

Ford Can Cause Deadlock, Says Mark Sullivan

May Carry Enough States as
Third Party Candidate to
Prevent Majority in
Electoral College.

(Continued From Page Four.)
radicals think of La Follette as their
true leader.

The radical movement, which has
been strong in Iowa, Minnesota and
Wisconsin, is trying to make headway
in Illinois, and is going to make an
attempt to capture the republican
party machinery under the leadership
of the present Governor Small. Small's
speeches are in the extreme radical
vein. He says he would create an
interstate farmers' commission to reg-
ulate the sowing, distribution, prices
and sale of crops.

This Illinois radical movement, un-
der the leadership of Governor Small,
has adopted a formal platform. Some
of the planks of this platform illus-
trate the general tenor of the whole
radical movement in the middle-west.
Among the planks are these:

That America shall not join the
league of nations or any other asso-
ciation of nations "without first sub-
stituting the proposed covenant of the
league or the association or world
court to a vote of the American peo-
ple."

That there shall be an amendment
to the constitution providing that the
United States shall never declare war
unless there has first been a popular
referendum, except in cases of actual
invasion.

"We stand for legislation which will
impose a tax on excess profits, largely
to create the federal estate tax on big
estates and exempt from national
taxation all incomes of less than
\$5,000.

"We demand such restriction of the
power of the courts as shall leave to
the people the ultimate authority to
determine fundamental questions of
social welfare and public policy.

"To secure this end we favor an
amendment to the constitution of the
United States which will provide for
the election of federal judges by a
popular vote for a term of ten years.

"We declare our continued allegi-
ance to the traditional republican pol-
icy of a protective tariff, to equalize
the differences in cost of production
at home and abroad, so that Ameri-
can producers and American labor
may be protected without imposing
exorbitant monopoly prices upon
every American household.

"We advocate a bonus by the na-
tional government for every American
soldier and soldier who served in the
world war, recalling the fact that war
profiteering produced one American

millionaire for every three American
soldiers killed in France. We insist
that the money necessary to meet
the sacred obligation be raised by
taxes laid upon those who profited
by the war.

"We insist upon drastic action by
the national government to relieve
the present financial hardships of the
farmer. The farmer, who produces
the food of the world, is clearly en-
titled to as much protection as the
vast railroad and other public utility
corporations.

"We urgently recommend the im-
mediate repeal of the Esch-Cummins
railroad law, which has produced high
freight rates and is partially respon-
sible for the economic distress among
the farmers and the high cost of liv-
ing in the cities."

Adequate representation by women,
on an equality with men, in all pub-
lic offices and employments.

Laws which "will effectively end
control by monopolists and specula-
tors of the markets for grain, live
stock and dairy products."

Whatever may come of this radical
movement in Illinois and however it
may affect the presidential situation,
the strong belief is that Senator Mc-
Cormick will be returned to the
senate next year. Senator Mc-
Cormick is certainly one of the very
strongest individual republican poli-
ticians in Illinois. When he ran for
the senate before he carried 95 out of
the 101 counties outside of Chicago.

In Iowa one of the most prominent
of the radicals, Senator Brookhart,
comes up for reelection next year.
The regular republicans claim that
Brookhart has suffered some dimini-
tion in popularity in his home state
during the year since he was elected
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In spite of the extravagance of
some of these expressions of radical-
ism, which are so extreme as to bring
unnecessary odium on the legitimate
and necessary demands of the farm-
ers for relief—in spite of all this,
the very great improbability of any-
thing really radical happening is
proved by any examination of facts
which goes beneath the surface. To
start with, Coolidge will be president
for a year and six months to come.
Coolidge will undoubtedly be sympa-
thetic to any legitimate and prac-
ticable effort to bring the condition
of the farmers into line with that of
the other elements of the community.
But, at the same time, Coolidge will
no more attach his signature to any
clearly unsound legislation than
would Harding.

Further than this, there is only
the remotest possibility of anybody
really radical being in the presidency
during the four years following 1925.
It is not conceivable, even under the
most unexpected circumstances, for
anybody more radical than, for ex-
ample, Hiram Johnson, to get the
republican nomination. Neither is it
conceivable for anybody more radical
than McAdoo, for example, to get the
democratic nomination. And persons
who are familiar with both these men
—even persons who oppose them
strongly—do not think of them as
radical in any extreme sense.

Not only is it impossible for any
extreme radical to get the nomina-
tion of either of the major parties;
further than this, as to Henry Ford,
it is, in the first place, clearly im-
possible for him to get either the re-
publican or the democratic nomina-
tion. In addition, it is practically im-
possible for Ford to start a third
party with such strength and mo-
mentum as actually to prevail over
the other two parties and elect him
president. The only possible chance
Ford has for the presidency next
year would lie in starting a third
party, and — this is the important
thing—starting it now. If Ford and
Ford's friends wait until the two ma-
jor parties have held their conven-
tions next year, and try to start their
third party thereafter, it will be too
late to be successful. There is no
sign of Ford or Ford's friends start-
ing a third party in the immediate
future. That being so, there is hard-
ly the faintest possibility of Ford be-
ing the next president of the United
States.

While Ford cannot get either of the
old party nominations, and while he
cannot win with a third party, if he
waits until after the two major party
conventions to start that third party,
it is still true that there is a possi-
bility of his causing a good deal of un-
pleasant commotion next year. This
is a possibility which is engaging
some of the thought of the more far-
sighted politicians of both parties.

The law requires that the successful
candidate for president shall have a
majority of the entire electoral college.
This means that the successful candi-
date in the election must have some-
thing more than half of the 531 elec-
toral votes. Ordinarily, with only the
candidates of the two old parties run-
ning, it turns out automatically that
one or the other has the necessary
majority. But if Henry Ford should
complicate the situation by running
on a third ticket, he might, while
falling far short of success, carry
enough states to bring it about that
neither the republican nor the demo-
cratic candidate should have a ma-
jority in the electoral college. For ex-
ample, if Ford should carry, as he
might readily carry, the states of
North Dakota, South Dakota, Wiscon-
sin and Michigan, or any similar
group of states, it might result that
neither the republican nor the repub-
lican candidate would have an actual
majority in the electoral college.

In such an outcome the law re-
quires that the election be thrown into
the lower house of congress. This has
happened in two cases in our history,
once in the case of Jefferson and Burr,
in 1801, and once in the case of John
Quincy Adams and Andrew Jackson, in
1825.

If the coming election for the presi-
dency should, by such a sequence of
events as is here outlined, be thrown
into the present house of representa-
tives, some curious and disturbing re-
sults might readily follow. When the
lower house of congress elects a presi-
dent the members vote, not as indi-
viduals, but by states. That is to say,
the entire 45 members from New York
would cast one vote. The one mem-
ber from Arizona would cast one vote,
which would be equal in power to the
entire 45 members from the state of
New York. What would actually hap-
pen would be that the members of the
lower house from each state would
hold a caucus and that caucus would
determine for whom the vote of the
state should be cast.

Now the curious fact about the
present congress is that while the re-
publicans have a majority of the in-
dividual congressmen, a majority of
about 20, the democrats, on the other
hand, have the majority of the states.
The democrats have a majority of
the members of the lower house of
congress from more states than the
republicans have. From that it
might appear that if the election
were thrown into the house of repre-
sentatives the democratic candidate
would surely win. But this does not
necessarily follow. The congressmen
from some of the states might feel
called upon to vote for Henry Ford
if it should have happened that
Henry Ford carried their states in the
election.

Out of all this complexity it has
been figured by those who have
looked into it carefully that it would
be possible for a deadlock to arise in
the lower house of congress. If such
a deadlock should arise and should
continue until March 4, 1925, it might
then happen automatically that the
next president might be whichever of
the candidates for vice president re-
ceived a majority of the votes. The
net of all this intricacy, as occasion-
ally expressed, is that the next presi-
dent of the United States may turn
out to be either the republican or the
democratic candidate for vice presi-
dent.

While many of the politicians who
habitually look close into future cal-
culations of this kind have been all
through the process here outlined,
and while these eventualities will be
possible, it still remains a fact that
they are within the world of the pos-
sible—almost within the world of the
whimsical—rather than of the prob-
able. It is clearly a fact that Henry
Ford and his friends, while falling
short of the presidency, might cause
a good deal of commotion next year.
But the infinitely greater probability,
based on the way events have turned

the United States will be either the
republican candidate or the demo-
cratic candidate. And, as has already
been stated, there is not any serious
likelihood of either of these two be-
ing a radical.

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