
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”

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Democratic State Convention Keynote Speech

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If this be a keynote speech you have given me the key; It is a happy convention. What a pity that we cannot send some of our good cheer to our laboring and sorely divided friends the enemy who are trying to put a brave - if false - face on adversity in New York at this same moment.

You and I are happy with cause, for it is seldom that a great political party gathers with such unanimity in its ranks, with so clean and honorable a record, and with so clear a promise that it will, through its nominees, give even greater good service to the people of this State in the years to come.

To think back to some of the basic principles of our American form of government is always wise. Our system calls for more than the three primary functions of Executive, Legislative and Courts. It is not enough that we have as Governor a mere Office Manager or a legislature to vote appropriation Bills. Leadership is as great an essential to our well-being as the machinery itself; and from the need of leadership we have evolved the Party System.

Everybody knows that year by year the march of modern civilization brings forward new problems for solution and new possibilities for the greater happiness of human beings. The leadership of a political party which is so inactive as to overlook or ignore the needs of the day, calls

for replacement by men with vision and with willingness to act.

If we accept the phrase "The best government is the least government", we must understand that it applies to the simplification of governmental machinery and to the prevention of improper interference with the legitimate private acts of the citizens, but a nation or a State which is unwilling by governmental action to tackle the new problems, caused by immense increase of population and by the astounding strides of modern science, is headed for decline and ultimate death from inaction. If this premise be true, it is fair to view in its light, the history of the past few years in Albany and in Washington.

You who are delegates here today are in a broad sense politically minded, and you recognize that no longer can one party control or deliver the votes of a majority of citizens, but that the balance which ~~swings~~ elections is very apt to do its own thinking. It is because the Democratic Party has been mindful of principles and through its successful representatives has given to public office administration of outstanding ~~xx~~ excellence, that the great group of people who belong to no party organization has shown its satisfaction with Democratic administration in recent elections in this State. In accord with the same spirit of high service, this Convention will act. We recognize that if a Party is to

continue in power it must have a record for which it needs no apology - more than that, its actions must be constructive and not merely those of political opposition. Therein lies the true difference in New York between the two major political units.

That this difference is an accepted condition is shown by the well known outcome of certain disagreements during the past four years between a Republican legislature and a Democratic executive. Sheer weight of public opinion has on occasion after occasion forced reluctant obstructionists to yield to the constructive program of a progressive governor.

It would not be either fair or honest to fix the stupidities and selfishness of our opponents' recent policies on the rank and file of an historic party: their leaders are primarily responsible, commencing with their chief, the present senior United States Senator from this State. The net result has been, and will be, the defection of hundreds of thousands of normally Republican votes as a protest against lack of vision and a political faith seeking power for selfish ends rather than public good. This accretion of votes for Democratic candidates will continue and grow just so long as our own policies and candidates maintain our existing high standards.

It is traditional that the temporary chairman of a State Convention

should recount at length, with elaborate argument and wearying figures, therecord of his party since the last election. I intend to break-that tradition as needless and time-wasting for this very good reason: since 1918 the present Governor of the State has, in pursuance of a fundamental *principle* of our Party, taken all major questions of governmental policy straight to the electorate and has given them the facts. By reason of this, the men and women voters have acquired a greater knowledge of their government than ever before, ~~a greater interest, a nicer discrimination.~~ ^H Some day in the distant future men will raise statues to the memory of a great American by the name of Smith, and when they do, I hope that instead of a list of his titles to fame, they will carve the simple words "He taught us to think - and to think straight."

That is why to extol his record as Governor is as needless as to point out the virtues of the Ten Commandments. The two years which have passed since our last convention have recorded unselfish, unwaivering public service under the leadership of the greatest administrator of public affairs, the best equipped master of the science and practice of government that this country knows - Alfred E. Smith.

As to the two years to come, a prophecy would be out of place on the part of your temporary chairman, but may I say, perhaps, that it is my

dream that we shall say to our State: "It is our purpose to give you that same wise, unselfish service for two years more."

When this coming campaign gets into its stride, I suppose it is inevitable that the Republican candidates will seek something to praise in the record of their party in New York State - what a picture it gives us of ^{comes to us over the wires from N.Y.} a hurrying, scurrying search for a lot of diverse facts and fancies - only to find that when gathered together they have neither head nor tail nor heart nor brain. For the truth of the matter is that their leaders' policies have changed every six months for the past four years. First they decide to oppose every measure the Democratic Party and its Governor propose: this falls through a rout of the Republican legislators. Then they decide to go along with the Democratic suggestions for better government and they find they get only laughs for their political sheep's clothing. Next they trot out their Senators and Congressmen from Washington and succeed no better in public debate than in the halls of Albany. Of course the secret of the matter is that Republican leadership in New York is ^{either senile or morose} ~~either senile~~ ^{hopelessly weak and without character} ~~on morose~~. And I draw a great distinction between the Republican leaders and the republican voters. Every man and woman here can point to dozens of personal friends - normally affiliated with the Republican party - who are sick of the pettinesses and visionless meanderings of their so-called Chiefs.

Let us come down to facts. Who are responsible for the unexampled lowering of direct state taxes, and who were the legislative leaders who opposed this reduction? The voters know.

Who demanded the reorganizing and simplifying of the State government, and who, in the face of public demand tried to put off the evil day in the hope of later effecting a fake reorganization for their own partisan ends? The voters know.

Who strove for and got new hospitals and a State Park system and made possible better schools and better health; and who, in secret opposition sent secret word to political henchmen up through the State to defeat the proposed bond issue? The voters know.

Who took the highways out of politics and commenced the elimination of grade crossings? The voters know.

Yes, and the men and women who go to the polls understand well which legislative leaders were responsible for the failure to secure the 48-hour law for women in industrial establishments, even after their own Republican platform had declared in favor of it. They know, too, whose hidden hand it was which blocked the development of the water power now owned by the State of New York. They remember who declined to improve the Workmen's Compensation law, and the Direct primary laws, and the corrupt practices act, and the development of better marketing facilities.

And, being wiser than some "statesmen" give them credit, the voting public knows very well why a Republican legislature approved of a four-year term for the Governorship on the sneaking condition that the election of Governor take place only in the years we elect a President of the nation.

Let every man and woman voter in this State decide whether the magnificent progress that our State government has made in these past 4

probable - or even possible
 years would have been ~~possible, or even probable~~, if any single one of the present Republican leaders had been occupying the chair of Governor Smith. So much for the past.

The task is not over. The Democratic Party believes, honestly, that many needs of our citizens remain unfulfilled. We are not satisfied with inaction. We still seek sanction for the laws refused by the last Republican legislature, and we know that further important steps must be taken before our State government is wholly reorganized on a business basis and not a ~~partisan~~ *political* basis. It is enough to cite the glaring example of ^{The Department of} Farms and Markets. Our present law so far as the statute itself is concerned, might be held up as a model to every other state, in that it embraces every phase of agriculture and transportation and marketing, and confers upon the Council of Farms and Markets broad powers to make the statute operative. It is an interesting fact that even under the new reorganization, the Executive or Administrative Head of the State Government can have no responsibility for the appointment of this Council. Here is a body, made up entirely of persons selected in the Republican Party Caucus, whose chief interest in the great human problem of better marketing lies principally in the patronage contained in the Department. The minutes of that Council prove that their meetings show no discussion whatever of agricultural problems, but are confined entirely to the appointment and transfer of employees.

And in order to retain this patronage the legislature declined to approve the plan of reorganizing the State Departments unless the Council of Farms and Markets were taken away from the Executive authority of the Governor.

If the farming communities of this State had any idea of the amount of money supposed to be used to promote the cause of agriculture, but annually wasted in political patronage, they would lose their confidence in Republican honesty for half a century to come.

But is the farmer interested only in what promotes his business, Isn't he, like every other human man in this state, interested in the thing that promotes the welfare of his children? Must he not be compelled to view with suspicion the Republican leaders who denied the better pay for rural teachers and greater state appropriations for the maintenance of rural schools? That plan was sponsored by a non-partisan Commission, but was defeated with the childish hope of embarrassing a Governor who happened to belong to another Party.

Who, then, is responsible for this Albany leadership? The majority leaders in the Senate and ~~House~~^{Assembly} were not elected as leaders, they were selected in the caucus of the Party itself. Does the Party want to disclaim responsibility for that? Are the voters going to blame them in their individual capacities? Or are we going to place the responsibility upon the man who sits behind the scenes and pulls the strings?

Who caused the repeated changes of face in Republican policies in Albany in these 4 years? Who sent hurried word to kill the 48-hour Bill? Who was the moving spirit against the Park program? Who told the Republican Senate leader to oppose the cut in the income taxes and then later rushed word to him to favor it?

The senior Senator from this State is the accepted leader of his Party in this State. He is, to my way of thinking, one of the most charming men I have ever met, but at the same time, I can never forget that he is the greatest example of Bourbon reaction which this State has ever produced. As an Assemblyman he typified the thought that constitutional protection is intended only for men of wealth. He vigorously opposed election of United States Senators by the people. He was the uncompromising enemy of Workmen's Compensation and Woman suffrage. He even opposed Woman suffrage after he had the expression of the men of his own State the other way.

Mr. Root was right in his suggestion that Mr. Wadsworth had been a useful Senator in Washington. Let me be the first to admit his "usefulness" - to his friends, and to those whose ideals of government accord with his.

As if it were not enough that he has consistently opposed almost every measure of constructive legislation in the halls of Congress, he has added insult to injury by favoring the retention of Newberry, and by voting against even an investigation of the expenditures in the Republican primaries in Pennsylvania and Illinois.

To him we charge the burden of the leadership of his Party in this State.

His defeat at the polls in the coming election, if this Convention does its duty, will mean not only that our State will be represented in Washington by a man willing to fight for progress, but we hope will also be taken as a demand from the Republican voters themselves that their party leadership be placed on a plane less selfish, more forward looking and more willing to put the good governing of the state ahead of party advantage.

In view of the discredited leadership of his chosen representative in New York State, and in view, also, of the repeated defeats of his friends in recent primaries in other states, it is not surprising that President Coolidge gropes for a whole boxful of red herrings to draw across the trail. The first evidence came from the fishing camp in the Adirondacks, but I am credibly informed by our Governor that red herring don't grow in fresh water. The first fish offered to an unsuspecting public was the pike or pickerel of prosperity, so full of bones that the credulous eater often dies of starvation following strangulation. I will dissect this interesting animal for you in more detail later on.

But, honestly, what do you think of the Republican Convention in

New York City trying at this moment to nominate State officers in Albany with the hope of electing them on the falsified economy record of Coolidge and the virtues of Mellon as a master mind among those few whom a certain President once described as "malefactors of great wealth". May I say that their efforts to elect a Republican governor of New York ^{on a progressive slogan} is on a par of dishonesty with their effort to change our State Constitution so as to elect a governor for a 4-year term in the same year that Presidential elections occur.

I am very certain that the Democratic party in its campaign this autumn will use state issues as arguments for election to state offices and national issues as argument for election to national offices.

As this Convention is in part concerned with questions directly affecting the Federal union, because of the election of a Senator and of Representatives this year, we will gladly take up the challenge of the President of the United States and of his lieutenants, to discuss issues of national import. It is safe to predict that the Democratic nominee of this convention for the office of United States Senator, will have enough of gumption to stand on his own feet and not seek to sneak into office on the coat-tails of other issues. In advance I can promise Senator Wadsworth that his Democratic opponent will measure up to the ideals of progressive public service which our party in this state has established; that when our nominee campaigns, he will be wholly willing to discuss national issues for a national office; and that his only connection with purely state issues will be the certainty that when he succeeds Mr. Wadsworth in Washington next March he will ^{carry} ~~have~~ with him the same thought of public service as a public trust that Grover Cleveland and Alfred E. Smith have so well exemplified by their work.

It is essential that we be absolutely fair. For this reason we

do not seek campaign material against the Coolidge administration because of the acts of the Falls and ^{Daugherty,} ~~McAdams~~ and Millers and Kings and Sinclairs of the past, and if we think that the wheels of Republican justice move exceeding slow, that, for example, former Secretary Fall has never even yet pleaded to the indictment which is out against him, we can only say "Gentlemen, you are an unconscionable time a-dying."

But the present national administration cannot ignore history of the present date. They cannot ignore the fact that large groups of Republican politicians still believe that elections may be bought with money, and that favors may still issue with propriety to those bribers who have the longest purse. To those leaders so minded the crime of the Vares and the Peppers and the Mellons of Pennsylvania, of the Smiths of Illinois - no relations of the Smiths of New York - lies not in their use of millions, but ⁱⁿ their getting caught at it. When a boy in a position of trust at school is found cheating at his work, the teacher and community do not call him a fool for being caught; they dismiss him! Nor does the fact that his father is the local millionaire save him. That is what Secretary Mellon was trying to use as an excuse for the orgy in the Pennsylvania primaries.

By the very same token a quiet campaign is being started from responsible Republican sources at this very moment, saying in effect "The father of this boy owns the big factory in this town. If you disgrace the boy by dismissal his dad, in his anger, will close up the mill and you will all be out of work."

Yes, it is clear as the day, that Calvin Coolidge would like to have God on his side, but he must have Andrew Mellon.

As a matter of basic principle, the purchase of public office is a blood-brother to the sale of public favors or the misuse of public

funds. Place 2 facts of history side by side - 8 years of democratic administration in Washington produced a slate free from election scandals, free from a single act of public dishonesty on the part of any responsible official. And these years included the responsibilities for the conduct of the vast operations of the World War. On the other side, 5 years of President Harding and President Coolidge have given to the nation examples of public turpitude which we would like to forget.

Across this trail as I have already said, is now drawn that fishy museum specimen called "prosperity". All right, let us submit it to the examination of common sense and of science and decide once and for all who are the father and mother of the prosperity which, without doubt, exists today in certain parts of these United States. Later, I will speak very briefly of those sections, and of those elements in the community whom this prosperity has failed to reach.

If every man and woman is honest enough to admit it, they will conclude after such ~~study~~ that the prosperity we have is not due to the actions or policies of any Republican or Democrat in Washington, either as individuals or as a Party.

What is the truth? The waging of a great war beginning in 1914 was not ended until the industrial demobilization of 1920 and 1921. For 7 long years every law of normal business economics was ignored or altered. After 7 years the industrial United States found itself facing a great Vacuum - an empty space which had to be filled. The railroads and other transportation systems required the re-building of all physical property and the creation of new facilities to meet the country's growth. Housing and office construction, factory reorganization, highways, and a hundred other needs called for production on a vastly increased scale to make up for the wear and tear and the temporary expedients of the war years.

To this we must add new possibilities caused by the advance of science - popular needs such as the cheaper automobile, the radio, the increased use of electrical power, and last but not least, the devising of new methods of salesmanship - the chain store and the installment system.

To fill the void of 1921, to satisfy the needs of large sections of the nation, the American business man and the American worker, have come forward with efficiency, with honesty and with genius. Economic laws, American good sense and national ability shown as a general thing by capital and labor, by rich and by poor alike - these are the creators of such prosperity as we give thanks for today.

So it is that any political organization which today claims ^{as does our President} credit for national prosperity is guilty of the old ^{State, too} ~~common~~ offense of seeking to obtain under false pretenses a thing of value belonging to somebody else.

Unfortunately, however, the type of political leadership which I have tried to describe is not even honest enough to dangle the prosperity ^{in every section} fish ~~all over~~ the country. Up in New England ^(already the poorest part in America) half-time factory towns cannot be so easily deceived, so Senator Butler is telling those poor unfortunates that - although ^{he & his fellows} textile manufacturers are more highly protected by the tariff than any other industry in the country - the only thing to do is to re-elect him so that he can boost the tariff still higher. Out through the great agricultural west, too, they ^{Republican spillovers} would be run out of town if they talked about prosperity, and they have offered prizes for the best answer to this riddle that has no answer. "How does a high tariff on the household goods and agricultural implements of a farmer help the farmer?" It is indeed, for them, a serious situation, because after many long years the western farmers are analyzing the rise, since 1921, in prices of the articles they have to buy.

Nor will the farmers, or any other group of citizens be deceived by the shop-worn and dilapidated billboard trotted out every four years which prophesies in faded colors that if the Democrats are victorious they will give us free trade and submerge the nation with a flood of cheap goods manufactured by unfortunate people in other countries who work 18 hours and live on 9¢ a day.

No! Thank God, with the spread of education throughout our land, the average voter is learning to think for himself, or for herself, and to differentiate between practical economics and campaign bunkum, just as we have learned not to worry over the threat of an occasional republican factory owner, just before election, to close down the plant in the event of a Democratic victory. So too, it becomes harder year by year to justify tariff schedules which sell monopolies on the necessities of life to people with very long purses. Mr. Mellon's aluminum trust, which every housewife in the country unduly enriches, is but one of the tariff created monopolies sold for political and monetary support; President Coolidge himself lends aid to a nefarious system when he destroys the foundations of the tariff commission lest it damage Senator Smoot's ^{best} sugar interests, even though the tariff on sugar costs the American housewife \$250,000,000 every year.

I go back to what I said in the beginning about leadership as a necessary part of successful government. What is true ~~in this state~~ of our opponents ^{in this state} is equally ^{to be applied} applicable to the administration in Washington. Inaction may succeed for a short period, but over any length of time, events and conditions call inevitably for constructive action. The people of the West are not forgetting the utter futility of the President and his Cabinet in their handling of the positive need for farm relief. The people of the East ~~have~~ ^{could} well learned, through months of struggle to get coal for their furnaces and stoves, the hard meaning of the slogan "Keep cool with Coolidge"

As far as intimate search reveals, the present national administration has pursued an active course in behalf of only one definite plan. And in this - the schedules advanced by Secretary Mellon for the reduction of the national income tax - a Republican Congress in 1924 ^{was forced by public opinion to} substituted the Democratic measure which gave greater benefit to 6,500,000 tax payers than did the Mellon plan; and in 1926 it was the insistence of Democrats in House and Senate which again gave greater relief to those tax payers of small or of moderate means.

Even in the boasted field of federal economies, promise has not been followed ^{by} action; for the actual expenditures of the national government show a definite increase each year since Mr. Coolidge became President; and this notwithstanding the annual reduction in the interest on our war debt.

It is to the same spirit of inaction in the face of the country's needs that we can charge the greater part of the trouble over the so-called Volstead Act. It is a national question, but not a national party issue, because neither party is over-whelmingly for or against the Volstead Act, yet I insist that it is in each state a question which cannot be ignored and to this indisputable fact the individual voter must agree, whether he favors modification or not. The responsibility of enforcement of the Federal statute since it became a law has rested on the Republican administration, and they have had neither the courage to enforce it nor the brains to properly amend it. They have given us the bootlegger in place of the saloon-keeper and the gunman in place of the bar-man.

If this be not an honest law, if this be not a just law, if this be not a workable law, then immediate and drastic revision to make it so, was an imperative duty on the party in power.

As for the attitude of our own party in the state of New York, I cannot of course, in advance of the declaration which this convention will incorporate in our party platform, say what its exact language will be, but of this much you may be sure, we shall speak with no uncertain voice - there will be no dodging - no straddling - no bewildering shift from what has been our attitude on this question, and what is more, our position will be sincerely supported by all the candidates whom we shall nominate. In contrast to our attitude it is worth while to rehearse the wiggle and wobble record of the other party in this state.

In 1919 they voted to ratify the 18th amendment; *and voted down a referendum* in 1921 they passed a state enforcement law; in 1923 they repealed it - in 1925 and 1926 they made a bluff at reenacting it, by having the Republican Assembly pass it and the Republican Senate kill it; And now as a crowning straddle they seek to nominate a wet Senator and a dry State ticket.

Last, but in many ways most important of all, we come to the effect of Republican leadership upon our relations with the peoples of other nations. By inadvertence I used the word "leadership" when I meant to say "inaction". With the exception of the half-way successful Naval Limitation Conference we have accomplished no constructive thing in our foreign relations.

Far more regrettable, our lack of policy, our opportunism, our timidity, have raised the dislike, the scorn and the hatred of the civilized world against the American government. These words are not too severe, nor do they apply only to those nations of Europe who are our debtors. Do you think for a minute that the American government is highly regarded among the other nations who took no part in the war? Is there as much friendship towards us among the Republics of South American or in Canada or in the Far East, or in the Isles of the Pacific as there was in 1920?

We have become the bankers of the world, but there are two kinds of bankers - the kindly, understanding, sympathetic man who, by his tact, his wise suggestions, his willingness to help even the humblest creditor solve his troubles, saves many a shaky loan for his bank and is beloved and honored in the community; and the tight-kipped, steely-eyed, close-fisted "financial wizard" who thinks only in dollars and cents and whose only answer to a discouraged and bewildered borrower is "Well, you hired the money, didn't you?" This is the kind of a banker ^{Mr. Coolidge and} Mr. Mellon has made us in the eyes of the world.

A proper leadership in Washington would have averted all this. As in the relations between individuals, so the attitude and spirit are controlling factors in the affairs of nations.

I venture the definite assertion that if the spirit of the American government during these years had been one of cooperation, showing a clear cut desire to aid the other nations, even individually, to work out their economic and social problems, the American government today would have the friendship and not the dislike of the world.

More than that, the day is at hand, when our own war-caused vacuum will be filled and our business men as producers must then turn to the markets of the world. When that day comes there will be a greater realization than now that nations even as human beings, prefer to trade with their friends and to settle their debts with their friends - *first*.

=====

We are here today to propose action for the years to come: and we can well remember the words of Lincoln when he said "As I would not be a slave, so I would not be a master - this expresses my idea of Democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no Democracy Improvement in conditions is the order of things in a society of equals...

As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others, is the great durable curse of the race." In that same spirit we shall strive for the good of the common man, the improvement of the condition of the average citizen; and in the spirit of Lincoln, the great democrat, we shall fight with all our strength against any masters who would make us slaves. May the spirit of this gathering ever promote the happiness and welfare of the citizens of our great state, and the good of America.

1.
A.

If this be a keynote speech you have given me the key: It is a happy Convention. What a pity that we cannot send some of our good cheer to our laboring and sorely divided friends the enemy who are trying to put a brave - if false - face on adversity in New York at this same moment!

You and I are happy with cause, for it is seldom that a great political party gathers with such unanimity in its ranks, with so clean and honorable a record, and with so clear a promise that it will through its nominees give even greater good service to the people of this State in the years to come.

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To think back to some of the ~~fundamentals~~ of our American form of government is always wise. Our system calls for more than the three primary functions of Executive, Legislative and Courts. It is not enough that we have as Governor a mere Office Manager ~~or~~ ^{or} a legislature to vote appropriation bills. Leadership is as great an essential to our well-being as the machinery itself; and from the need of leadership we have evolved the Party System.

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If we accept the phrase "the best government is the least government" we must understand that ^{it} ~~we~~ applies to the simplification of government-
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~~Ladies and Gentlemen of the Convention:~~

~~In appearing before you I have the comforting thought that unlike another Convention of Democrats, this one will not continue in session for two long weeks and that its deliberations and decisions will be satisfied by the majority of the voters of this State on Election Day.~~

Mr. A

You who are delegates here today are in a broad sense politically minded, and you recognize that no longer can one party control or deliver the votes of a majority of citizens, but that the balance which swings elections is very apt to do its own thinking. It is because the Democratic Party has been mindful of principles and through its successful ^{representations} ~~business~~ has given to public office administration of outstanding excellence, that the great group of people who belong to no party organization has shown its satisfaction with Democratic administration in recent elections in this State. In accord with that same spirit of ^{high} ~~good~~ service, this Convention will act. We recognize that if a party is to continue in power it must have a record for which it needs no apology - more than that, its ^{actions} ~~record~~ must be constructive and not merely ^{those} ~~one~~ of political opposition. Therein lies

the true difference in New York between the two major political units.

That this difference is an accepted condition is shown by the well known outcome of certain disagreements during the past four years between a Republican legislature and a Democratic executive. Sheer weight of public opinion has on occasion after occasion forced reluctant obstructionists to yield to the constructive program of a progressive governor.

It would not be either fair or honest to fix the stupidities and selfishness of our opponents' recent policies on the rank and file of a historic party: their leaders are primarily responsible, commencing with their chief, the present senior United States Senator from this State. The net result has been, and will be, the defection of hundreds of thousands of normally Republican votes as a protest against *lack of vision* *seeking power for selfish ends* ~~narrow mindedness~~ and a political faith ~~aimed at spoils~~, rather than public good. This accretion of votes for Democratic candidates will continue and grow just so long as our own policies and candidates maintain our existing high standards.

It is traditional that the temporary chairman of a state convention should recount at length, with elaborate argument and wearing-

figures, the record of his party since the last election. I intend to break that tradition as needless and time-wasting for this very good reason: since 1918 the present Governor of the State has, in pursuance of a fundamental of our party, taken all major questions of governmental policy straight to the electorate and has given them the facts. By reason of this, the men and women voters have acquired a greater knowledge of their government than ever before, a greater interest, a nicer discrimination. Some day in the distant future men will raise statues to the memory of a great American by the name of Smith, and when they do, I hope that instead of a list of his titles to fame, they will carry the simple words "He taught us to think - and to think straight."

That is why to extol his record as Governor is as needless as to point out the virtues of the Ten Commandments. The two years which have passed since our last convention have recorded unselfish, unwaivering public service under the leadership of the greatest administration of public affairs, the best equipped master of the science and practice of government that this country knows - Alfred E. Smith.

As to the two years to come, a prophecy would be out of place

on the part of your temporary chairman, but may I say, perhaps, that is
 is my dream that we shall say to our State: "It is our purpose to give
 you that same wise unselfish service for two years more."

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When this coming campaign gets into its stride, I suppose it is
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 Then they decide to go along with the Democratic suggestions for better
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Of course the secret of the matter is that Republican leadership

in New York is either senile or moron. And I draw a great distinction between the Republican leaders and the Republican voters. Every man and woman here can point to dozens of personal friends - normally affiliated with the Republican party - who are sick of the pettinesses and visionless meanderings of their so-called chiefs.

Let us come down to facts. Who are responsible for the unexampled lowering of direct state taxes, and who were the legislative leaders who opposed this reduction? The voters know.

Who demanded the reorganizing and simplifying of the State government, and who, in the face of ~~the~~ public demand tried to putt off the evil day in the hope of later affecting a fake reorganization for their own partisan ends? The Voters know.

Who strove for and got new hospitals and a State Park system and made possible better schools and better health; and who ~~sent~~ ⁱⁿ secret word ^{of} ^{signature} ^{sent} ^{of} ^{signature} to political henchmen up through the State to defeat the proposed bond issue? The voters know.

Who took the highways out of politics and commenced the elimination of grade crossings? The Voters know.

Yes, and man and women who go to the polls understand well which legislative leaders were responsible for the failure to secure the 48-hour law for women in industrial establishments, even after their own Republican

platform had declared in favor of it. They know, too, whose hidden hand it was which blocked the development of the water power ~~now~~ now owned by the State of New York. They remember who declined to improve the Workmen's Compensation law, and the Direct Primary laws, and the corrupt practices Act, and the development of better marketing facilities.

And, being wiser than some "statesmen" give them credit, ~~for~~ the voting public knows very well why a Republican legislature approved of a four year term for the Governorship on the sneaking condition that the election of Governor take place only in the years we elect a President of the nation.

Let every man and woman voter in this State decide whether the magnificent progress that ~~our~~ State government has made in these past 4 years would have been possible or even probable if any single one of the present Republican leaders had been occupying the chair of Governor Smith. So much for the past.

The task is not over. The Democratic Party believes, honestly, that many needs of our citizens remain unfulfilled. We are not satisfied with inaction. We still seek sanction for the laws refused by the last Republican legislature, and we know that further important steps must be taken before our State government is wholly reorganized on a ^{business} basis and

not a political basis. It is enough to cite the glaring example of Farms and Markets. Our present law so far as the statute itself, is concerned, might be held up as a model to every other State, in that it embraces every phase of agriculture and transportation and marketing, and confers upon the Council of Farms and Markets broad powers to make the statute operative. It is an interesting fact that even under the new reorganization, the Executive or Administrative Head of the State Government can have no responsibility for the appointment of this Council. Here is a body, made up entirely of persons ~~who~~ selected in the Republican Party Caucus, whose chief interest in the great human problem of better marketing lies principally in the patronage contained in the Department. The minutes of that Council prove that their meetings show no discussion whatever of agricultural problems, but were confined entirely to the appointment and transfer of employees. If the Farming communities of this State had any idea of the amount of money supposed to be used to promote the cause of agriculture, but annually wasted in political patronage, they would lose their confidence in Republican honesty for half a century to come, and in order to retain this patronage the legislature declined to approve the plan of reorganizing the State Departments unless the Council of Farms and Markets were taken away from the Executive authority of the Governor.

But is the farmer interested only in what promotesⁱ his business? Isn't he, like every other human man in this state, interested in the thing that promotes the welfare of his children? Must he not be compelled to view with suspicion the Republican leaders who denied the better pay for rural teachers and greater state appropriations for the maintenance of rural schools? That plan was sponsored by a non-partisan Commission, but was defeated with the childish hope of embarrassing a Governor who happened to belong to another Party.

Who then is responsible for this Albany leadership? The majority leaders in the Senate and House were not elected as leaders, they were selected ~~selected~~ in the caucus of the Party itself. Does the Party want to disclaim responsibility for that? Are the voters going to blame them in their individual capacities? Or are we going to place the responsibility upon the ^a men who sit behind the scenes and pull the strings?

Who caused the repeated changes of face in Republican policies in Albany in these 4 years? Who sent hurried word to kill the 48-hour Bill? Who was the moving spirit against the Park program? Who told the Republican Senate leader to oppose the cut in the income taxes and then later rushed word to him to favor it.

The senior Senator from this State is the accepted leader of his

11.

Party in this State. He is, ~~like~~ to my way of thinking, one of the most charming men I have ever met, but at the same time, I can never forget that he is the greatest example of Bourbon reaction which this State has ever produced. As an Assemblyman he ~~definitely~~ typified the thought that constitutional protection is intended only for men of wealth. He vigorously opposed election of United States Senators by the people. He was the uncompromising enemy of ~~workmen's~~ workmen's Compensation and Woman suffrage. He even opposed Woman suffrage after he had the expression of the men of his own State the other way.

9. Mr. Root was right in his suggestion that Mr. Wadsworth had been a useful Senator in Washington. Let me be the first to admit his "usefulness" to his friends, and to those whose ideals of government ~~expressed~~ accord with his.

As if it were not enough that he has consistently opposed almost every measure of constructive legislation in the halls of Congress, he has added insult to injury by favoring the retention of Newberry, and by voting against even an investigation of the expenditures in the Republican primaries in Pennsylvania and Illinois.

To him we charge the burden of the leadership of his Party in this State.

His defeat at the polls in the coming election, if this Convention does its duty, will mean not only that our State will be represented in Washington by a man willing to fight for progress, but we hope ~~that the Republican leadership in Albany will~~ be placed on a plane less selfish, more forward looking and more willing to put the good governing of the state ahead of party advantage.

will also be taken as a demand from the republican voters themselves that their party leadership

~~(National)~~

In view of the discredited leadership of his chosen representative in New York State, and in view, also, of the repeated defeats of his friends in recent primaries in other states, it is not surprising that President Coolidge gropes for a whole boxful of red herrings to draw across the trail. The first evidence came from the fishing camp in the Adirondacks, but I am credibly informed by our Governor, that red herring don't grow in fresh water! The first fish offered to an unsuspecting public was the pike or pickerel of prosperity, so full of bones that the credulous eater often dies of starvation following strangulation. I will dissect this interesting animal for you in more detail later on.

But, honestly, what do you think of the Republican Convention in New York City trying at this moment to nominate State officers in Albany with the hope of electing them on the record of Coolidge and Mellon ~~and~~ *as a matter of fact these are the men whom a certain President once described as "managers of great wealth"* ~~their friends in Washington?~~ May I say that their effort to elect a Republican governor of New York is on a par of dishonesty with their effort to change our State Constitution so as to elect a governor for a 4-year term in the same year that Presidential elections occur.

I am very certain that the Democratic party in its campaign this autumn will use state issues as arguments for election to state offices

in Albany and in Washington.

14
and national issues as argument for election to national offices.

As this Convention is in part concerned with questions directly affecting the Federal union because of the election of a Senator and of representatives this year, we will gladly take up the challenge of the President of the United States and of his Lieutenants, to discuss issues of national import. It is safe to predict that the Democratic nominee of this Convention for the office of United States Senator, will have enough of gumption to stand on his own feet and not seek to sneak into office on the coat-tails of other issues. In advance I can promise Senator Wadsworth that his Democratic opponent will measure up to the ideals of progressive public service which our party in this state has established; that when our nominee campaigns, he will be wholly willing to discuss national issues for a national office; and that his only connection with purely state issues will be the certainty that when he succeeds Mr. Wadsworth in Washington next March he will bear with him the same thought of public service as a public trust that Grover Cleveland and Alfred E. Smith have so well exemplified by their work.

It is essential that we be absolutely fair. For this reason we do not seek campaign material against the Coolidge administration because of the acts of the Falls and Dohertys and Millers and Kings and Sinclairs of the past, and if we think that the wheels of Republican justice

move exceeding slow, that, for example, former Secretary Fall has never even yet pleaded to the indictment which is out against him, we can only say "Gentlemen, you are an unconscionable time ^a ~~in~~ dying".

But the present national administration cannot ignore history of the present date. They cannot ignore the fact that large groups of Republican politicians still believe that elections may ~~still~~ be bought with money, and that favors may still issue with propriety to those bribers who have the longest purse. To those leaders so minded the crime of the Vares and the Peppers and the Mellons of Pennsylvania, of the Smiths of Illinois (no relation of the Smiths of New York), lies not in their use of millions, but in their getting caught at it. When a boy in a position of trust at school is found cheating at his work, the teacher and community do not call him a fool for being caught: they dismiss him. Nor does the fact that his father is the local millionaire save him. That is what Secretary Mellon was trying to use as an excuse for the orgy in the Pennsylvania primaries.

By the very same token a quiet campaign is being started from responsible Republican sources at this very moment, saying in effect, "The father of this boy owns the big factory in this town. If you disgrace the boy by dismissing ~~him~~, his dad, in his anger, will close up the mill, and you will all be out of work".

Yes, it is clear as the day, that Calvin Coolidge would like to have God on his side, but he must have ^{Andrew} Mellon.

As a matter of basic principle, the purchase of public office is a blood-brother to the sale of public favors or the misuse of public funds. Place 2 facts of history side by side - 8 years of democratic administration in Washington produced a slate free from election scandals, free from a single act of public dishonesty on the part of any responsible official. And these years included the responsibilities for the conduct of the vast operations of the world war. On the other side, 5 years of President Harding and President Coolidge, have given to the nation examples of public turpitude which we would like to forget.

as I have already said
Across this trail of ~~slime~~ ^{the museum} is now drawn that/fishy ^{Reason} called prosperity.

All right, let us submit it to the examination of common sense and of science and decide once and for all who are the father and mother of the prosperity which without doubt exists today in certain parts of these United States.. Later, I will speak very briefly of those sections, and of those elements in the community whom this prosperity has failed to reach. ^P If every man and woman is honest enough to admit it, they will conclude ^{after such investigation} that the prosperity we have is not due to the actions or policies of any Republican or Democrat in Washington, either as individuals or as a Party.

17

What is the truth? The waging of a great war beginning in 1914, was not ended until the industrial demobilization of 1920 and 1921. For 7 long years every law of normal business economics was ignored or altered. After 7 years the industrial United States found itself facing a great vacuum - an empty space which had to be filled. The railroads and other transportation systems required the re-building of all physical property and the creation of new facilities to meet the country's growth. Housing and office construction, factory reorganization, highways, and a hundred other needs called for production on a vastly increased scale to make up for the wear and tear and the temporary expedients of the war years. To this we must add new possibilities caused by the advance of science - popular needs such as the cheaper automobile, the radio, the increased use of electrical power, and last but not least, the devising of new methods of salesmanship - the chain store and the installment system.

To fill the void of 1921, to satisfy the needs of large sections of the nation, the American business man and the American worker, have come forward with efficiency, with honesty and with genius. Economic laws, American good sense and national ability shown as a general thing by capital and labor, by rich and by poor alike - these are the creators of such prosperity as we give thanks for today.

So it is that any political organization which today claims credit for national prosperity is guilty of the old common law offense of seeking to obtain under false pretenses a thing of value belonging to somebody else.

Unfortunately, however, the type of political leadership which I have tried to describe is not even honest enough to dangle the prosperity fish all over the country. Up in New England half-time factory towns cannot be so easily deceived, so Senator Butler is telling those poor unfortunates that, although textile manufacturers are more highly protected by the tariff than any other industry in the country, the only thing to do is to reflect him so that he can boost the tariff still higher. Out through the great agricultural west, too, they would be run out of town if they talked about prosperity, and they have offered prizes for the best answer to the riddle that has no answer: How does a tariff on the household goods and agricultural implements of a farmer help the farmer? It is, indeed, ^{for them} a serious situation, because after many long years the western farmers are analyzing the rise ^{since 1921} in prices of the articles they have to buy which ~~have~~ ^{have} ~~occured~~ ^{occurred} since 1921.

14 Nor will the farmers, or any other group of citizens, be deceived

an old common law offense
and in obtaining large contributions
from tariff farmers, including his
quality of playing money under false
pretenses

by the shop-worn and ~~time-worn~~ dilapidated billboard trotted out every four years ^{which prophesies} ~~and prophesying~~ in faded colors that if the Democrats are victorious they will give us free trade and submerge the nation with a flood of cheap goods manufactured by unfortunate people in other countries who work 16 hours and live on 9¢ a day.

Thank God with the spread of education throughout our land, the average voter is learning to think for himself, or for herself, and to differentiate between practical economics and campaign bunkum, just as we have learned not to worry ^{over} the threat of ^{republican} occasional factory owners ^{not to be} to close down the plant in the event of a Democratic victory. So too, it becomes harder year by year to justify tariff schedules which sell monopolies on the necessities of life to people with very long purses. Mr. Mellon's aluminum trust, which every housewife in the country unduly enriches, is but one of the tariff created monopolies sold for political and monetary support; President Coolidge himself lends aid to a nefarious system when he destroys the foundations of the tariff commission lest it damage Senator Smoot's sugar interest, even though the tariff on sugar costs the American housewife \$250,000,000 every year.

I go back to what I said in the beginning about leadership as a necessary part of successful government. What is true in this state has

~~lack~~ of our opponents is equally applicable to the administration in Washington. Inaction ^{inward} ~~may pass~~ ~~master~~ for a short period, but over any length of time events and conditions call inevitably for constructive action. The people of the West are not forgetting the utter futility of the President and his Cabinet in their handling of the positive need for farm relief. The people of the East have well learned, ~~the~~ through months of struggles to get coal for their furnaces and stoves, the hard meaning of the slogan "Keep cool with Coolidge".

15 As far as intimate search reveals, the present national administration, has pursued an active course in behalf of only one definite plan. And in this - the schedules advanced by Secretary Mellon for the reduction of the national income tax - a Republican Congress in 1924 substituted the Democratic measure which gave greater benefit to over ^{6 1/2 million} ~~2,500,000~~ more tax payers than did the Mellon plan; and in 1926 it was the insistence of Democrats in House and Senate which ~~retained~~ again gave greater relief to those tax payers of small or of moderate means.

Even in the boasted field of federal economies promise has not been followed by action; for the actual expenditures of the national government show a definite increase each year since Mr. Coolidge became President; and this notwithstanding the annual reduction in the interest on our war

debt.

It is to the same spirit of inaction in the face of the country's needs, that we can charge the greater part of the trouble over the so-called issue of the Volstead Act. It is a national question but not a national party issue, because neither party is over-whelmingly for or against the Volstead Act, yet I insist that it is in each state a question which cannot be ignored and to this indisputable fact the individual voter must agree, whether he favor modification or not. The ~~anti~~-responsibility of enforcement of the Federal statute since it became a law has rested on the Republican administration, and they have had neither the courage to enforce it nor the brains to properly amend it. They have given us the bootlegger in place of the saloon-keeper and the gunman in place of the ~~sewer-clearer~~ bar man.

If this be not an honest law, if this be not a just law, if this be not a workable law, then immediate and drastic revision to make it so, ^{was} ~~is~~ an imperative duty on the party in power.

Insert A
As to the attitude of our own party in the state of New York, we shall speak with no uncertain voice. We ask Congress for an honest definition of intoxicating liquors. We are willing to have Congress fix the maximum alcoholic content by an intelligent definition based on fact ^{the}

A

As for the attitude of our own party in the state of New York, I cannot of course in advance of the declaration which this convention will incorporate in our party platform, say what its exact ^{language} ~~terms~~ will be, but of this much you may be ~~certain~~ sure, we shall speak with no uncertain voice - there will be no dodging - no straddling - no bewildering shift from what has been our attitude on this question, and what is more, our position will be sincerely supported by all the candidates whom we shall nominate. In contrast to ~~like~~ our attitude it is worth while to rehearse the wiggle and wobble record of the other party of this state.

of what constitutes intoxicating beverages. We appreciate that many States may wish by state law to ~~fix~~ prohibit any alcoholic content whatsoever or to fix a maximum lower than that allowed by the fact-finding determination of the Federal Congress; and we ask for this state the right to make its own determination under the same law of the same Congress.

This spring a form of referendum was passed by a Republican legislature for submission to the voters in November. We appreciate that this proposed referendum does nothing more nor less than to register public opinion in this state on the question that is occupying the attention of the whole nation. I take it that as a party we shall favor it because we believe that to the states themselves should be given some latitude after Congress has passed a law correctly and fairly interpreting the 18th Amendment on the facts.

It is worth while to ~~rehearse~~ rehearse the attitude of the other Party in this state. In 1919 they voted to ratify the 18th amendment; in 1921 they passed a state enforcement law; in 1923 they repealed it; in 1925 and 1926 they made a bluff at reenacting it, ~~but~~ ^{and} having the Republican Assembly pass it and the Republican ~~Assembly~~ ^{assembly} kill it; ~~they cannot do this~~ ^{they cannot do this} ~~city assembly~~ And now as a crowning straddle, they seek to nominate a wet ~~Senator~~ Senator and a dry state ticket.

Last, but in many ways most important of all, we come to the effect of Republican leadership upon our relations with the peoples of other nations. By inadvertence I used the word leadership when I meant to say "inaction". With the exception of the half-way successful Naval Limitation Conference we have accomplished no constructive thing in our foreign relations.

Far more regrettable, our lack of policy, our opportunism, our timidity, have raised the dislike, the scorn and the hatred of the civilized world against the American government. These words are not too severe, nor do they apply only to those nations of Europe who are our debtors. Do you think for a minute that the American government is highly regarded among the other nations who took no part in the war? Is there as much friendship towards us among the Republic of South America or in Canada or in the Far East, or in the isles of the Pacific as there was in 1920?

17 A proper leadership in Washington would have averted all this. As in the relations between individuals, so the attitude and spirit are controlling factors in the affairs of nations.

I venture the definite assertion that if the spirit of the American government during these years had been one of cooperation, showing

We have become the Banker of the world but there are two kinds of bankers - the kindly, understanding, sympathetic man who by his tact, his wise suggestions, his willingness to help even the humblest creditor solve his troubles, saves many a shaky loan for his bank and is ~~beloved~~ ^{beloved} and honored in the community, and the tight-lipped, steely-eyed, ~~tight~~ ^{close} - fisted "financial wizard" who thinks only in dollars and cents and whose only answer to a discouraged and bewildered borrower is "Well, you hired the money, didn't you?" This is the kind of a banker Mr. Mellon has made us ~~wit~~ in the eyes of the world.

a clear cut desire to aid the other nations even individually to work out their economic and social problems, the American government today would have the friendship and not the dislike of the world.

More than that, the day is at hand when our own war-caused vacuum will be filled and our business men as producers must then turn to the markets of the world. When that day comes there will be a greater realization than now that nations even as human beings, prefer to train with their friends and to settle their debts with their friends.

We are here today to propose action for the years to come; and we can well remember the words of Lincoln when he said "As I would not be a slave/^{so}I would not be a master - this expresses my idea of democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no Democracy. . . . Improvement in conditions is the order of things in a society of equals/. . . .~~As~~ labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some~~to~~ to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others, is the great durable curse of the race." In that same spirit we shall strive for the good of the common man, the improvement~~m~~ of the condition of the average citizen; and in the spirit of Lincoln, the great democrat, we shall fight with all our strength against any masters who would make us slaves. May the spirit of this gathering ever promote the happiness and welfare of the citizens of our great state, and the good of America.

GOV. SMITH: Governor, Lieutenant-Governor, Comptroller and Attorney General. My old friend, Frank Polk, has given me the second gavel that I have been presented with in side of four days.

A funny thing happened when the assembly of 1913 adjourned sine die. I had a wonderful gavel. You could really tap a keg of beer with it (laughter). It was a big, heavy gavel. I think I have been presented with a dozen of this type, and even some of ivory with gold trimmings, but the real useful article was the big one that made the whole desk jump, and just as we adjourned it disappeared.

B

We searched all over the capital for it and couldn't find it, and only a month ago, the Public Administrator in Queens County found it among the effects of a deceased resident of Queens County. (Laughter) I was presented with it up at the Onondaga on Monday of this week.

It has been customary for a good many years to form what we are forming here today, a Citizen's Committee for the election of our ticket. It has been useful in every state campaign in that it provides something of a clearing house where all the various organizations, affiliated or otherwise, with the regular county organization can come for information as to the progress of the campaign, can make their applications for lithographs, their applications for literature, for speakers and so forth. I started it in this hotel in 1918, and the first chairman of it was Judge Elkus.

After Judge Elkus I had Judge Proskow, I had Raymond Ingersoll -- how many times did I run? I had Herbert Lehman. (Applause) I guess I must have given a fellow two terms. However, it was from this Headquarters that that there radiated out through the State, through the various different organizations -- not strictly political, the information they required with respect to the campaign. It was the first campaign headquarters that had ever started in the Biltmore Hotel, and we certainly had luck in it. It is a winning place. It is a good place to get the returns, because they come your way,

Now we are meeting today for the purpose of organizing the Citizens Committee, and my office being only four blocks from here, and the building being pretty nearly all finished, I will be able to come up in the afternoon and give some time to a Citizens Committee, and incidently, when I do, it will be the first time I have ever been near one of them while the campaign was on.

I speak ~~on~~ a good word of welcome: I like the honor of introducing our candidates. I thank Mr. Pope for handing the gavel over to me, and I present to you our Governor! (applause-prolonged) -

GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT: My friends: - I think I know about every body in this room: There is no question about it - that we have picked the right place! The Biltmore is the winning headquarters. And I am very grateful ^{to} ~~for~~ you to come to this luncheon today.

You form the ~~new~~ nucleus of a very much larger organization that will be state-wide. I am not going to talk to you about the campaign itself; or about the issues. I do want to say a few words to you:- This is a family party! - Not a political speech -- about the other three gentlemen -- four, as a matter of fact -- who happen to be running on the ticket this year with me.

The government of this State, as we have been educated over eight long years to know by Governor Smith -- the Government of this State is essentially a business question. Policies in conducting this great business administration amounting to \$315,000,000 a year of expenditures -- policies depend of course on the men at the head of things, and as I take it, the essential quality in Albany is just what it is in any very large business, and that is the personalities, the human element of the people who are in charge.

Now, I have been more fortunate, I think, than any other Governor that has ever been in Albany, because I have a Chief of Staff who is not only fully as capable of running the government as I am, but probably a good deal more so. In other words, I feel when I go out of the State for a day or a week or so and leave Herbert Lehman in charge, that I can sleep well at night.
(Applause)

As a matter of fact, the government really needs at least two Governors. It has got to the point just like any other very, very large business administration, where one man cannot bear the whole of the administrative responsibility. And that is why it is not only during the periods that I am out of the State that the government is conducted by the Lieutenant Governor, but during the time when we are both in Albany we are in consultation literally daily.

And all of the problems that come before the State Government are handled by us jointly, and I am able to refer a vast number of business matters and social matters to Herbert Lehman because, as a matter of fact, he is not only one of the greatest business men in the state but he has also done more along the lines of social welfare than almost anybody else in the state and he knows his subject. (Applause)

Now that is only one reason why the success of the present ticket as a whole and not piece meal is very essential. Frankly, I would be very much lost up there without Col. Lehman, and the state would be very much lost without Col. Lehman.

Then you come down to another man. In every great corporation there is a treasurer, an auditor, a man who must be not only responsible but a thousand per cent responsible in all of the money matters of the concern.

I don't suppose that there has ever been in Albany, certainly not within my recollection, a Comptroller of the State who has given such disinterested service and such thoroughly competent service as Morris Tremaine. (Applause)

The Comptroller's office, as you know, is charged with the keeping of all of the accounts of the State; everything has to be vouchered through there. And in addition to that, he has two other functions. The first function is to go over every year the accounts of all of the smaller political sub-divisions of the state.

Counties and towns, etc., and so on. And in the carrying on of that work he is responsible for the honesty and the responsible business management of all of the lower government units and finally he has another task, and that is the delicate financial task of taking care of the question of the issues of state bonds. In other words, the financial credit of the State in financial circles both here and all over the country. He in this whole matter of the State financing has not only been able to get the very best possible private advices from the recognized financial leaders throughout the State but he has been able to save the State literally millions of dollars in planning his financing for the right time and the result is that the credit of the State of New York is second to none in the country. It is better than that of any State and is exceeded only by the credit of the National Government itself, and sometimes I wonder a little bit whether our credit is not even higher than theirs. (Applause)

And then we come to the fourth man on the ticket, a young man who had his early training in financial circles downtown, a young man who became a member of the Bar, a young man who had a magnificent War record on the other side and who knows probably more people in the State of New York than anybody else in it.

Jack Bennett! -- I am very happy in his nomination for Attorney-General, because of two facts: First, Bennett -- and all you have to do is to look at him to see what I mean!-- And the second is that his is not a local selection! His nomination is a nomination from the State as a whole. And I am very certain that in the responsible work of the Attorney-General's office, he will conduct it without fear, and without favor.

This is not the place for me to talk about some of the decisions that have come out of the present Attorney-General's office: The only thing that I can say is that I have usually reversed them in the Courts. (laughter)

And, finally, there is one more member of the Democratic Ticket -- a very good Republican! -- one of the greatest Jurists -- not only in this state, but anywhere in the nation -- a man who is of Supreme Court of the United States' caliber. -- But perhaps that is not ~~his~~ high praise, because many lawyers in this state feel that the Court of Appeals of the State of New York has a standing throughout the country that is not even matched by the Supreme Court in Washington.

Judge Pound has been known as one of the ablest, one of the clearest thinking, one of the fairest and one of the most progressive Appeals judges that we have in the nation today, ~~fact~~ and that is why I am personally very happy that he has been nominated on the Democratic Ticket, as well as the Republican Ticket.

Now, as to the campaign, just one or two words. You know that campaigning today is a very different thing from what it was ten years or twenty years ago. Even twenty years ago, the year I first ran for office up in the Hudson River District, I was the first candidate that dared to use an automobile, ~~fact~~^{the}/fear of danger in the past haveing been that the farmers would not vote for anybody that scared their horses. That was only twenty years ago. Since then, even since ten years ago, the radio has come in, and that means the extension of an entirely different form of campaigning. And finally this year I think we can say that we have got off to a very good start, because instead of waiting to send out literature so-called the last week or ten days of the campaign, literature of which at least ninety percent. is never distributed but stays under somebody's desk or is thrown into the waste paper basket, this year the so-called literature of the campaign is practically ready for distribution at this time. And it is taking the form of quite a large series of small pamphlets. The reason for that is this: the average voter does not care a rap about campaign books of hundreds of pages. They do not read them. Every voter has got an "ism". Every voter wants to know about some particular pet theory, about some particular pet interest. I received a letter yesterday morning from a man who said "I will vote for you if you will guarantee to put a hard road passed my door in side of twelve months.

J That is the one thing he cared about, was a hard road past his door. I got a letter a couple of days ago from a woman who said, "I am going to vote for you anyway bec ause you have put in this new parole system and perhaps my boy, who has been in prison for ten years and has another ten years to go, may have a chance if he behaves himself right, to get out. That was her one thing that was going to influence the casting of her ballot this fall.

Another man wrote to me and said, "I am going to vote for you because I am 71 years old and I lost everything I had a year ago, and I am going to be an applicant for an old-age pension. (Laughter) So it goes. I think all of us have got some particular pet theory and one reason for the organization of this Citizens' Committee is to make it possible to distribute the record .

"Al" in days gone by, whenever somebody said something that was not strictly correct on the other side during a campaign, used to trot out a piece of paper from his pocket and say, "Now let's look at the record!" (Laughter)

That is what we are asking this Committee to do, to make it possible for every man and woman in this state to look at the record, not to look at it just as a whole, but to look at it in all its details and to find out the facts on any one subject that he or she may be particularly interested in.

And so I won't keep you any longer . Let me just thank you again for coming here today , and tell you that the other candidates on the ticket and I are grateful to you for your support, and we are also confident that with the support, we are going to win. (Applause)

EX-GOVERNOR SMITH: We will hear from our Lieutenant Governor, Colonel Lehman. (Audience arose and applauded)

LIEUTENANT-GOVERNOR LEHMAN: Governor Roosevelt, Governor Smith, friends: I am not going to make a speech, the hour is late, and I know that many of you want to get back to your work. I know from personal experience the value of a committee of this sort. Of course, as Governor Smith said, I headed his campaign committee in 1926. A campaign committee of this sort is absolutely necessary in my opinion to the full measure of success that the ticket will have. I am not going to make a political speech, the time is too short and you will hear lots of political speeches during the campaign. I want to say this, and it is a declaration of faith that I have made often, that is, I am convinced that not only has the Democratic Party given an efficient businesslike administration to the State, but that during the past twelve years, since 1918, virtually all the progressive legislation that has been ~~been~~ enacted and adopted by the State has come through the ~~effort~~ efforts, the fighting qualities, the vision, the imagination and the courage of the Democratic Party. Of course, in that time, and we did that in the face of hostile legislatures, because in the twelve years I believe there was only one year that the Democratic Party had control of the Legislature.

The preservation of Water Power Resources of the State to the people of the State is entirely due to the fight that ~~it~~ was made since 1908, by Governor Smith, and since his succession to office by Governor Roosevelt. The extension of education, in this state, from ~~an~~ an expenditure of \$9,000,000 for all purposes in 1908, and an expenditure now of \$9,000,000, - is entirely due to the vision of the Democratic Party.

And so it is equally true with the ~~enlightened~~ enlightenment and laws, - with the extension of the road building programs, with the wonderful and unparrelled extension of our Park and Park-way system in this state, - a development that isn't equal in all the history of the country. And, I want to say that if Governor Smith had never done anything else in his entire career than to sketch out that system of parks, and park-ways, it would have been worthy of his life's ambition, and it has been fought for since 1928, by Governor Roosevelt, and the regulation of the ~~public~~ public utilities of the State, and the adoption of the entire program.

Those are only a few of the enlightened and broad visioned measures that have been fought for, and won by the Democratic Party, and it is on that account that I am and have been for many years so strong and ardent a follower of the Democratic Party.

This progressive movement isn't just a matter of chance. It is the well-ordered, --- the study, - the deliberation program of the Democratic Party, under the leadership of men like ^{Ex-} Governor Smith, and Governor Roosevelt.

It is done because the Democratic Party has set itself to do ~~it~~ those things. It knows the people of the State as

~~xxxx~~ a whole, and not as one small class.

In conclusion, I only want to say that I am very grateful to you gentlemen for coming here today, and for the help and work and encouragement that I know you are going to give to the ticket this fall. And I am confident that with that help, we are going to go over big. (applause-prolonged)

EX-GOVERNOR AL SMITH: It is not part of the program to delay this luncheon longer than necessary, realizing that we have a number of businessmen, and lawyers that have to be back at their office. - The Chair, however, wants to make an observation, - and I say it without disparagement of the efforts of any previous Lieutenant Governor! --

- - -

Some of them were of my own party and served in my own administration. The Lieutenant Governor occupies a rather unique position in the government of the State. Constitutionally speaking he is finished when the Senate adjourns sine die, unless the

Governor happens to leave the State, and in the past our Lieutenant Governors have been strictly constitutional Governors. (Laughter). I think the great exception to it has been Col. Lehman. (Applause) His talent and his business ability have been at the command of the State and has been used to a great degree in that period between sessions when the Lieutenant Governor is supposed to be waiting for the Senate to reconvene.

The Comptroller -- I have seen a good many Comptrollers since 1904. I think that Morris Tremaine has brought to the Comptroller's office the best business brains that I have ever seen in it, and the best proof in the world is that you hear nothing about it, and for a quarter of a century it was always a target for political criticism, because through the hands of the Comptroller passes in four years nearly, if not more than, a billion dollars.

And in campaigns in the past, it has been a popular indoor as well as outdoor spot during campaign time to take a shot at the management of the Comptroller's Office, but no more. It can't be done. The disposition is there, the will is there, but the facts that make votes are missing and that is because Tremaine has been on his job. He has been in Albany where he ought to be, instead of having two Governors, we ought to have three. There ought to be one social Governor, a fellow with a good strong grip, that can shake hands, make a good after-dinner speech, and the state ought to get him a private car and call it "Excelsior," and buy him a couple of dinner suits and send a fellow around with him to dress him up so that he could attend the 9,200,486 invitations that the Governor receives every year to attend everything from a christening to the starting of a war. (Laughter)

In order to expedite it, we won't ask the Comptroller or the Attorney General to say anything. We will let you take a look at the business man Comptroller, and here is a young man who the Governor himself has stated got the nomination because of his standing in every village, hamlet and city in the whole state, with all the background a young man could wish for. He has the earth before him, and we are satisfied that he will make good. We want an Attorney General in Albany that will begin to give advice in the interest of the state and not in the interest of a particular party, so that it won't be necessary for the Governor to have to go out of the capital and ask eminent lawyers to come up and put the State's side of it before the Court of Appeals when the other side was being advocated by the man that was elected ostensibly to represent all the people.

Now, in conclusion, let me say you have a little card in front of you. We hear a great deal all over the country about the cost of campaigns, investigating committees -- I have been before them myself, although I did not have a cent and did not get a cent, but on this question of campaign funds, the Democratic Party is as clean as the driven snow, there is nothing to it. We have been absolutely fair, square, honest and on the level. But that does not mean that we can't use money. The radio costs a good deal, automobiles are costly, printing is about four times what it was before the War, every activity that enters into a campaign is comparable with business, it costs more to do it. It is more difficult to carry it on, and for that reason we need funds. The Chairman of the Finance Committee, Mr. Cullman, of course, will have the undoubted power of adding from time to time those that he believes will be helpful in the securing of contributions, but as many of you men feel that you can do it, can give a little time to it, can make a study of it, are requested to sign a card and turn it in to Mr. Cullman before you leave.

You are all invited tonight to the National Democratic Club where the Committee on Notification, appointed by the Chairman of the State Convention, will convey to the Democratic candidates formally the notification of their selection by that Convention, and in turn their speeches of acceptance will be made. It is to be hoped that you will all be there and particularly that all the chairmen of the

county finance committees be present at the Democratic Club tonight. Is there any further business before the house, Mr. Treasurer?

MR. CULLMAN: Ask the Chairman.

... Mr. Pölk moved that the meeting adjourn, which motion was seconded and carried 1..

... Adjournment at 2:25 ...

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RELEASED FOR TUESDAY MORNING PAPERS. SEPTEMBER 28TH

SPEECH OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.
DELIVERED AT SYRACUSE, SEPTEMBER 27, 1926.

If this be a keynote speech you have given me the key:
It is a happy Convention. What a pity that we cannot send some
of our good cheer to our laboring and sorely divided friends *OK*
the enemy who are trying to put a brave - if false - face on
adversity in New York at this same moment!

You and I are happy with cause, for it is seldom that
a great political party gathers with such unanimity in its
ranks, with so clean and honorable a record, and with so clear
a promise that it will, through its nominees, give even greater
good service to the people of this state in the years to come.

To think back to some of the basic principles of our
American form of government is always wise. Our system calls
for more than the three primary functions of Executive, Legis-
lative and Courts. It is not enough that we have as Governor
a mere Office Manager or a legislature to vote appropriation
bills. Leadership is as great an essential to our well-being
as the machinery itself; and from the need of leadership we
have evolved the Party System.

Everybody knows that year by year the march of modern
civilization brings forward new problems for solution and new
possibilities for the greater happiness of human beings. The
leadership of a political party which is so inactive as to
overlook or ignore the needs of the day, calls for replacement
by men with vision and with willingness to act.

If we accept the phrase "the best government is the
least government" we must understand that it applies to the sim-
plification of governmental machinery, and to the prevention of
improper interference with the legitimate private acts of the

citizens, but a nation or a State which is unwilling by governmental action to tackle the new problems, caused by immense increase of population and by the astounding strides of modern science, is headed for decline and ultimate death from inaction. If this premise be true, it is fair to view in its light the history of the past few years in Albany and in Washington.

You who are delegates here today are in a broad sense politically minded, and you recognize that no longer can one party control or deliver the votes of a majority of citizens, but that the balance which swings elections is very apt to do its own thinking. It is because the Democratic Party has been mindful of principles and through its successful representatives has given to public office administration of outstanding excellence, that the great group of people who belong to no party organization has shown its satisfaction with Democratic administration in recent elections in this State. In accord with that same spirit of high service, this Convention will act. We recognize that if a party is to continue in power it must have a record for which it needs no apology - more than that, its actions must be constructive and not merely those of political opposition. Therein lies the true difference in New York between the two major political units.

That this difference is an accepted condition is shown by the well known outcome of certain disagreements during the past four years between a Republican legislature and a Democratic executive. Sheer weight of public opinion has on occasion after occasion forced reluctant obstructionists to yield to the constructive program of a progressive governor. XXX

It would not be either fair or honest to fix the stupidities and selfishness of our opponents' recent policies on the rank and file of an historic party; their leaders are primarily responsible, commencing with their chief, the present senior United States Senator from this State. The net result has been, and will be, the defection of hundreds of thousands of normally Republican votes as a protest against lack of vision,

and a political faith seeking power for selfish ends rather than public good. This accretion of votes for Democratic candidates will continue and grow just so long as our own policies and candidates maintain our existing high standards.

It is traditional that the temporary chairman of a state convention should recount at length, with elaborate argument and wearying figures, the record of his party since the last election. I intend to break that tradition as needless and time-wasting for this very good reason; since 1918 the present Governor of the State has, in pursuance of a fundamental of our party, taken all major questions of governmental policy straight to the electorate and has given them the facts. By reason of this the men and women voters have acquired a greater knowledge of their government than ever before, a greater interest, a nicer discrimination. Some day in the distant future men will raise statues to the memory of a great American by the name of Smith^{X X X} and when they do, I hope that instead of a list of his titles to fame, they will carve the simple words "He taught us to think - and to think straight."

That is why to extol his record as Governor is as needless as to point out the virtues of the Ten Commandments. The two years which have passed since our last convention have recorded unselfish, unwaivering public service under the leadership of the greatest administrator of public affairs, the best equipped master of the science and practice of government that this country knows - Alfred E. Smith. ^{X X X}

As to the two years to come, a prophecy would be out of place on the part of your temporary chairman, but may I say, perhaps, that it is my dream that we shall say to our State: "It is our purpose to give you that same wise unselfish service for two years more." ^{X X}

When this coming campaign gets into its stride, I suppose it is inevitable that the Republican candidates will seek something to praise in the record of their party in New York State - what a picture it gives us of a hurrying,

scurrying search for a lot of diverse facts and fancies -- only to find that when gathered together they have neither head nor tail nor heart nor brain.^{X?} For the truth of the matter is that their leaders' policies have changed every six months for the past four years. First they decide to oppose every measure the Democratic Party and its Governor propose; this fails through a rout of the Republican legislators. Then they decide to go along with the Democratic suggestions for better government and they find they get only laughs for their political sheep's clothing. Next they trot out their Senators and Congressmen from Washington and succeed no better in public debate than in the halls of Albany.

Of course the secret of the matter is that Republican leadership in New York is either senile or moron. And I draw a great distinction between the Republican leaders and the Republican voters. Every man and woman here can point to dozens of personal friends - normally affiliated with the Republican party - who are sick of the pettinesses, and visionless meanderings of their so-called chiefs.

Let us come down to facts. Who are responsible for the unexampled lowering of direct state taxes, and who were the legislative leaders who opposed this reduction? The voters know.

Who demanded the reorganizing and simplifying of the State government, and who, in the face of public demand tried to put off the evil day in the hope of later effecting a fake reorganization for their own partisan ends? The Voters know.

Who strove for and got new hospitals and a State Park system and made possible better schools and better health; and who in secret opposition sent secret word to political henchmen up through the State to defeat the proposed bond issue? The Voters know.

Who took the highways out of politics and commenced the elimination of grade crossings? The voters know.

Yes, the men and women who go to the polls understand well which legislative leaders were responsible for the failure to secure the 48-hour law for women in industrial establishments, even after their own Republican platform had declared in favor of it. They know, too, whose hidden hand it was which blocked the development of the water power now owned by the State of New York. They remember who declined to improve the Workmen's Compensation Law, and the Direct Primary laws, and the corrupt practices Act, and the development of better marketing facilities.

And, being wiser than some "statesmen" give them credit, the voting public knows very well why a Republican legislature approved of a four year term for the Governorship on the sneaking condition that the election of Governor take place only in the years we elect a President of the nation.

Let every man and woman voter in this State decide whether the magnificent progress that our State government has made in these past four years would have been possible or even probable if any single one of the present Republican leaders had been occupying the chair of Governor Smith. So much for the past.

The task is not over. The Democratic Party believes, honestly, that many needs of our citizens remain unfulfilled. We are not satisfied with inaction. We still seek sanction for the laws refused by the last Republican legislature, and we know that further important steps must be taken before our State government is wholly reorganized on a business basis and not a political basis. It is enough to cite the glaring example of Farms and Markets. Our present law so far as the statute itself is concerned, might be held up as a model to every other State, in that it embraces every phase of agriculture, and transportation, and marketing, and confers upon the Council of Farms and Markets broad powers to make the statute operative. It is an interesting fact that even under the new reorganization, the Executive or Administrative Head of the

State Government can have no responsibility for the appointment of this Council. Here is a body, made up entirely of persons selected in the Republican Party Caucus, whose chief interest in the great human problem of better marketing lies principally in the patronage contained in the Department. The minutes of that Council prove that their meetings show no discussion whatever of agricultural problems, but are confined entirely to the appointment and transfer of employees. If the farming communities of this State had any idea of the amount of money supposed to be used to promote the cause of agriculture, but annually wasted in political patronage, they would lose their confidence in Republican honesty for half a century to come, and in order to retain this patronage the legislature declined to approve the plan of reorganizing the State Departments unless the Council of Farms and Markets were taken away from the Executive authority of the Governor.

But is the farmer interested only in what promotes his business? Isn't he, like every other human man in this state, interested in the thing that promotes the welfare of his children? Must he not be compelled to view with suspicion the Republican leaders who denied the better pay for rural teachers and greater state appropriations for the maintenance of rural schools? That plan was sponsored by a non-partisan Commission, but was defeated with the childish hope of embarrassing a Governor who happened to belong to another party.

Who then is responsible for this Albany leadership? The majority leaders in the Senate and House were not elected as leaders, they were selected in the caucus of the Party itself. Does the Party want to disclaim responsibility for that? Are the voters going to blame them in their individual capacities? Or are we going to place the responsibility upon the man who sits behind the scenes and pulls the strings?

Who caused the repeated changes of face in Republican policies in Albany in these 4 years? Who sent hurried

word to kill the 48-hour Bill? Who was the moving spirit against the Park program? Who told the Republican Senate leader to oppose the cut in the income taxes and then later rushed word to him to favor it.

The senior Senator from this State is the accepted leader of his Party in this State. He is, to my way of thinking, one of the most charming men I have ever met, but at the same time, I can never forget that he is the greatest example of Bourbon reaction which this State has ever produced. As an Assemblyman he typified the thought that constitutional protection is intended only for men of wealth. He vigorously opposed election of United States Senators by the people. He was the uncompromising enemy of workmen's Compensation and Woman suffrage. He even opposed Woman suffrage after he had the expression of the men of his own State the other way.

Mr. Root was right in his suggestion that Mr. Wadsworth had been a useful Senator in Washington. Let me be the first to admit his "usefulness" to his friends, and to those whose ideals of government accord with his.

As if it were not enough that he has consistently opposed almost every measure of constructive legislation in the halls of Congress, he has added insult to injury by favoring the retention of Newberry, and by voting against even an investigation of the expenditures in the Republican primaries in Pennsylvania and Illinois.

To him we charge the burden of the leadership of his Party in this State.

His defeat at the polls in the coming election, if this Convention does its duty, will mean not only that our State will be represented in Washington by a man willing to fight for progress, but we hope will also be taken as a demand from the Republican voters themselves that their party leadership be placed on a plane less selfish, more forward looking and more willing to put the good governing of the state ahead of party advantage. XX

In view of the discredited leadership of his chosen representative in New York State, and in view, also, of the repeated defeats of his friends in recent primaries in other states, it is not surprising that President Coolidge gropes for a whole boxful of red herrings to draw across the trail. The first evidence came from the fishing camp in the Adirondacks, but I am credibly informed by our Governor that red herring don't grow in fresh water. The first fish offered to an unsuspecting public was the pike or pickerel of prosperity, so full of bones that the credulous eater often dies of starvation following strangulation. I will dissect this interesting animal for you in more detail later on.

But, honestly, what do you think of the Republican Convention in New York City trying at this moment to nominate State officers in Albany with the hope of electing them on the falsified economy record of Coolidge and the virtues of Mellon as a master mind among those few whom a certain President once described as "malefactors of great wealth"? May I say that these efforts to elect a Republican governor of New York are on a par of dishonesty with their effort to change our State Constitution so as to elect a governor for a 4-year term in the same year that Presidential elections occur.

I am very certain that the Democratic party in its campaign this autumn will use state issues as arguments for election to state offices and national issues as arguments for election to national offices. XX

As this Convention is in part concerned with questions directly affecting the Federal union because of the election of a Senator and of representatives this year, we will gladly take up the challenge of the President of the United States and of his lieutenants, to discuss issues of national import. It is safe to predict that the Democratic nominee of this Convention for the office of United States Senator will have enough of gumption to stand on his own feet and not seek to

sneak into office on the coat-tails of other issues. In advance I can promise Senator Wadsworth that his Democratic opponent will measure up to the ideals of progressive public service which our party in this state has established; that when our nominee campaigns, he will be wholly willing to discuss national issues for a national office; and that his only connection with purely state issues will be the certainty that when he succeeds Mr. Wadsworth in Washington next March he will bear with him the same thought of public service as a public trust that Grover Cleveland and Alfred E. Smith have so well exemplified by their work. XXXX

It is essential that we be absolutely fair. For this reason we do not seek campaign material against the Coolidge administration because of the acts of the Falls and Dohertys and Millers and Kings and Sinclairs of the past, and if we think that the wheels of Republican justice move exceedingly slow, that, for example, former Secretary Fall has never even yet pleaded to the indictment which is out against him, we can only say "Gentlemen, you are an unconscionable time a-dying".

But the present national administration cannot ignore history of the present date. They cannot ignore the fact that large groups of Republican politicians still believe that elections may be bought with money, and that favors may still issue with propriety to those bribers who have the longest purse. To those leaders so minded the crime of the Vares and the Peppers and the Mellons of Pennsylvania, of the Smiths of Illinois (no relation of the Smiths of New York) lies not in their use of millions, but in their getting caught at it. When a boy in a position of trust at school is found cheating at his work, the teacher and community do not call him a fool for being caught: they dismiss him. Nor does the fact that his father is the local millionaire save him. That is what Secretary Mellon was trying to use as an excuse for the orgy in the Pennsylvania primaries.

By the very same token a quiet campaign is being started from responsible Republican sources at this very moment, saying in effect, "The father of this boy owns the big factory in this town. If you disgrace the boy by dismissal, his dad, in his anger, will close up the mill, and you will all be out of work".

Yes, it is clear as the day, that Calvin Coolidge would like to have God on his side, but he must have Andrew Mellon. X X

As a matter of basic principle, the purchase of public office is a blood-brother to the sale of public favors or the misuse of public funds. Place 2 facts of history side by side - 8 years of democratic administration in Washington produced a slate free from election scandals, free from a single act of public dishonesty on the part of any responsible official. X X X And these years included the responsibilities for the conduct of the vast operations of the world war. On the other side, 5 years of President Harding and President Coolidge, have given to the nation examples of public turpitude which we would like to forget.

Across this trail, as I have already said, is now drawn that fishy museum specimen called "Prosperity". All right, let us submit it to the examination of common sense and of science and decide once and for all who are the father and mother of the prosperity which without doubt exists today in certain parts of these United States. Later, I will speak very briefly of those sections, and of those elements in the community whom this prosperity has failed to reach.

If every man and woman is honest enough to admit it, they will conclude after such investigation that the prosperity we have is not due to the actions or policies of any Republican or Democrat in Washington, either as individuals or as a Party.

What is the truth? The waging of a great war beginning in 1914, was not ended until the industrial demobilization of 1920 and 1921. For 7 long years every law of normal business economics was ignored or altered. After 7 years the industrial United States found itself facing a great vacuum - an empty space

which had to be filled. The railroads and other transportation systems required the re-building of all physical property and the creation of new facilities to meet the country's growth. Housing and office construction, factory reorganization, highways, and a hundred other needs called for production on a vastly increased scale to make up for the wear and tear and the temporary expedients of the war years. To this we must add new possibilities caused by the advance of science - popular needs such as the cheaper automobile, the radio, the increased use of electrical power, and last but not least, the devising of new methods of salesmanship - the chain store and the installment system.

To fill the void of 1921, to satisfy the needs of large sections of the nation, the American business man and the American worker, have come forward with efficiency, with honesty and with genius. Economic laws, American good sense and national ability shown as a general thing by capital and labor, by rich and by poor alike - these are the creators of such prosperity as we give thanks for today.

So it is that any political organization which today claims credit for national prosperity is guilty of the old common law offense of seeking to obtain under false pretenses a thing of value belonging to somebody else. X X

Unfortunately, however, the type of political leadership which I have tried to describe is not even honest enough to dangle the prosperity fish all over the country. Up in New England half-time factory towns cannot be so easily deceived, so Senator Butler is telling those poor unfortunates that--although textile manufacturers are more highly protected by the tariff than any other industry in the country, -- the only thing to do is to re-elect him so that he can boost the tariff still higher. Out through the great agricultural west, too, they would be run out of town if they talked about prosperity, and they have offered prizes for the best answer to the riddle that has no answer: "How does a high tariff on the household goods and agricultural implements of a farmer help the farmer?" It is, in-

deed, for them a serious situation, because after many long years the western farmers are analyzing the rise since 1921 in prices of the articles they have to buy.

Nor will the farmers or any other group of citizens be deceived by the shop-worn and dilapidated billboard trotted out every four years which prophesies in faded colors that if the Democrats are victorious they will give us free trade and submerge the nation with a flood of cheap goods manufactured by unfortunate people in other countries who work 18 hours and live on 9¢ a day.

Thank God, with the spread of education throughout our land, the average voter is learning to think for himself, or for herself, and to differentiate between practical economics and campaign bunkum, just as we have learned not to worry over the threat of an occasional Republican factory owner just before election to close down the plant in the event of a Democratic victory. So too, it becomes harder year by year to justify tariff schedules which sell monopolies on the necessities of life to people with very long purses. Mr. Mellon's aluminum trust, which every housewife in the country unduly enriches, is but one of the tariff created monopolies sold for political and monetary support; President Coolidge himself lends aid to a nefarious system when he destroys the foundations of the tariff commission lest it damage Senator Smoot's sugar interest, even though the tariff on sugar costs the American housewife \$250,000,000 every year.

I go back to what I said in the beginning about leadership as a necessary part of successful government. What is true in this state of our opponents is equally applicable to the administration in Washington. Inaction may succeed for a short period, but over any length of time events and conditions call inevitably for constructive action. The people of the West are not forgetting the utter futility of the President and his Cabinet in their handling of the positive need for farm relief. The people of the East have well learned, through months of struggle to get

coal for their furnaces and stoves, the hard meaning of the slogan "Keep cool with Coolidge". XX

As far as intimate search reveals, the present national administration, has pursued an active course in behalf of only one definite plan. And in this - the schedules advanced by Secretary Mellon for the reduction of the national income tax - a Republican Congress in 1924 substituted the Democratic measure which gave greater benefit to six and one-half million taxpayers than did the Mellon plan; and in 1926 it was the insistence of Democrats in House and Senate which again gave greater relief to those taxpayers of small or of moderate means.

Even in the boasted field of federal economies promise has not been followed by action; for the actual expenditures of the national government show a definite increase each year since Mr. Coolidge became President; and this notwithstanding the annual reduction in the interest on our war debt.

It is to the same spirit of inaction in the face of the country's needs, that we can charge the greater part of the trouble over the so-called issue of the Volstead Act. It is a national question but not a national party issue, because neither party is over-whelmingly for or against the Volstead Act, yet I insist that it is in each state a question which cannot be ignored and to this indisputable fact the individual voter must agree, whether he favor modification or not. X+ The responsibility of enforcement of the Federal statute since it became a law has rested on the Republican administration, and they have had neither the courage to enforce it nor the brains to properly amend it. XXXX They have given us the bootlegger in place of the saloon-keeper and the gunman in place of the bar man. X

If this be not an honest law, if this be not a just law, if this be not a workable law, then immediate and drastic revision to make it so, was an imperative duty on the party in power. X

As for the attitude of our own party in the state of New York, I cannot of course in advance of the declaration which this convention will incorporate in our party platform, say what

it's exact language will be, but of this much you may be sure, we shall speak with no uncertain voice - there will be no dodging - no straddling - no bewildering shift from what has been our attitude on this question, and what is more, our position will be sincerely supported by all the candidates whom we shall nominate. XXX
In contrast to our attitude it is worth while to rehearse the "iggle and "Wobble" record of the other party of this state.

In 1919 they voted to ratify the 18th amendment; in 1921 they passed a state enforcement law; in 1923 they repealed it; in 1925 and 1926 they made a bluff at re-enacting it, by having the Republican Assembly pass it and the Republican Senate kill it; And now as a crowning straddle, they seek to nominate a wet Senator and a dry state ticket. X X X X

Last, but in many ways most important of all, we come to the effect of Republican leadership upon our relations with the peoples of other nations. By inadvertence I used the word leadership when I meant to say "inaction". With the exception of the half-way successful Naval Limitation Conference we have accomplished no constructive thing in our foreign relations.

Far more regrettable, our lack of policy, our opportunism, our timidity, have raised the dislike, the scorn and the hatred of the civilized world against the American government. These words are not too severe, nor do they apply only to those nations of Europe who are our debtors. Do you think for a minute that the American government is highly regarded among the other nations who took no part in the war? Is there as much friendship towards us among the Republic of South America or in Canada or in the Far East, or in the isles of the Pacific as there was in 1920?

We have become the Banker of the world but there are two kinds of bankers - the kindly, understanding, sympathetic man who by his tact, his wise suggestions, his willingness to help even the humblest creditor solve his troubles, saves many a shaky loan for his bank and is blessed and honored in the com-

munity, and the tight-lipped, steely-eyed, tight-fisted "financial wizard" who thinks only in dollars and cents and whose answer to a discouraged and bewildered borrower is "well, you hired the money, didn't you?" This is the kind of a banker Mr. Mellon has made us in the eyes of the world. X X X X

A proper leadership in Washington would have averted all this. As in the relations between individuals, so the attitude and spirit are controlling factors in the affairs of nations.

I venture the definite assertion that if the spirit of the American government during these years had been one of cooperation, showing a clear cut desire to aid the other nations even individually to work out their economic and social problems, the American government today would have the friendship and not the dislike of the world. X X

More than that, the day is at hand when our own war-caused vacuum will be filled and our business men as producers must then turn to the markets of the world. When that day comes there will be a greater realization than now that nations even as human beings, prefer to trade with their friends and to settle their debts with their friends.

We are here today to propose action for the years to come: and we can well remember the words of Lincoln when he said, "As I would not be a slave so I would not be a master - this expresses my idea of Democracy. Whatever differs from this, to the extent of the difference, is no Democracy Improvement in conditions is the order of things in a society of equals As labor is the common burden of our race, so the effort of some to shift their share of the burden onto the shoulders of others, is the great durable curse of the race." In that same spirit we shall strive for the good of the common man, the improvement of the condition of the average citizen; and in the spirit of Lincoln, the great democrat, we shall fight with all

our strength against any masters who would make us slaves. May the spirit of this gathering ever promote the happiness and welfare of the citizens of our great state, and the good of America.

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RELEASED FOR TUESDAY MORNING PAPERS, SEPTEMBER 28TH

SPEECH OF FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
TEMPORARY CHAIRMAN, DEMOCRATIC STATE CONVENTION.
DELIVERED AT SYRACUSE, SEPTEMBER 27, 1926.

If this be a keynote speech you have given me the key: It is a happy Convention. What a pity that we cannot send some of our good cheer to our laboring and sorely divided friends the enemy who are trying to put a brave - if false - face on adversity in New York at this same moment!

You and I are happy with cause, for it is seldom that a great political party gathers with such unanimity in its ranks, with so clean and honorable a record, and with so clear a promise that it will, through its nominees, give even greater good service to the people of this state in the years to come.

To think back to some of the basic principles of our American form of government is always wise. Our system calls for more than the three primary functions of Executive, Legislative and Courts. It is not enough that we have as Governor a mere Office Manager or a legislature to vote appropriation bills. Leadership is as great an essential to our well-being as the machinery itself; and from the need of leadership we have evolved the Party System.

Everybody knows that year by year the march of modern civilization brings forward new problems for solution and new possibilities for the greater happiness of human beings. The leadership of a political party which is so inactive as to overlook or ignore the needs of the day, calls for replacement by men with vision and with willingness to act.

If we accept the phrase "the best government is the least government" we must understand that it applies to the simplification of governmental machinery, and to the prevention of improper interference with the legitimate private acts of the

citizens, but a nation or a State which is unwilling by governmental action to tackle the new problems, caused by immense increase of population and by the astounding strides of modern science, is headed for decline and ultimate death from inaction. If this premise be true, it is fair to view in its light the history of the past few years in Albany and in Washington.

You who are delegates here today are in a broad sense politically minded, and you recognize that no longer can one party control or deliver the votes of a majority of citizens, but that the balance which swings elections is very apt to do its own thinking. It is because the Democratic Party has been mindful of principles and through its successful representatives has given to public office administration of outstanding excellence, that the great group of people who belong to no party organization has shown its satisfaction with Democratic administration in recent elections in this State. In accord with that same spirit of high service, this Convention will act. We recognize that if a party is to continue in power it must have a record for which it needs no apology - more than that, its actions must be constructive and not merely those of political opposition. Therein lies the true difference in New York between the two major political units.

That this difference is an accepted condition is shown by the well known outcome of certain disagreements during the past four years between a Republican legislature and a Democratic executive. Sheer weight of public opinion has on occasion after occasion forced reluctant obstructionists to yield to the constructive program of a progressive governor.

It would not be either fair or honest to fix the stupidities and selfishness of our opponents' recent policies on the rank and file of an historic party; their leaders are primarily responsible, commencing with their chief, the present senior United States Senator from this State. The net result has been, and will be, the defection of hundreds of thousands of normally Republican votes as a protest against lack of vision,

and a political faith seeking power for selfish ends rather than public good. This accretion of votes for Democratic candidates will continue and grow just so long as our own policies and candidates maintain our existing high standards.

It is traditional that the temporary chairman of a state convention should recount at length, with elaborate argument and wearying figures, the record of his party since the last election. I intend to break that tradition as needless and time-wasting for this very good reason; since 1918 the present Governor of the State has, in pursuance of a fundamental of our party, taken all major questions of governmental policy straight to the electorate and has given them the facts. By reason of this the men and women voters have acquired a greater knowledge of their government than ever before, a greater interest, a nicer discrimination. Some day in the distant future men will raise statues to the memory of a great American by the name of Smith, and when they do, I hope that instead of a list of his titles to fame, they will carve the simple words "He taught us to think - and to think straight."

That is why to extol his record as Governor is as needless as to point out the virtues of the Ten Commandments. The two years which have passed since our last convention have recorded unselfish, unwaivering public service under the leadership of the greatest administrator of public affairs, the best equipped master of the science and practice of government that this country knows - Alfred E. Smith.

As to the two years to come, a prophecy would be out of place on the part of your temporary chairman, but may I say, perhaps, that it is my dream that we shall say to our State: "It is our purpose to give you that same wise unselfish service for two years more."

When this coming campaign gets into its stride, I suppose it is inevitable that the Republican candidates will seek something to praise in the record of their party in New York State - what a picture it gives us of a hurrying,

scurrying search for a lot of diverse facts and fancies -- only to find that when gathered together they have neither head nor tail nor heart nor brain. For the truth of the matter is that their leaders' policies have changed every six months for the past four years. First they decide to oppose every measure the Democratic Party and its Governor propose; this fails through a rout of the Republican legislators. Then they decide to go along with the Democratic suggestions for better government and they find they get only laughs for their political sheep's clothing. Next they trot out their Senators and Congressmen from Washington and succeed no better in public debate than in the halls of Albany.

Of course the secret of the matter is that Republican leadership in New York is either senile or moron. And I draw a great distinction between the Republican leaders and the Republican voters. Every man and woman here can point to dozens of personal friends - normally affiliated with the Republican party - who are sick of the pettinesses, and visionless meanderings of their so-called chiefs.

Let us come down to facts. Who are responsible for the unexampled lowering of direct state taxes, and who were the legislative leaders who opposed this reduction? The voters know.

Who demanded the reorganizing and simplifying of the State government, and who, in the face of public demand tried to put off the evil day in the hope of later effecting a fake reorganization for their own partisan ends? The Voters know.

Who strove for and got new hospitals and a State Park system and made possible better schools and better health; and who in secret opposition sent secret word to political henchmen up through the State to defeat the proposed bond issue? The Voters know.

Who took the highways out of politics and commenced the elimination of grade crossings? The voters know.

Yes, the men and women who go to the polls understand well which legislative leaders were responsible for the failure to secure the 48-hour law for women in industrial establishments, even after their own Republican platform had declared in favor of it. They know, too, whose hidden hand it was which blocked the development of the water power now owned by the State of New York. They remember who declined to improve the Workmen's Compensation Law, and the Direct Primary laws, and the corrupt practices Act, and the development of better marketing facilities.

And, being wiser than some "statesmen" give them credit, the voting public knows very well why a Republican legislature approved of a four year term for the Governorship on the sneaking condition that the election of Governor take place only in the years we elect a President of the nation.

Let every man and woman voter in this State decide whether the magnificent progress that our State government has made in these past four years would have been possible or even probable if any single one of the present Republican leaders had been occupying the chair of Governor Smith. So much for the past.

The task is not over. The Democratic Party believes, honestly, that many needs of our citizens remain unfulfilled. We are not satisfied with inaction. We still seek sanction for the laws refused by the last Republican legislature, and we know that further important steps must be taken before our State government is wholly reorganized on a business basis and not a political basis. It is enough to cite the glaring example of Farms and Markets. Our present law so far as the statute itself is concerned, might be held up as a model to every other State, in that it embraces every phase of agriculture, and transportation, and marketing, and confers upon the Council of Farms and Markets broad powers to make the statute operative. It is an interesting fact that even under the new reorganization, the Executive or Administrative Head of the

State Government can have no responsibility for the appointment of this Council. Here is a body, made up entirely of persons selected in the Republican Party Caucus, whose chief interest in the great human problem of better marketing lies principally in the patronage contained in the Department. The minutes of that Council prove that their meetings show no discussion whatever of agricultural problems, but are confined entirely to the appointment and transfer of employes. If the farming communities of this State had any idea of the amount of money supposed to be used to promote the cause of agriculture, but annually wasted in political patronage, they would lose their confidence in Republican honesty for half a century to come, and in order to retain this patronage the legislature declined to approve the plan of reorganizing the State Departments unless the Council of Farms and Markets were taken away from the Executive authority of the Governor.

But is the farmer interested only in what promotes his business? Isn't he, like every other human man in this state, interested in the thing that promotes the welfare of his children? Must he not be compelled to view with suspicion the Republican leaders who denied the better pay for rural teachers and greater state appropriations for the maintenance of rural schools? That plan was sponsored by a non-partisan Commission, but was defeated with the childish hope of embarrassing a Governor who happened to belong to another party.

Who then is responsible for this Albany leadership? The majority leaders in the Senate and House were not elected as leaders, they were selected in the caucus of the Party itself. Does the Party want to disclaim responsibility for that? Are the voters going to blame them in their individual capacities? Or are we going to place the responsibility upon the man who sits behind the scenes and pulls the strings?

Who caused the repeated changes of face in Republican policies in Albany in these 4 years? Who sent hurried

word to kill the 48-hour Bill? Who was the moving spirit against the Park program? Who told the Republican Senate leader to oppose the cut in the income taxes and then later rushed word to him to favor it.

The senior Senator from this State is the accepted leader of his Party in this State. He is, to my way of thinking, one of the most charming men I have ever met, but at the same time, I can never forget that he is the greatest example of Bourbon reaction which this State has ever produced. As an Assemblyman he typified the thought that constitutional protection is intended only for men of wealth. He vigorously opposed election of United States Senators by the people. He was the uncompromising enemy of workmen's Compensation and Woman suffrage. He even opposed Woman suffrage after he had the expression of the men of his own State the other way.

Mr. Root was right in his suggestion that Mr. Wadsworth had been a useful Senator in Washington. Let me be the first to admit his "usefulness" to his friends, and to those whose ideals of government accord with his.

As if it were not enough that he has consistently opposed almost every measure of constructive legislation in the halls of Congress, he has added insult to injury by favoring the retention of Newberry, and by voting against even an investigation of the expenditures in the Republican primaries in Pennsylvania and Illinois.

To him we charge the burden of the leadership of his Party in this State.

His defeat at the polls in the coming election, if this Convention does its duty, will mean not only that our State will be represented in Washington by a man willing to fight for progress, but we hope will also be taken as a demand from the Republican voters themselves that their party leadership be placed on a plane less selfish, more forward looking and more willing to put the good governing of the state ahead of party advantage.

In view of the discredited leadership of his chosen representative in New York State, and in view, also, of the repeated defeats of his friends in recent primaries in other states, it is not surprising that President Coolidge gropes for a whole boxful of red herrings to draw across the trail. The first evidence came from the fishing camp in the Adirondacks, but I am credibly informed by our Governor that red herring don't grow in fresh water! The first fish offered to an unsuspecting public was the pike or pickerel of prosperity, so full of bones that the credulous eater often dies of starvation following strangulation. I will dissect this interesting animal for you in more detail later on.

But, honestly, what do you think of the Republican Convention in New York City trying at this moment to nominate State officers in Albany with the hope of electing them on the falsified economy record of Coolidge and the virtues of Mellon as a master mind among those few whom a certain President once described as "malefactors of great wealth"? May I say that these efforts to elect a Republican governor of New York are on a par of dishonesty with their effort to change our State Constitution so as to elect a governor for a 4-year term in the same year that Presidential elections occur.

I am very certain that the Democratic party in its campaign this autumn will use state issues as arguments for election to state offices and national issues as arguments for election to national offices.

As this Convention is in part concerned with questions directly affecting the Federal union because of the election of a Senator and of representatives this year, we will gladly take up the challenge of the President of the United States and of his lieutenants, to discuss issues of national import. It is safe to predict that the Democratic nominee of this Convention for the office of United States Senator will have enough of gumption to stand on his own feet and not seek to

sneak into office on the coat-tails of other issues. In advance I can promise Senator Wadsworth that his Democratic opponent will measure up to the ideals of progressive public service which our party in this state has established; that when our nominee campaigns, he will be wholly willing to discuss national issues for a national office; and that his only connection with purely state issues will be the certainty that when he succeeds Mr. Wadsworth in Washington next March he will bear with him the same thought of public service as a public trust that Grover Cleveland and Alfred E. Smith have so well exemplified by their work.

It is essential that we be absolutely fair. For this reason we do not seek campaign material against the Coolidge administration because of the acts of the Falls and Dohertys and Millers and Kings and Sinclairs of the past, and if we think that the wheels of Republican justice move exceedingly slow, that, for example, former Secretary Fall has never even yet pleaded to the indictment which is out against him, we can only say "Gentlemen, you are an unconscionable time a-dying".

But the present national administration cannot ignore history of the present date. They cannot ignore the fact that large groups of Republican politicians still believe that elections may be bought with money, and that favors may still issue with propriety to those bribers who have the longest purse. To those leaders so minded the crime of the Vares and the Peppers and the Mellons of Pennsylvania, of the Smiths of Illinois (no relation of the Smiths of New York), lies not in their use of millions, but in their getting caught at it. When a boy in a position of trust at school is found cheating at his work, the teacher and community do not call him a fool for being caught: they dismiss him. Nor does the fact that his father is the local millionaire save him. That is what Secretary Mellon was trying to use as an excuse for the orgy in the Pennsylvania primaries.

By the very same token a quiet campaign is being started from responsible Republican sources at this very moment, saying in effect, "The father of this boy owns the big factory in this town. If you disgrace the boy by dismissal, his dad, in his anger, will close up the mill, and you will all be out of work".

Yes, it is clear as the day, that Calvin Coolidge would like to have God on his side, but he must have Andrew Mellon.

As a matter of basic principle, the purchase of public office is a blood-brother to the sale of public favors or the misuse of public funds. Place 2 facts of history side by side - 8 years of democratic administration in Washington produced a slate free from election scandals, free from a single act of public dishonesty on the part of any responsible official. And these years included the responsibilities for the conduct of the vast operations of the world war. On the other side, 5 years of President Harding and President Coolidge, have given to the nation examples of public turpitude which we would like to forget.

Across this trail, as I have already said, is now drawn that fishy museum specimen called "Prosperity". All right, let us submit it to the examination of common sense and of science and decide once and for all who are the father and mother of the prosperity which without doubt exists today in certain parts of these United States. Later, I will speak very briefly of those sections, and of those elements in the community whom this prosperity has failed to reach.

If every man and woman is honest enough to admit it, they will conclude after such investigation that the prosperity we have is not due to the actions or policies of any Republican or Democrat in Washington, either as individuals or as a Party.

What is the truth? The waging of a great war beginning in 1914, was not ended until the industrial demobilization of 1920 and 1921. For 7 long years every law of normal business economics was ignored or altered. After 7 years the industrial United States found itself facing a great vacuum - an empty space

which had to be filled. The railroads and other transportation systems required the re-building of all physical property and the creation of new facilities to meet the country's growth. Housing and office construction, factory reorganization, highways, and a hundred other needs called for production on a vastly increased scale to make up for the wear and tear and the temporary expedients of the war years. To this we must add new possibilities caused by the advance of science - popular needs such as the cheaper automobile, the radio, the increased use of electrical power, and last but not least, the devising of new methods of salesmanship - the chain store and the installment system.

To fill the void of 1921, to satisfy the needs of large sections of the nation, the American business man and the American worker, have come forward with efficiency, with honesty and with genius. Economic laws, American good sense and national ability shown as a general thing by capital and labor, by rich and by poor alike - these are the creators of such prosperity as we give thanks for today.

So it is that any political organization which today claims credit for national prosperity is guilty of the old common law offense of seeking to obtain under false pretenses a thing of value belonging to somebody else.

Unfortunately, however, the type of political leadership which I have tried to describe is not even honest enough to dangle the prosperity fish all over the country. Up in New England half-time factory towns cannot be so easily deceived, so Senator Butler is telling those poor unfortunates that-although textile manufacturers are more highly protected by the tariff than any other industry in the country, -- the only thing to do is to re-elect him so that he can boost the tariff still higher. Out through the great agricultural west, too, they would be run out of town if they talked about prosperity, and they have offered prizes for the best answer to the riddle that has no answer: "How does a high tariff on the household goods and agricultural implements of a farmer help the farmer?" It is, in-

deed, for them a serious situation, because after many long years the western farmers are analyzing the rise since 1921 in prices of the articles they have to buy.

Nor will the farmers or any other group of citizens be deceived by the shop-worn and dilapidated billboard trotted out every four years which prophesies in faded colors that if the Democrats are victorious they will give us free trade and submerge the nation with a flood of cheap goods manufactured by unfortunate people in other countries who work 18 hours and live on 9¢ a day.

Thank God, with the spread of education throughout our land, the average voter is learning to think for himself, or for herself, and to differentiate between practical economics and campaign bunkum, just as we have learned not to worry over the threat of an occasional Republican factory owner just before election to close down the plant in the event of a Democratic victory. So too, it becomes harder year by year to justify tariff schedules which sell monopolies on the necessities of life to people with very long purses. Mr. Mellon's aluminum trust, which every housewife in the country unduly enriches, is but one of the tariff created monopolies sold for political and monetary support; President Coolidge himself lends aid to a nefarious system when he destroys the foundations of the tariff commission lest it damage Senator Smoot's sugar interest, even though the tariff on sugar costs the American housewife \$250,000,-000 every year.

I go back to what I said in the beginning about leadership as a necessary part of successful government. What is true in this state of our opponents is equally applicable to the administration in Washington. Inaction may succeed for a short period, but over any length of time events and conditions call inevitably for constructive action. The people of the West are not forgetting the utter futility of the President and his Cabinet in their handling of the positive need for farm relief. The people of the East have well learned, through months of struggle to get

coal for their furnaces and stoves, the hard meaning of the slogan "Keep cool with Coolidge".

As far as intimate search reveals, the present national administration, has pursued an active course in behalf of only one definite plan. And in this - the schedules advanced by Secretary Mellon for the reduction of the national income tax - a Republican Congress in 1924 substituted the Democratic measure which gave greater benefit to six and one-half million taxpayers than did the Mellon plan; and in 1926 it was the insistence of Democrats in House and Senate which again gave greater relief to those taxpayers of small or of moderate means.

Even in the boasted field of federal economies promise has not been followed by action; for the actual expenditures of the national government show a definite increase each year since Mr. Coolidge became President; and this notwithstanding the annual reduction in the interest on our war debt.

It is to the same spirit of inaction in the face of the country's needs, that we can charge the greater part of the trouble over the so-called issue of the Volstead Act. It is a national question but not a national party issue, because neither party is over-whelmingly for or against the Volstead Act, yet I insist that it is in each state a question which cannot be ignored and to this indisputable fact the individual voter must agree, whether he favor modification or not. The responsibility of enforcement of the Federal statute since it became a law has rested on the Republican administration, and they have had neither the courage to enforce it nor the brains to properly amend it. They have given us the bootlegger in place of the saloon-keeper and the gunman in place of the bar man.

If this be not an honest law, if this be not a just law, if this be not a workable law, then immediate and drastic revision to make it so, was an imperative duty on the party in power.

As for the attitude of our own party in the state of New York, I cannot of course in advance of the declaration which this convention will incorporate in our party platform, say what

it's exact language will be, but of this much you may be sure, we shall speak with no uncertain voice - there will be no dodging - no straddling - no bewildering shift from what has been our attitude on this question, and what is more, our position will be sincerely supported by all the candidates whom we shall nominate. In contrast to our attitude it is worth while to rehearse the "iggle and "Wobble" record of the other party of this state.

In 1919 they voted to ratify the 18th amendment; in 1921 they passed a state enforcement law; in 1923 they repealed it; in 1925 and 1926 they made a bluff at re-enacting it, by having the Republican Assembly pass it and the Republican Senate kill it; And now as a crowning straddle, they seek to nominate a wet Senator and a dry state ticket.

Last, but in many ways most important of all, we come to the effect of Republican leadership upon our relations with the peoples of other nations. By inadvertence I used the word leadership when I meant to say "inaction". With the exception of the half-way successful Naval Limitation Conference we have accomplished no constructive thing in our foreign relations.

Far more regrettable, our lack of policy, our opportunism, our timidity, have raised the dislike, the scorn and the hatred of the civilized world against the American government. These words are not too severe, nor do they apply only to those nations of Europe who are our debtors. Do you think for a minute that the American government is highly regarded among the other nations who took no part in the war? Is there as much friendship towards us among the Republic of South America or in Canada or in the Far East, or in the isles of the Pacific as there was in 1920?

We have become the Banker of the world but there are two kinds of bankers - the kindly, understanding, sympathetic man who by his tact, his wise suggestions, his willingness to help even the humblest creditor solve his troubles, saves many a shaky loan for his bank and is blessed and honored in the com-

munity, and the tight-lipped, steely-eyed, tight-fisted "financial wizard" who thinks only in dollars and cents and whose answer to a discouraged and bewildered borrower is "Well, you hired the money, didn't you?" This is the kind of a banker Mr. Mellon has made us in the eyes of the world.

A proper leadership in Washington would have averted all this. As in the relations between individuals, so the attitude and spirit are controlling factors in the affairs of nations.

I venture the definite assertion that if the spirit of the American government during these years had been one of cooperation, showing a clear cut desire to aid the other nations even individually to work out their economic and social problems, the American government today would have the friendship and not the dislike of the world.

More than that, the day is at hand when our own war-caused vacuum will be filled and our business men as producers must then turn to the markets of the world. When that day comes there will be a greater realization than now that nations even as human beings, prefer to trade with their friends and to settle their debts with their friends.

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our strength against any masters who would make us slaves. May the spirit of this gathering ever promote the happiness and welfare of the citizens of our great state, and the good of America.

As the Senate of the United States has
by its action ^{voted that this act be} ~~advised~~ the World Court
with provisions intended to safeguard
our national sovereignty, we trust
that ^{if these regulations are accepted} ~~that~~ our participation will promote
the elimination of future wars and
~~the~~ ^{the} the solution of all
international disputes.

-18-

We commend the work of our
Court in 1935 for their
adherence to the principles
of the Court that have been
established in the past and
which we hope will be
maintained in the future.

Walden

World Court

[illegible]

We commend the ^{action} ~~act~~ of the Democratic
Congress of the U.S.
for their position
favoring the entry of the United States
into the World Court with due
safeguarding of American sovereignty,
because we hope that such entry
will help to eliminate future wars
~~and the suffering and death~~
~~and the suffering and death~~
and their attendant horrors.