
Franklin D. Roosevelt — “The Great Communicator”
The Master Speech Files, 1898, 1910-1945

Series 1: Franklin D. Roosevelt’s Political Ascension

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1929 April 3

Radio Address - Report of Progress

Radio Address, Albany, N. Y., April 3, 1929

The Governor Discusses Party Promises and Contrasts Democratic Performance with Republican Failure to Adhere to Platform

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This is in the nature of a preliminary report to the people of the State on the results of the legislative session of 1929. As a state-wide elected official I feel I have a distinct duty to keep the people of the State informed as far as possible as to what goes on in the State Government, and I am very mindful of the fact that I am the Governor not just of Democrats, but of Republicans and all other citizens of the State. That is why this talk and the one which I hope to make next week will be, just as much as I can make them, non-partisan in character. I want merely to state facts and leave the people of the State to draw their own conclusions.

First of all, I want to make it clear that our government properly falls under two heads. First is the purely administrative side, the running of a very large business organization divided into eighteen departments. Practically all of the people who are in these departments are under the civil service and party politics does not enter into the work which they perform. At the heads of these departments are commissioners who in turn are responsible to the Governor for the proper conduct of their departments. These department heads are mostly men and women who have given long service to the State and are experts in their own particular lines, people like the Commissioner of Education, the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene, the Commissioner of Charities, the Conservation Commissioner, the Superintendent of Public Works.

The other side of the State Government is necessarily to a large extent political, because of the fact that the public servants involved are elected by popular vote. Four State officials, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Comptroller, and Attorney-General, are so elected and, of course, the 201 members of the Legislature are also elected. This brings in the fact that politically we have two major parties and in State campaigns each of

these parties sets up a so-called platform, giving to the people of the State a definite statement of what the party proposes to do in the way of legislation, if it is returned to power.

I want to talk tonight principally about these party platforms. The promises made by both parties to the people of the State as to what they would do at Albany this winter. Let us see if these promises have been kept or broken.

It is fair to ask the question at this time, "Has the Republican party which is in control of the Legislature carried out its promises to the people made last Fall or has it even attempted to do so?"

The same question in regard to the Democratic platform can properly be put to the Governor as representing the promises made by the Democratic party.

Unless the responsible party leaders at least make an effort to carry out the party platform, the platform becomes a meaningless document and might just as well be discarded entirely. To put it even more strongly a platform which the leaders do not even attempt to carry out is a fraud and deceit on the voters of the State of New York.

Take up first of all the platform adopted by the Republican Convention at Syracuse on September 29th last year. At that convention the same set of individual leaders wrote the platform and had it adopted as have been responsible for the doings of the Republican majority in the Legislature during the past three months.

Now the most important thing about any promise and particularly about any political promise is whether or not it is made in good faith and in the very first declaration of this solemn pledge to the people made by the Republican party in convention assembled, we find this paragraph:

"We condemn the spirit of waste and extravagance which permeates the present Democratic administration."

Then follows the figures of the State's expenditures last year as compared with 1919, with a closing reference to "the past six years of mounting revenues and profligate spending."

This means that the Republican leaders who drew up this platform wanted the people to think that the State is spending more money than it should and that they intended to cut down these expenses and eliminate what they vaguely term "extravagances." First of all let me make one point clear. The amount of money spent by the State is determined entirely by the Legislature. The action of the Legislature depends on the votes of the party in the majority. The majority party last year fixed the appropriations as recommended by those at the head of the two finance committees. The same gentlemen were among the master minds who drew up this platform. If they really believed that the State had spent too much money, they were condemning themselves and their own party. The Governor has no power to appropriate a single cent of the State's money. He can only veto or reduce what the Legislature decides to be the proper sum. Did these gentlemen really believe that they had been extravagant and had spent more money than was needed for the State? Did they really feel that they could get along with less money this year? Is this paragraph a sort of public confession of incompetence and waste on their part, a sort of figurative sitting in sackcloth amidst the ashes of repentance? Let us judge by what has happened.

The appropriations objected to as too large in 1928 were in round numbers \$232,000,000.

This year the same gentlemen have returned to the Governor's desk after weeks of study of the requests of the department heads as the minimum sum required for the next fiscal year appropriations aggregating more than \$265,000,000. Is any better proof needed of the insincerity of at least this section in the Republican platform? Now let us see about the rest.

The Republican party promised to do something to change what they called our patch work tax system. That promise was wholly neglected and as a matter of fact in the tax changes which they have proposed they have increased the unsoundness of the present system.

We come next to the Republican platform promise, "To continue this constructive program to meet all our social needs * * * to provide proper care and training for our dependent children, to develop those mentally and physically afflicted to make the most of themselves, to protect women and children in industry and to care for the dependent wards of the State." Let us see what attempt was made to fulfill this pledge. For many years legislation has been sought to secure for women and children in industry a minimum wage or more recently a so-called fair wage. This is in no sense a partisan measure and was advocated by leaders of both parties. It had the support of citizens of all political faiths. Again this year there was introduced a fair wage bill, but the Republican majority in the Legislature entirely forgetting this pledge, refused even to allow it to be reported out of committee and to receive fair and open discussion in the two houses of the Legislature. Several years ago we placed on the statute books, after a long fight, in which the opponents of the measure were some of the same Republican leaders, a so-called Forty-Eight Hour Law for women in industry. This law was not properly named because it was in effect a forty-nine and one half hour law. Various attempts have been made to secure a real Forty-eight-Hour Law and this year again a bill for that purpose was introduced. On March 22nd when it became apparent to me that the Republican majority did not intend to let this bill or the Fair Wage bill or any substitute for them out of committee, I sent a special message to the Legislature hoping to spur the majority leaders to favorable action along these lines. In that message I said that modern social conditions have progressed to the point where such demands as these can no longer be regarded other than as matters of an absolute right. The Republican majority refused to allow the bills even to come to a vote on the floor of the Legislature.

This same section of the Republican platform pledges these legislators who were elected upon it to make adequate provision for the care of the dependent wards of the State and promised a more general distribution of hospital and clinical facilities provided by the State. I pointed out to the Legislature that it would be necessary if we were to care for these dependents properly next year either to issue Fifty Million Dollars in construction bonds, or to impose some new or additional tax in the next year's session of the Legislature.

In passing let me correct a misunderstanding which exists in some quarters. Some newspapers particularly seem to have the impression that this bond issue would require a constitutional amendment and hence would require the approval of two Legislatures before submission to the voters. Were this true, its approval at this session would not have advanced the proposal since we would have to wait until 1931 when there will be a new State Senate. As it is the failure of the Legislature to submit this proposal to the people at next fall's election delays the building program a whole year. A sound business policy would dictate a bond issue rather than the imposition of additional taxes. Under our Constitution, however, there must be a referendum on bond issues of this sort and I requested the Legislature to issue such a referendum at the general election next fall. The need for additional hospital facilities is clear. In 1923 the voters approved a bond issue of fifty million dollars for this purpose. That money has been appropriated for the construction of modern efficient institutions. We are now facing the need of still further expansion. It is an unfortunate but incontrovertible fact that the number of dependent wards of the State is increasing in about the same ratio as the increase in the State's population. This is a fact which we must face unless we are to deny these unfortunate persons the care which the Republican platform promised to give them. I told the Legislature that the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene had given me figures showing the present State hospitals are overcrowded by ten thousand patients. The commissioner estimated that within the next seven years we would have twenty-seven thousand more persons than our present hospital facilities can accommodate. We have now under construction accommodations for about seven thousand additional patients. This means that by 1936 there will be approximately twenty thousand patients to whom the State can not give proper care, unless we now undertake an additional hospital building program.

I am sure that the people do not want increased taxes and I am sure the Republican leaders in the Legislature will be opposed to any such increase next winter. There is no sound reason why hospitals of the type we are now building should not be paid for by the issuance of bonds and the cost thus distributed over part of the life of the buildings.

What happened? My message was read in both houses of the Legislature and bills which were introduced to cover the subject were referred to the finance committees. The Republican leaders refused to give even serious consideration to this need now facing us, and allowed the bills to die in committee.

One of the major problems which is still confronting the State is the development of the valuable State-owned water power resources. This issue has been in the fore-front in several State campaigns. There have been differences of opinion as to the course which this development should take, but on one point nearly everyone is agreed, and that is that the ownership of these water power sites should forever remain in the people of the State and that the electricity generated at these sites should be available for the use of all the people and for the development of our State industries at the lowest fair cost. The Republican platform declared for "sound policies in the development of water power which will adequately protect the consumer." Not a single move was made by the writers of this platform to put forward any program, sound or unsound, of water power development, in this session of the Legislature. The Republican majority seem to have lost all interest in this subject. In keeping with my pre-election promises, however, I submitted to the Legislature a program which I believed to be a solution of this problem. The Republican leaders in the Legislature put through a resolution for adjournment without even considering it.

I wish particularly to call to the attention of the people of the State the record of the Republican majority in this session of the Legislature with respect to labor legislation. The Republican platform declares that "The Republican party in this State has done more for Labor than any other party. The labor law and the workmen's compensation law are conceded by labor to be the best in all the States * * * The Republican Legislature has established a commission which has considered and is now considering necessary and beneficent improvements in the Workmen's Compensation Law and all other labor laws and we pledge our party to give full consideration to the recommendations of this commission."

I will refrain from characterizing this pledge in the light of what happened at Albany this winter. I merely give you the facts and ask you to draw your own conclusions. It is true there has been a legislative commission considering improvement in the Workmen's Compensation Law. That commission submitted its report to the Legislature and made certain recommendations, most of which did not go far enough but which were at least a step forward. The Republican leaders decreed the death of these bills and, then going still further, failed to continue the life of the commission of which they were so proud when they wrote this platform last fall. Not only did they not give full consideration to the recommendations of this commission which they promised, but they were not even willing that the commission should continue its investigations and at the next session submit other and perhaps more suitable bills.

But there were other measures before the Legislature in which labor is vitally interested and which received the same treatment. Most of these other measures were not new, but have been advocated year after year. Neither are they partisan in any sense and they should not be treated as partisan measures by the majority, merely because they have the support of the Democratic minority, particularly in view of the Republican platform pledge. These measures included a bill providing that preliminary injunctions in industrial disputes shall be issued only after a hearing; a bill providing that the labor of a human being shall not be deemed a commodity, and the extension of the Workmen's Compensation Law to all recognized occupational diseases. These measures would extend the necessary protection of the State to those who labor and are, as I said, matters of absolute right.

You will recall that for several days after the election of last Fall the people of the State did not know for a certainty who had been elected Governor. This was due to the tardy report of election returns by election officials in some districts. I believe that a system which permits such a situation to exist leaves the way open for corruption and fraud. Nothing is more vital in our system of government than honest elections. Last Fall when the Republican leaders wrote this platform they appeared to have agreed with this. They said: "Honest elections are fundamental in representative form of government. We pledge the Republican party to the enforcement of the existing election laws and to enactment of any legislation necessary to secure honest elections." Nearly everyone was agreed after the last election that one important thing necessary to secure honest elections as shown by that experience was the enactment of some sort of legislation to speed up election returns. A bill was introduced to require boards of elections to submit the results in each district to the Secretary of State within 12 hours after the polls closed. This bill was defeated by a straight Republican party vote and the majority offered no substitute.

Another source of danger in our election system which has attracted considerable attention within the past few years is the use of large sums of money in campaigns and the solicitation of campaign funds from sources most likely to seek favors at the hands of successful contestants for office. In the past we have found the best safeguard against this danger to be full publicity for campaign contributions. Our Election Law in this State provides, however, for the filing of statements of campaign contributions and expenditures after the election has been held, when it is too late to be of much use. A bill was introduced at this session to require candidates to file their campaign statements before election. This bill was defeated also by a straight Republican party vote in the Legislature and no substitute was offered by the majority.

I would like to talk a little about the Democratic promises and how we have tried to keep them, but there will not be time to consider this tonight, and I must save it for the next time that I address the voters of the State, because I want to call attention not only to these broken promises but to the indefensible way in which most of them have been broken. It would have been bad enough, if having made these promises and secured the votes of at least some of the electorate because of them, they had started out to make their word good by seriously considering and debating measures intended to cover the platform's pledges, and then voting not to do it. But this Legislature cannot by any possible twist of the English language be described as a deliberative body. Measures which would have gone far to make their own word good were never allowed to come out of committee for discussion on the floor. This is particularly true of most of the labor legislation. Not only were Democratic bills thus buried, but even proposed Republican legislation. This is un-American and contrary to the whole spirit of our government. A Legislature is supposed to consider all suggestions of importance, to debate them with an open mind and to pass or reject them according to the arguments for and against which are presented. Under the despotic rule of the chairman of important committees, bill after bill has been buried in the committee's file, and any attempt to force the committee to report it has been defeated by the lash of the party whip upon the backs of the members of the majority.

For all practical purposes this year's Legislature consisted of the chairmen of a few committees who in most cases have themselves been acting under orders from others, and the majority of the members of the majority party have been merely rubber stamps to register other august wills. I hope the people in this State will realize how completely undeliberative this Legislature has been and that they will insist next year that their representatives sent to Albany, whether they be Democrats or Republicans, will really represent their districts and have minds of their own, and insist on free discussion of important questions and their right to vote as their conscience and their judgment leads them to believe is desired by those who have elected them to the Legislature. I am sure this is a clear expression on the part of the voters that this is the sort of legislators they really

wish will bring about a complete change in this respect. If this year's plan of preventing all discussion, of waiting until the last minute before even reporting such measures as the Republican leaders conclude to allow to go through, so that they are hurried through with hundreds of other bills by a mumbled roll call, without any attempt at honest debate, is to be next year's procedure, the fault will lie with the voters of the State who in selecting their candidates take no steps to make it plain that they are to be more than dummies voting "AYE" or "NO" dutifully when so told to do.

Speeches

RADIO SPEECH BY GOVERNOR FRANKLIN D. ROOSEVELT
Over Stations WGY and network 7 - 7:30 P.M.
WEDNESDAY EVENING, APRIL 3rd, 1929

This is in the nature of a preliminary report to the people of the State on the results of the legislative session of 1929. As a state-wide elected official I feel I have a distinct duty to keep the people of the State informed as far as possible as to what goes on in the state government, and I am very mindful of the fact that I am the Governor not just of Democrats, but of Republicans and all other citizens of the State. That is why this talk and the one which I hope to make next week will be just as much as I can make them non-partisan in character. I want merely to state facts and leave the people of the State to draw their own conclusions.

First of all I want to make it clear that our government properly falls under two heads. First is the purely administrative side, -- the running of a very large business organization divided into eighteen departments. Practically all of the people who are in these departments are under the Civil Service and party politics does not enter into the work which they perform. At the heads of these departments are commissioners who in turn are responsible to the Governor for the proper conduct of their departments. These department heads are mostly men and women who have given long service to the State and are experts in their own particular lines, -- people like the Commissioner of Education, the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene, the Commissioner of Charities, the Conservation Commission, the Superintendent of Public Works, etc.

There in Spirit

1. Mr. Black -

One of the quickest kindest minds
we have ever had in Albany, & one of
^{the best leaders}
But more important is that great
quality of human sympathy which
he has, in such marked contrast
to the apparently complete lack, as
it - which is constantly demonstrated
by the gentleman who direct the
Report. Leadership -

Mr. Black is for humane, progress in
social legislation, and the improving
of government not because his
party is committed to it but
because he himself believes in
it with his heart & soul & so
willing to ~~work~~ ^{fight} for it.
He represents a fine Dist. of the great metrop.
Mr. Wagner - my old friend & colleague -

I am selfish in saying I want Mr. B. to
come back
I am selfish in ... that if by any chance

- 2 -

The other side of the state government is necessarily to a large extent political because of the fact that the public servants involved are elected by popular vote. Four State officials, the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor, the Comptroller, and Attorney-General, are so elected and, of course, the 201 members of the Legislature are also elected. This brings in the fact that politically we have two major parties and in State campaigns each of these parties sets up a so-called Platform, giving to the people of the State a definite statement of what the party proposes to do in the way of legislation if it is returned to power.

I want to talk tonight principally about the Party Platforms, — the promises made by both parties to the people of the state as to what they would do at Albany this winter. Let us see if these promises have been kept or broken.

It is fair to ask the question at this time, - "Has" the Republican Party which is in control of the Legislature carried out its promises to the people made last fall or has it even attempted to do so, and the same question in regard to the Democratic Platform can properly be put to the Governor as representing the promises made by the Democratic Party.

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For all practical purposes this year's Legislature

*N.Y. City
bills
Amo & A. Town
15 J.
Trans. & Int. Stat. Com.*

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Take up first of all the Platform adopted by the Republican Convention at Syracuse on September 29th last year. At that convention the same set of individual leaders wrote the Platform and had it adopted, as have been responsible for the doings of the Republican majority in the Legislature during the past three months.

Now the most important thing about any promise and particularly about any political promise is whether or not it is made in good faith and in the very first declaration of this solemn pledge to the people made by the Republican Party in Convention assembled, we find this paragraph:

"We condemn the spirit of waste and extravagance which permeates the present Democratic administration."

Then follows the figures of the state's expenditures last year as compared with 1919, with a closing reference to "the past six years of mounting revenues and profligate spending."

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women
Kilbren
Fair Wage
Occupation
Labor

4 year Term

Water Power

Bond issue
Wards of
State
10,000,000

Electron law

Wagner

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This means that the Republican leaders who drew up this platform wanted the people to think that the state is spending more money than it should and that they intended to cut down these expenses and eliminate what they vaguely term "extravagances". First of all let me make this point clear. The amount of money spent by the State is determined entirely by the legislature. The action of the Legislature depends on the votes of the party in the majority. The majority party last year fixed the appropriations recommended by those at the heads of the two finance committees. These same gentlemen were among the master minds who drew up this platform. If they really believed that the State had spent too much money, they were condemning themselves and their own party. The Governor has no power to appropriate a single cent of the state's money. He can only veto or reduce what the Legislature decides to be the proper sum. Did these gentlemen really believe that they had been extravagant and had spent more money than was needed for the state? Did they really feel that they could get along with less money this year? Is this paragraph a sort of public confession of incompetence and waste on their part, a sort of figurative sitting in sackcloth amidst the ashes of repentance? Let us judge by what has happened.

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This year the same gentlemen have returned to the

Governor's desk after weeks of study of the requests of the department heads as the minimum sum required for the next fiscal year appropriations aggregating more than \$265,000,000. Is any better proof needed of the insincerity of at least this section in the Republican Platform? Now let us see about the rest.

The Republican Party promised to do something, - change what they called our patch work tax system. That promise was wholly neglected and as a matter of fact in the tax changes which they have proposed they have increased the unsoundness of the present system.

We come next to the Republican Platform promise, -

"To continue this constructive program to meet all our social needs ***** to provide proper care and training for our dependent children, to develop those mentally and physically afflicted to make the most of themselves, to protect women and children in industry and to care for the dependent wards of the State."

Let us see what attempt was made to fulfill this pledge. For many years legislation has been sought to secure for women and children in industry a minimum wage or more recently a so-called fair wage. This is in no sense a partisan measure and was advocated by leaders of both parties. It had the support of citizens of all political faiths.

Again this year there was introduced a fair wage bill but the Republican majority in the Legislature entirely forgetting this pledge, refused even to allow it to be reported out of committee and to receive fair and open discussion in the two houses of the Legislature. Several years ago we placed on the statute books, after a long fight, in which the opponents of the measure were some of the same Republican leaders, a so-called Forty-Eight Hour Law for women in industry. This law was not properly named because it was in effect a 49 and one half hour law. Various attempts have been made to secure a real 48-hour week law and this year again a bill for that purpose was introduced. On March 22nd when it became apparent to me that the Republican majority did not intend to let this bill or the Fair Wage bill or any substitute for them out of Committee, I sent a special message to the Legislature hoping to sput the majority leaders to favorable action along these lines. In that message I said that modern social conditions have progressed to the point where such demands as these can no longer be regarded other than as matters of an absolute right. The Republican Majority refused to allow the bills even to come to a vote on the floor of the Legislature.

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facilities provided by the State. I pointed out to the Legislature that it would be necessary if we were to care for these dependents properly next year, ~~to~~ either to issue Fifty Million Dollars in construction bonds, or to impose some new or additional tax in the next year's session of the Legislature.

In passing let me correct a misunderstanding which exists in some quarters. Some newspapers particularly seem to have the impression that this bond issue would require a constitutional amendment and hence would require the approval of two Legislatures before submission to the voters. Were this true its approval at this session would not have advanced the proposal since we would have to wait until 1931 when there will be a new State Senate. As it is, the failure of the Legislature to submit this proposal to the people at next fall's election delays the building program a whole year.

A sound business policy would dictate a bond issue rather than the imposition of the additional taxes. Under our Constitution, however, there must be a referendum on bond issued of this sort and I requested the Legislature to issue such a referendum at the general election next fall. The need for additional hospital facilities is clear. In 1923, the voters approved a bond issue of 50 Million Dollars for this purpose. That money has been appropriated for the

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construction of modern efficient institutions. We are now facing the need of still further expansions. It is an unfortunate but incontrovertible fact that the number of dependent wards of the State is increasing in about the same ratio as the increase in the State's population. This is a fact which we must face unless we are to deny these unfortunate persons the care which the Republican Platform promised to give them. I told the Legislature that the Commissioner of Mental Hygiene had given me figures showing that the present state hospitals are over-crowded by 10,000 patients. The Commissioner estimated that within the next seven years we would have twenty-seven thousand more persons than our present hospital facilities can accommodate. We have now under construction accommodations for about seven thousand additional patients. This means that by 1936 there will be approximately 20,000 patients to whom the State cannot give proper care unless we now undertake an additional hospital building program.

I am sure that the people do not want increased taxes and I am sure the Republican leaders in the Legislature will be opposed to any such increase next winter. There is no sound reason why hospitals of the type we are now building should not be paid for by the issuance of bonds and the cost thus distributed over part of the life of the building.

What happened? My message was read in both houses of the Legislature and bills which were introduced to cover the subject were referred to the Finance Committees. The Republican leaders refused to give even serious consideration to this need now facing us, and allowed the bills to die in committee.

One of the major problems which is still confronting the State is the development of the valuable State-owned water power resources. This issue has been in the fore-front in several State campaigns. There have been differences of opinion as to the course which this development should take, but on one point nearly everyone is agreed that is that the ownership of these water power sites should forever remain in the people of the State and that the electricity generated at these sites should be available for the use of all the people and for the development of our state industries at the lowest fair cost. The Republican Platform declared for "sound policies in the development of water power which will adequately protect the consumer." Not a single move was made by the writers of this platform to put forward any program, sound or unsound of water power development, in this session of the legislature.

The Republican majority seem to have lost all interest in this subject. In keeping with my pre-election promises, however, I submitted to the Legislature a program which I believed to be a solution of this problem. The Republican leaders in the legislature put through a resolution for adjournment without even considering it.

I wish particularly to call to the attention of the people of the State the record of the Republican majority in this session of the Legislature with respect to labor legislation. The Republican Platform declares,- "The Republican Party in this State has done more for Labor than any other party. The labor law and the Workmen's Compensation law are conceded by labor to be the best in all the States. * * * * * The Republican legislature has established a commission which has considered and is now considering necessary and benificent improvements in the workmen's compensation law and all other labor laws and we pledge our party to give full consideration to the recommendations of this commission."

I will refrain from characterizing this pledge in the light of what happened at Albany this winter. I merely give you the facts and ask you to draw your own conclusions. It is true there has been a legislative commission considering improvements in the workmen's compensation law. That commission submitted its report to the legislature and made certain recommendations, most of which did not go far enough but which were at least a step forward. The Republican leaders decreed the death of these bills and then going still further failed to continue the life of the commission of which they were so proud when they wrote this platform last fall. Not only did they not give ^{the} full consideration to the recommendations of this commission which they promised but they were not even willing that the commission should continue its investigations and at the next session submit other

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But there were other measures before the Legislature in which labor is vitally interested and which received the same treatment. Most of these other measures were not new but have been advocated year after year. Neither are they partisan in any sense and they should not be treated as partisan measures by the majority just because they have the support of the Democratic minority particularly in view of the Republican Platform pledge. These measures included a bill providing that preliminary injunctions in industrial disputes shall be issued only after a hearing; a bill providing that the labor of a human being shall not be deemed a commodity, and ~~xxxxxxxprovidingxxxx~~ the extension of the workmen's compensation law to all recognized occupational diseases. These measures would extend the necessary protection of the State to those who labor and are, as I said, matters of absolute right.

You will recall that for several days after the election of last fall the people of the State did not know for a certainty who had been elected Governor. This was due to the tardy report of election returns by election officials in some districts. I believe that a system which permits such a situation to exist leaves the way open for corruption and fraud. Nothing is more vital in our system of government than honest elections. Last fall when the Republican leaders wrote this platform they appeared to have agreed with this. They said: "Honest elections

are fundamental in representative form of government. We pledge the Republican party to the enforcement of the existing election laws and to enactment of any legislation necessary to secure honest elections." Nearly everyone was agreed after the last election that one important thing necessary to secure honest elections as shown by that experience was the enactment of some sort of legislation to speed up election returns. A bill was introduced to require boards of elections to submit the results in each district to the Secretary of State within twelve hours after the polls closed. This bill was defeated by a straight Republican Party vote and the majority offered no substitute.

Another source of danger in our election system which has attracted considerable attention within the past few years is the use of large sums of money in campaigns and the solicitation of campaign funds from sources most likely to seek favors at the hands of successful contestants for office. We have found in the past the best safeguard against the danger, to be full publicity for campaign contributions. Our election law in this state provides, however, for the filing of statements of campaign contributions and expenditures after the election has been held, when it is too late to be of much use. A bill was introduced at this session to require candidates to file their campaign statements before election. This bill was defeated also by a straight Republican party vote in the Legislature and no substitute was offered by the majority.

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This is not by any means a complete list of unfulfilled promises. Take the matter of grade crossings for instance. From the Republican platform the voter might well have gathered the idea that he could drive his automobile above or under any railroad track within a year or two if the Republican party was only returned to power. Grade crossing elimination was to be expedited with "expedition, care, honesty and economy" and this part of their declaration of what they were going to do in the elimination of grade crossings is described in the platform as "one of the greatest activities on which the state has ever entered."

I find before me twelve bills mentioning grade crossings. They may possibly come under the head of "CARE" as promised in the Republican platform, as they relate to details of the process of acquiring lands and modifying certain methods of procedure in ~~some~~ ^{some} cities. They certainly cannot come under the head of "ECONOMY" so far as the state is concerned, as some of them place upon the state a larger portion of the cost than it now bears in one or two individual cases. And as for "EXPEDITION" I defy them to point out how any of the measures passed will expedite this work which has been going forward all too slowly as it is.

I would like to talk a little about the Democratic promises and how we have tried to keep them, but there will not be time to consider this tonight, and I must save it for