there is no alternative left excepting the interposition of the State and the imposition of that responsibility by force of law and government fiat.

For every right guaranteed to us as citizens there is a corresponding duty. The rights of citizenship import responsibility. Neglect your responsibility, and the exercise of your rights is likewise weakened. If we maintain a conscientious sense of responsibility and duty, our right of citizenship will stand firm and the nation will grow in strength and beauty.

Ours is a government of laws, and not of men. Laws enacted by the duly chosen representatives of the people through the exercise of the right of franchise under political liberty. This is the most sacred right possessed by our citizenship.



That it is carelessly used and too little appreciated does not destroy the postulate that it is the very essence of human liberty, because in it we find the germ of political liberty.

Too long in this country have we followed the principle that party loyalty and regularity mean more than honesty and integrity, that party emblems have become more important than issues, and that slogans and catch-phrases are more potent than fact and reason.

Machine politics have entered the picture, and set up a vicious cycle and created for us an invisible government. This invisible government is operated by those who are more interested in perpetuating themselves in power than they are in the welfare of a great people; by those, who are more interested in patronage than they are in underlying principles of government.

People hang their heads in shame at the thought of the John Dillingers and their kind; mad dogs of society who kill, pillage and rob; who rebel against organized society; who seek to live at the expense of others without honest or legitimate effort. We call them public enemies. We point to them as positive menaces to society.

Yet while we do this, we see day after day the black hand of machine politics, pillaging society, plundering our citizenship, and destroying the economic security of a whole people.

One method is no better than the other even though a little more gentle in its application. Both violate every right of citizenship. Both neglect every responsibility attendant upon citizenship. The black hand of machine politics has devised a thousand ways of robbing the public. It has become the greatest of all American rackets. It is the public enemy No. 1, because it strikes at the very fundamentals of American citizenship; because it has become the instrumentality of exploitation and graft; and it is not an attribute of any specific party, but has entrenched itself in the party organization of both major political parties.

We may concern ourselves about the Isms, but while we are doing it we should remember that if they succeed in their continued ascendancy in America, they must climb the ladder of our own stupidity and pathetic apathy toward the rights and responsibilities of citizenship.

The responsibilities of citizenship are deep-seated, and at the present time grave. As you enter New York harbor you may look upon the Goddess of Liberty holding high in her hand a torch, emblematic of the liberty which a great nation is supposed to hold. Today America holds the torch of liberty for all the world. If that torch should perchance fall, the entire world and its civilization may be plundered into an era of darkness and despair, which will destroy the happiness and contentment of men everywhere, and set back the progress of civilization for a century.

I have faith enough in America and in her people to believe that her latent consciousness will be aroused sufficiently soon to erase from

our history the evils of machine politics with its accompanying plunder, graft, dishonesty, and special privilege, and again restore those fundamental deals of our fundamental government, and to require their application to the practical affairs of life.

The vehicle by which this awakening must come is free speech, untrammelled debate, serious reflection, and an honest public press.

The first responsibility of citizenship is a full and complete understanding of our institutions, and of our government. This means not only a loyal citizen, but an intelligent one as well.

A negative sense of responsibility will no longer answer the purpose. We must have a positive sense of responsibility. Negative attitudes are not sufficient. Positive action is required. Cussing the government may be easy, but it is not helpful in solving the problems. Prejudices may be vital in political elections, because they require no mental effort, but they do not enlighten a citizenship charged with the responsibility of maintaining free institutions.

An intelligent citizenship presupposes ability to view government from a constructive and not a destructive point of view; the ability to supplant a dishonest or unworkable program with an honest and workable one.

We need today a new birth of the spirit of responsibility of citizenship, grounded upon the philosophy of Thomas Jefferson, that government to be just must spring from the will of the people governed, and must operate for their equal benefit; that governments are created not as masters, but as instrumentalities originated by the people for the people's service.

We are reaping now only the harvest of the seeds which we have sown. From the heights of idealism we plunged into a drunken debauch of speculation; into the depths of a greedy materialism almost as soon as the Armistice was signed. Privilege open, defiant and unafraid marched into possession of government and entrenched itself, and with itching fingers began to automatically exploit our citizenship under rules directly opposite to those under which our government was formed. They carried forward their plan and their program until the entire financial structure collapsed.

No doubt that future historians, when recording the history of this period, will marvel at the complacency of our people when they permitted the stock market statesmanship to push into the background of American life the idealism of the fathers. Human misery we have, and in abundance, but from the point of view of future history of the most beautiful, idealistic and practical government created, perhaps more important is the by-produce created by this human misery, resolving itself into a cynical conclusion of suffering millions that Democracy has failed in its mission.

They have not yet discovered that it is not democracy which has failed, but that it is citizenship; that they themselves, due to their

apathy and their failure to perform their duty, are responsible for our seven years of famine. It is not the form of government which is at fault. The defects in administration produces our catastrophies.

The mission of Democracy is to make men strong, happy, prosperous, independent sovereign citizens, according to their capacity, and their industry. Under our form of government the people are in control if they want to control. The government came from them. The government belongs to them. What, therefore, could they gain by substituting some other form?

There is only one safe Ism in America, and that is Americanism; an Americanism supported and maintained by a loyal and conscientious citizenship ready and willing to discharge their duties and responsibilities and to make some sacrifices in order to preserve and maintain a free government and political liberty.

This duty we cannot delegate to someone else. It is our duty. Let us, therefore, leave here with the high resolve to discharge that duty,—discharge it in the philosophy of Lincoln when he said: "With malice toward none, with charity for all, with firmness in the right as God gives us to see the right, let us go forward". Or in the words of Washington: "Let us erect a standard to which the wise and prudent may repair and leave the result in the hands of God."

The task is ours. The stage in America is set for a new birth of freedom; for a new consciousness of duty and responsibility, religious and political.

This is not time for panic, nor is it time for fear. Cold, logical thinking, honest and intelligent action, and victory will be ours. Individual lives blended together into a composite citizenship build a nation. It is therefore the responsibility of every individual citizen, a personal responsibility, which is his to discharge, attuned to the sentiment expressed in the Battle-Hymn of the Republic, paraphrased just a bit:

"In the beauty of the lillies  
Christ was born across the sea,  
With a glory in His bosom  
That transfigures you and me.  
As He died to make men holy  
Let us live to make men free."

