

'Restore Clean Government' Pleads Keynoter Senator Harrison

G. O. P. Administration Bitterly Arraigned in Democratic Tocsin

Tells Convention That Republican Rule Has Been "Honey-combed With Graft and Corroded With Corruption; Butler, Stearns and Slomp Are Dubbed "G. O. P. Musketeers."

Denounces Foreign Policy of Harding and Coolidge

New York, June 24.—The keynote address of the convention delivered by Senator Pat Harrison of Mississippi, follows:

Chairman Hull, ladies, and gentlemen, 48 years ago in the city of St. Louis, the hosts of democracy met in convention to dedicate themselves to purging corruption from the public service. We meet today for a rededication to the same purpose. There was corruption then; there is a Saturnalia of corruption now. There were disreputable public officials then, repudiated by their party and under arrest; but today Fall goes untried on his ranch in New Mexico; Daugherty sat with presidential approval in the convention at Cleveland, and Daugherty's attorney was chairman of the committee created to oil the steam roller of the worst boss-ridden convention of a generation. It was in that convention in 1876 that democracy turned to that superb and unshakable leader, Samuel J. Tilden, to bring the government back to honesty and carry the party to victory. It is particularly appropriate that I read to you one plank of the democratic platform of that year, written by that great New Yorker:

"When the annals of this republic show the disgrace and censure of a vice president; a late speaker of the house of representatives marketing his rulings as a presiding officer; three senators peddling secretly by their votes as lawmakers; five chairmen of the leading committees of the late house of representatives exposed in jobbery; a late secretary of the treasury forcing balances in the public accounts; a late attorney general misappropriating public funds; a secretary of the navy enriched or enriching friends by percentages levied off the profits of contractors; an ambassador to England captured in a dishonorable speculation; the president's private secretary barely escaping conviction upon trial for guilty complicity in frauds upon the revenue; a secretary of war impeached for high crimes and misdemeanors—the demonstration is complete that the first step in reform must be the people's choice of honest men from another party, lest the disfiguring and demoralizing infection of the body politic and lest by making no change of men or party we get no change of measures and no real reform."

The moral is plain: the country will make its own application. At the outset let it be understood that this convention, composed of the military representatives of the democracy of the nation, is no cold-storage affair. It is red-hot, and highly seasoned and well prepared. We were not sent here under an executive order by the candidate to notify the people. We are here by mandate of the people to name the candidate—the next president of the United States.

The democratic party is the friend of business, big and small; it delights to see the reflected glory from burning furnaces, the contented and happy and prosperous farm houses; the crowded lobbies of counting houses; the steady streams of heavily loaded trains, and the early bustle of mining camps. It cares not how large the scale or big the investment, what it is most concerned about is honesty in operation.

CALLS SPECIAL PRIVILEGE CORNERSTONE.
The cornerstone of the republican party is special privilege, and today its grip is more firmly tightened and its place more secure than at any time in its long history. It needs no cards to gain admittance to the White House, no passport to the congressional committee rooms. Crooked business needs only to gesture or special privilege to wink to make this administration understand and do.

It is against this brutal thing that we will wage relentless war in this campaign. We will not pitch our camps for attack our arms until the American masses and honest business are freed from its strangle hold. They may direct their poisonous gases at us, but no camouflage can be contrived that will give covert and protection to the Pharisees. They can describe us as they may—hurting anathemas will be futile—for these guarded poets of favoritism will be taken, these favorites of special privileges and unjust power must fall. In the guarded orchards of this administration the golden apples of special privilege have been gathered by the favored few. It is the guardian of every special interest. The mother never guarded her tender young more zealously than has this administration watched over the needs of its petted and pampered puppets.

Not only in the administration, but in the enactment of laws these interests come first. The administration's late and lamented tax proposal was grown in the Mellon patches of special privilege. Its propagation was a work of republican art. For a while it was thought to be a very beautiful, large, colorful, and juicy thing. It attracted unusual attention. The invited guests, a selected few in number, smacked their lips in anticipation of the feast. But when it was examined and its parts dissected, its rottenness was revealed. No setting was ever more adroitly staged than when this scheme of taxation first made its debut. It was billed for passage at the psychological moment. The people were stooped under a heavy load of taxation. For three long years they had felt their country slipping through the results of a

sought to cut? It would have given 1,200 of the \$3,585,985 income tax payers in America \$1 per cent of the total reduction.

INCOME OF \$5,000,000 CUT \$1,331,832.
Under its benign provisions an income of \$5,000,000 was to receive a reduction of \$1,331,832, while an income of \$3,000 would have received only \$8.75 reduction. Through its unrestricted earned-income provisions it would have opened a avenue of escape to every tax-dodging capitalist in America.

Written in the cold lines of that proposal was the inspiration of its author, that the less exacted from the highly favored few, and the more demanded from the less-favored many, the greater the good to the common country. The champions of the proposal believe that prosperity should come from the crumbs that fall from the tables of the rich; that if you legislate solely to make the well-to-do prosperous their prosperity will seep through upon those below. The republican party is the ancient enemy of the income tax. It is contrary to republican doctrine and inimical to republican practices. The income tax was never intended to touch poverty. It exacts no settlements from bankrupt courts—forecloses no mortgages and forces no sales. It is collected only where prosperity smiles and earnings abound. As a means of raising revenue it is one of our party's priceless legacies, and as such it shall be neither weakened nor destroyed.

When the iniquitous Schedule K of the Payne-Aldrich law was enacted, carrying an 11-cent duty a pound on raw wool, the whole country was aroused and drove the Taft administration from power. The defeat was decisive. Utah and Vermont were the sole republican survivors. But this same reactionary group, under the inspiration of representatives of those twin states, ignored the facts of recent history and fastened upon the American people a tariff rate on raw wool of 31 cents a pound. Tariff rates on countless other things were proportionately increased. Nothing escaped their deadly aim. In the framing of the law the time-honored republican theory of equalizing the difference in cost at home and abroad was not considered. The only question asked. How much protection do you want? The so-called representatives of the people surrendered completely to the representatives of the predatory interests and played with their masters the game of "tit for tat," to the betrayal of the American consumer and the replenishment of the republican exchequer.

NEVER UNMINDFUL OF CALL FOR AID
Not only did it add \$4,000,000,000 additional burden upon the American masses, but it revealed the nation's hypocrisy toward war-torn Europe. We maintain highly organized and efficiently managed humanitarian organizations to raise and distribute to the world's oppressed. We sometimes invade the national treasury, graciously to give to the needy of foreign lands. America has never been unmindful of any cry of distress that came to her from any part of the world. That is the spirit of the American heart. Yet this reactionary group that has brought ruin to the country and discredit to their party employed every means to check Europe's rehabilitation and shackle her trade. Demanding payments on the one hand, they prevented them on the other. It was a policy that enriched the affluent and impoverished the needy. It closed the markets to our farmers and lifted the prices of their purchases. It tightened the grip of the favored few and dampened the hopes of the struggling many.

The doctrine of equal rights to none and special favors to some was never more firmly embedded than in the Fordney-McCumber tariff law. As indefensible as are these two offshoots of governmental formation, they are not comparable to the administration's ship-subsidy proposal. Proposed in the winter of 1922, following the chilling frosts of that November election, it planned with the aid of an army of lame ducks, repudiated at home and fondled at Wash-

ington, to make a "quick get-away." They sought to lay upon the American taxpayer an additional burden of \$50,000,000 to subsidize the shipping trust. Your democratic representatives in congress, aided by the patriotic progressives, withstood their mad onslaughts—for three months held them at bay, and through a highly organized filibuster prevented the passage of the measure.

In all the speeches delivered in the Cleveland convention, or in the platform there adopted, not a word was written nor a whisper uttered of the administration's ship-subsidy proposal. If that proposal had become a law, the immediate appropriations to carry it into effect would have denied any reduction of taxes this year, or in the immediate years to come. The Harding-Coolidge administration was willing to give millions to the shipping trust, but not one cent to the American soldier.

The platform of the republican party and the speech of the temporary chairman of the republican convention proclaims the budget law as a republican accomplishment—the disarmament conference, the reduction of the number of governmental employees, the decreases in the amount of annual appropriations and the national debt as republican achievements. It is regrettable that we can not accord it this wild acclaim.

The budget law was urged at the instance of a democratic president and received the vote of every democratic representative. It was vetoed by the democratic president only because an unconstitutional provision was included. It was then passed by a republican congress and signed by a republican president in the proper and constitutional language suggested by the democratic president in his veto message.

The disarmament conference was held, not because of a republican administration but in spite of the republican administration. It was first suggested by a democrat, and urged by democrats. The fight was renewed by Borah, a republican, yes, but one who wisely declined to become associated with the bankrupt republican partnership in the coming campaign; one whose opposition to the reactionary control of his party has ever been constant and aggressive. Under his leadership, and over the most unrelenting opposition of the administration, the law entered, and the disarmament conference called.

NUMBER OF CIVIL EMPLOYEES REDUCED
It is true that during the more than three years this administration has controlled the government the number of civil employes in the government service and the annual appropriations have been reduced. Those reductions came, however, not because of any republican reforms. They were the natural reductions that flow from a readjustment of abnormal conditions occasioned by the war. If we did not have bigger things to discuss, greater achievements to proclaim, and higher purposes to announce, we might claim that in 18 months of democratic administration, immediately following the war, not only did we reduce appropriations in larger amounts than ever did the republican party but we reduced the national debt by more than two and one-half billions of dollars and the number of civil employes by 200,000.

Amid all this deceptive cry of economy let it be remembered that this republican party, during its less than four years of control, has expended \$9,592,000,000 more than did the democratic administration during the whole five years immediately preceding the war.

It might have heard the groans of the distressed farmers of the west and sympathetically responded. It might have sought markets and moved the tariff jams in the channels through which our surplus products move. It might have visualized world conditions and courageously assumed the part befitting a great nation. It might have reduced living costs, redeemed pledges to the soldier, adopted a definite domestic program, and adopted a broad and statesmanlike foreign policy, but even then, it would have availed it nothing with its carnival of corruption. The least that the American people expect of their public servants is common honesty. They will forgive their passivity, overlook their indiscretions, and, too often, forget their impotency, but to them corruption is inexcusable, graft is indefensible.

Pizarro and his adventurous band, as they set their faces toward the golden west, were not more inspired in quest of treasure than this administration. They were looking for gold, heaps of gold, shimmering, gleaming gold. They did not wait to touch the nerves of mother earth nor drag the current's flow in their mad enthusiasm; in greedy haste they grasped the sparkling sand, then cast it down with curses when they found the glittering grains were not of gold. From cabinet head to republican representative in congress, like a plague the disease spread. It became epidemic, and while the world looked on in sullen silence refused to prescribe a remedy or attempt a cure. Gallant soldiers, who never flinched in battle or cowed in action, who, like madmen, threw themselves into the jaws of death for the glory of their country, were robbed; widows' mites and orphans' pinnaces were stolen; seats in the United States senate placed upon the auction block and sold like merchandise; natural resources secretly squandered; courts of the land mocked; congressional committees defied; and the scales of justice tipped by the weight of gold. Well do these subalterns of the administration know that there is more blood in the body than what mingles in the cheek, more profit in the office than exhibited in the salary.

CITES RECORD OF INVESTIGATION
It is the brazen effrontery of this administration that challenges our attention. They would halt these inquiries by hysterical cries and foreboding predictions. They say, "You are hurting business." "You are destroying confidence." "You are doing us no good." "We are helping business." "We are restoring confidence." "We are saving the government by performing an operation to preserve the life of the nation itself." Theirs is the Spartan morality. Not the corruption but the discovery constitutes the crime. Instead of applauding the investigators, they make war upon the investigation. Instead of condemning the exposed and punishing the exposure, they praise the exposed and condemn the exposure. Decried them as they will, the American people know that it was these investigations—conducted by democrats, yes, but through republican committees—that sent Albert Fall to Three Rivers a disgraced man and proven criminal. It was these investigations that revealed such a gross infidelity and utter incapacity of the navy department and compelled Edwin Denby's retirement from the cabinet. It was these investigations that unfolded a condition in the Department of Justice that shocked sensibilities and drove Daugherty back to Washington Court House. It was these investigations that caused conspirators against their government to take their own lives rather than tell the truth and unmask the cringing secrets against their own criminal allies. It was these investigations that caused the

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rotious and debauched administration. They had seen the natural resources of this government dissipated, its charted courses abandoned, its leaders corrupted. They saw a policy of passivity adding discredit abroad and bankruptcy at home. Their hearts were heavy and their spirits low. Any ray of hope that might bring the slightest relief was welcomed. When the secretary of the treasury offered his plan and the president endorsed it, the American people did not stop to study nor tarry to think. But reason follows hysteria, and right ultimately triumphs. What is this melon that Mellon

coolidge effort frustrated.

When the president and his secretary of the treasury, with all the hosts of selfish interests, charged on the battle front of the American congress in behalf of the Mellon plan, democracy and progressive republicanism stood firm. It was the same ancient contest and for the same old cause. Under the leadership of Simmons in the senate and Garner in the house we triumphed, not because we were numerically strong, but because we were assuredly right. Through the democratic law every taxpayer in America will get a 25 per cent reduction this year.

Every person who pays an income tax will be required to pay less in the future than in the past. And this ancient contest and for the same old cause. Under the leadership of Simmons in the senate and Garner in the house we triumphed, not because we were numerically strong, but because we were assuredly right. Through the democratic law every taxpayer in America will get a 25 per cent reduction this year.

Out of the total of \$3,585,985 income taxpayers in America 2,580,585 will receive a greater reduction in the democratic plan than they would have received under the Mellon plan.

DEMOCRATS SOUGHT GREATER REDUCTIONS
In the reduction of taxes the democratic party sought greater reductions and broader eliminations than did the republican nominee or the secretary of the treasury. In the administration's mad effort to forestall democracy's desire to effect greater reductions than those recommended by the administration the Treasury department juggled figures and deceived the public.

The administration said that the Treasury department would only stand for a reduction of \$390,000,000. The democratic party gave them a reduction of \$470,000,000.

The administration said that the tax on candies, checks, notes, automobile parts, amusement places, drafts and soft drinks should remain. The democratic party said those taxes must go.

The administration said that if we would increase taxes on 3,580,585 income tax payers and reduce the taxes on 5,400, it would release money for productive enterprises and increase the prosperity of all. The democratic party answered that indubitable facts refuted such an argument.

It was not reasoning they sought nor facts they desired, but more special privileges to the favored few they craved.

In 1922, out of \$2,878,000,000 assets listed for estate taxes, there was not found enough tax-free securities to cover funeral expenses. For the year 1921 the total net income returns from business amounted to \$2,366,318,900, and only \$47,000,000 of this amount was returned by individuals whose incomes were in excess of \$7,000 annually. The democratic plan for reducing all taxes, but reducing them equitably on the theory of ability to pay, will result in releasing more money for investments in pro-

ductive enterprises than would have the Mellon plan.

The republican nominee in reluctantly signing the measure declared for its immediate reform. What does he mean by reform? Does he propose to change the law by transferring the burdens carried by 5,400 whose backs are broad to the three and one-half million whose backs are bowed? Does he propose to make up the reduction on the 5,400 favored few by resurrecting the many nuisance taxes on the unfavored many? Is that his challenge? Then we accept it.

With the promises of the 1920 campaign to reduce the cost of living resounding in our ears, the country beheld in the passage of the Fordney-McCumber tariff law the most flagrant repudiation of campaign pledges in all the history of political parties. It was a law that reeked with special favors. Every line in it added to the living costs of the American consumer.

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Corruption Called Inexcusable
The American people have taken the measure of this administration. It may have been able to free itself from sectional idolatry and to have looked beyond the sky lines of New England. It might have heard the groans of the distressed farmers of the west and sympathetically responded. It might have sought markets and moved the tariff jams in the channels through which our surplus products move. It might have visualized world conditions and courageously assumed the part befitting a great nation. It might have reduced living costs, redeemed pledges to the soldier, adopted a definite domestic program, and adopted a broad and statesmanlike foreign policy, but even then, it would have availed it nothing with its carnival of corruption. The least that the American people expect of their public servants is common honesty. They will forgive their passivity, overlook their indiscretions, and, too often, forget their impotency, but to them corruption is inexcusable, graft is indefensible.

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