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The Need of Truth and Sincerity in Mr. Roosevelt's Promises

RADIO ADDRESS

BY

HON. HUEY P. LONG

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It has been more than 3 years since the Democratic Party nominated Franklin Delano Roosevelt for President. It will soon be 3 years since he was elected President. He has served as our President during nearly all of 1933, during all of 1934, and during the year 1935 up to this date. When he has served that length of time he has made clear to the American people what might be expected of him.

When Mr. Roosevelt took the reins of affairs he immediately started in a direction exactly opposite to what he had promised the people. To my surprise, the leaders of the Democratic Party, and, for that matter, the leaders of all other parties, said, "Let him have his way. The people want him to have a chance." I answered them and said, "But this is different from what the people were promised. They were promised something else, and they have a right to have the President and the Congress live up to our platform and to the promises of the President."

I need not tell you the result. Our course of conduct in government has been such as Mr. Roosevelt wanted it to be. He has had his way. He has had a larger majority of Congressmen with him than any other President ever had. He has had the largest majority that any President has ever had in the United States Senate. Whatever he has wanted to be done has been done; whatever he has not wanted to be done has not been done.

On various occasions Mr. Roosevelt has decided that he has not wanted the Congress to act like Congress at all, but that he would like to have the Congress pass over to him their rights and functions as lawmakers, and the Congress has done that, time after time. In fact, they have resigned so many of their own duties and functions and given their powers over to the President that they ought to be ashamed to draw their money as lawmakers any longer. If you hire me to cut a cord of wood and instead of cutting the cord of wood some man comes along and says that I don't know how to cut that wood, but ought to let him cut it, and I hand him over the saw and the axe, then you ought to pay the man that cuts the wood and not pay me for the work. So when the people elected Senators and Congressmen to make laws and they took their seats in the Capitol, and Mr. Roosevelt walked up and said, "Here, you boys; you ain't fit to make any laws; let me do that for you", and we turned over the lawmaking authority to him, then we ought to have got up and left and not charged the people anything for our work.

We have in this country what is known as a "relief roll." Before they began to politicalize it, it was supposed to put every man who had nothing to do on the relief and pay him a little something because he had nothing to do. When the Senators and Representatives in Congress voted all their affairs into the hands of Mr. Roosevelt, they ought to immediately have been put on the dole roll, instead of being allowed to draw \$10,000 a year apiece to do nothing.

Now, it so happened that when Mr. Roosevelt stepped out and began to exercise these law-making powers, and to make rules and impose taxes and levy tributes and make rewards under them, they finally got up to the United States Supreme Court, and there and then the United States Supreme Court said that the Constitution of the United States had provided for the people to elect a Congress to make laws, and that there were such things in this country as 48 sovereign States. So the Supreme Court said further that the Senators and Representatives in Congress did not have a right to give away their own power to make the laws, and much less did they have the right to give away the right of the 48 States to run themselves like they were supposed to do. And a terrible squall went up from the White House.

I do not know whether the Supreme Court has acted in time to save the American Republic, but I feel certain that they have acted none too quickly. If this country lasts 20 years longer, we will owe it to the Supreme Court of the United States.

Now, let us review some of the things Mr. Roosevelt said he was going to do, and what he has done: The first thing he promised was to abolish the bureaucratic system of Government. He said these bureaus and commissions that were being set up in Washington by Hoover and other Presidents were contrary to the American system, and were tangling up the people's business to where they did not know how to handle it. But what did he do when he got in office? He set up so many bureaus that they could not even give them names. They had to designate them by three and four letters in the alphabet. Then he wore the alphabet out and had to begin to use the numerals. Right today I am a Member of the United States Senate, a lawyer of 20 years' experience, served as Governor of the State of Louisiana for 4 years, and as a member of the public service commission of my State for 10 years. I am right here in Washington, and I don't know the names or the duties of 1 percent of the boards and commissions that Roosevelt has set up since he has been President, and what is more, Roosevelt doesn't know them either.

Without any authority whatever from the State governments, they have set these bureaus up to run the States; they are putting departments of education in some of the States; they are putting departments for public works in some of the States; they are setting up their own spending agencies in the States. None of this kind of functions is authorized in the Constitution of the United States. They can only be done through the authority of the State, if done constitutionally, but States will have to go to the Supreme Court of the United States to stop the illegal spending of money in such States in a wanton and reckless manner, and demand the rights of the States to carry on their functions in an orderly way. Louisiana will lead off with a suit of this kind in October. It will probably be followed by suits in many of the other States.

The N. R. A. is now as dead as a door nail, but they kept it alive so that they could keep all the job holders on the rolls. The A. A. A. has been held unconstitutional by many of the courts. Only today they tried to pass in the United States Senate a law to prevent any taxpayer from collecting money that had been illegally taken from him under the processing taxes. We managed to vote that down. Notwithstanding these decisions of the Supreme Court of the United States—and they are very sound and proper decisions—the Congress is being told to go right ahead and pass more unconstitutional

laws, and after they have passed these unconstitutional laws they bulldoze and browbeat the people for 2 or 3 years before the courts can set them aside. Then, after that is done, they come in and ask the Congress to pass a law forbidding anybody to sue for the harm that has been done to them under these unconstitutional laws.

There was never known such a high-handed, tyrannical, outrageous system of government since the days of Nero, or during the days of Nero, as has been perpetrated by this outlandish system of Roosevelt's brain-trust-bureaucratic-alphabetical conglomeration of everything except sense and justice.

Now, let us look at a few of the results. First, let us look at unemployment. Today, according to figures given to me by the American Federation of Labor, there are 734,000 more unemployed working people than there were for the same month last year. This same labor board says that there are around 11,000,000 of unemployed industrial workers in this country today. If we will take the figures to show what agriculture is making and compare it with a normal year, we will come to the conclusion that the agricultural workers are at least one-half unemployed, which would add about 10,000,000 more people to the unemployed list. At any rate, the highest unemployment that has ever been known in this country exists right today under Roosevelt. Notwithstanding the fact that our people are unemployed and have nothing to do, we have now got down to the point to where we are not making enough of the necessities of life in this country for the people to live on. With our farmers and our working people and our business men standing by idle, much of the meat which we eat, many of the clothes which we wear, some of the shoes that we put on our feet, and even the cottonseed oil that is consumed in this country are brought here from foreign countries. Some of the countries that formerly bought their cotton from America, and their corn and their wheat from America, are now sending the same products that they used to buy from us back here to sell to us, and they have got things so rigged up and messed up in Washington that the men and women who want to raise these things and make these things are starving to death and still cannot get a job.

With all these conditions, nonetheless in 3 years of Roosevelt administration they have spent more money than all the Presidents of the United States put together, from George Washington to Woodrow Wilson. In 124 years, from the time George Washington began as President until Woodrow Wilson became President, we spent slightly over \$24,000,000,000. That covered all the wars, including the War of 1812, the Civil War, and the Panama Canal. But Mr. Roosevelt's administration has spent twenty-four billions in 3 years, as much as they spent in 124 years, and still we are worse off than we ever were, and we have had no war.

I have before me figures to show that in the city of New York, where all the money has been spent, and where, I am told, they even found some of the policemen on the relief rolls, there were 4,200 children who failed to attend school, who gave as their reason that they did not have any money with which to buy clothes so that they could go to school. For the last 4 months the pay rolls in this country have dropped every month. March was worse than February, April was worse than March, and May was worse than April. The "brain trusting" Government under Roosevelt went out to make some experiments to find out what was the matter. They wanted to find out why more people did not own their homes. What do you think they found out? They came back and made the remarkable report that after surveying 43 States and spending several millions of dollars, they had come to the conclusion that the reason that people did not own more homes and better homes was because they did not have money to buy them. If that gang of nitwits gets farther away from Washington, and if they don't watch out, they will arrest them and put them in a zoo. They had better stay here where they are recognized, and where they know they are running the country. The same people out in the open spaces may not find it out before it is too late.

You know, when they built the Panama Canal during Theodore Roosevelt's time—you might refer to Theodore Roosevelt as "Roosevelt the Great", and, in order to distin-

guish one of these Roosevelts from the other, we ought to refer to this Franklin Delano Roosevelt as "Roosevelt the Little", but to get back to the point—during Theodore Roosevelt's time we said a whole lot about him building the Panama Canal, about what a terrible extravagance it was. Well, the Panama Canal cost \$525,000,000. That was a lot of money. But every month Mr. Franklin Delano Roosevelt throws away \$570,000,000, which means that every month Roosevelt the Little spends \$45,000,000 more money than it cost Roosevelt the Great for the whole Panama Canal.

The national income has fallen from around one hundred billions down to forty-two billions under Roosevelt the Little, but while the income has fallen the debts have mounted higher and higher, and taxes have gone higher and higher. Public debts and the private debts amount to \$262,000,000,000. The interest on the debts owed in the United States, and taxes paid by the people of the United States, together amount to \$28,000,000,000 per year. Just think of it! The whole national income is forty-two billions, and twenty-eight billions of it went for interest on debts and taxes, leaving only fourteen billions out of the entire forty-two billions that was not taken out by the Government or charged off for interest before people got started.

There have been some people who have fared rather well from this national calamity, if it were not for the fact that the big house is going to be pulled down on them, along with the balance of us, before they get through. As an example, Mr. Vincent Astor and his partners, the men that own this *Nourmahal* yacht, where they take the President out on his fishing trips—a five-million-dollar palace that floats out on the sea—these men had themselves a shipping outfit; they bought some ships from the United States Government, or, rather, I should say the United States Government had paid them some money to get them to take the ships and obligate themselves to run the *Leviathan*. The time came when Mr. Astor and his partners did not want to run the *Leviathan*, so they got into default with the United States by not running the *Leviathan*, and owed Uncle Sam \$1,720,000. There was an individual over in the Department of Commerce by the name of Mitchell, who was Assistant Secretary of Commerce. The first thing he knew, the President had them release Astor from this contract to pay the \$1,720,000, on the condition that Astor's crowd would build another ship that the Government would lend them nearly all the money to build, and that the Government would give them a mail contract so that they could not do anything but make more money. What it amounted to was that Astor's crowd not only were relieved of paying the \$1,720,000 they owed the Government, but they were given something for the permission of the Government relieving them.

Mitchell wrote a letter to the President complaining about it, and he was instantly dismissed. They offered him a better job rather than to dismiss him if they could quiet him down and move him out of the way in time, but he would not stand for it, so he has been made to appear as a terrible character, and that has been what they have done with every man who has yelled about these frauds.

A while back here I submitted affidavits, reports from Government agents, and everything else to show what Farley had been doing. I, as a Member of the United States Senate, asked for an investigation of Farley's conduct. I saw no reason why they should not investigate him, they having investigated me on five or six separate occasions. Notwithstanding all the exposures, they voted to keep Farley from being investigated.

The other day they wanted to investigate some people who came to lobby in Washington, and they had no hesitancy in appropriating several thousands of dollars to start investigating them right at once. But to investigate the inside of what was going on under Farley was something that could not be brought to light; they would have none of it, and they did not.

Now, you have been reading about the row that has been going on between the national administration and the State of Louisiana because of the fact that I am opposed to the way Mr. Roosevelt and his "brain trusters" and bureau-

crats are running things. Louisiana does not propose to have itself put into bondage forever like some of these other States may want to do. Louisiana is a sovereign State, and our people insist upon being free men and women. They elect their officers, and they serve subject to the will of those people. But from here in Washington Mr. Roosevelt and his bureaucrats and autocrats have decided that they will take over the affairs of Louisiana. They undertook to send reputed political characters into that State to run our business; and they say, "Either we will run it this way or we will not run it at all." Our answer to them is that the people of Louisiana will run our State, and that we will not countenance the usurpation of the functions that the Constitution gives to a sovereign State. Our people will remain free.

The Federal Government says that they will not lend Louisiana any money out of the Public Works funds. Well, if Louisiana borrowed any of their money we would have to give the bonds and obligations of the State, or of some subdivision of the State, to get it. If we need any money we do not have to get it that way. We can sell the bonds of the State of Louisiana on the open market without asking the Federal Government to lend us any of the P. W. A. money. We did that yesterday. Louisiana bonds sold for \$3.80 above par. When the United States Government wants to get money for its bonds it has to compel the banks to take them. That is where the Government bonds are today—in the bank vaults. If they did not buy them the banks would be out of business. Louisiana bonds are saleable on the open market without anyone being coerced to buy them. Why? Because Louisiana is a solvent and a well-run State. It takes in more money than it spends. The Federal Government spends \$5 where it takes in \$2. Our State bonds are far better than the Government bonds. I might say to the people of this country that you have heard a great deal of Louisiana. It is time that you should know more about it. I became Governor of that State in 1928. We had around, maybe, as much as 50 miles of paved highway when I took the helm of the State. At this time we have about 3,500 miles of paved highways in Louisiana. We have, to add to that, some 10,000 more miles of farmers' graveled roads. When I became the Governor of that State the census showed that it had 238,000 illiterate adults. That number was very quickly cut in half. It was my administration which gave the State free school books to all the school children. Before our time there were no bridges over the big rivers and streams. They had to be crossed on ferries at a cost of all the way from 50 cents to \$2. Today, over those same rivers and streams you will find the large, long, and fine bridges which we built, and you cross them absolutely without cost. They are free to the traveling public.

Before our time—I mean by that, before Governor Allen and myself were factors in the State—our State university had an enrollment of 1,500; it now has 5,500. Its status has risen under us from class C to class A. We have built a new medical college, graded class A by the American Medical Association, and to it we are now adding a large new college of dentistry. We are laying plans now so that every poor boy in Louisiana will be able to get a college education. We intend to have our plan working by September 1936, so that those who cannot pay all will pay what they can, and so that those who can pay none will nevertheless be given employment at our State university, so that they can have an opportunity to pursue a college course of education or instruction.

It might be well that you people who have heard of Louisiana should know that when I became Governor of that State the hospitals for mental diseases were overcrowded; some persons suffering with afflictions of the mind were incarcerated in jail cells, waiting for someone to die to make room for them in the hospital. I have broadened, enlarged, and improved those hospitals in Louisiana so that no longer are there people in the jail cells waiting for treatment, but today there is room in those institutions to care for additional people, and their standards have been improved.

The years before I became the Governor of the State, and before Governor Allen's time, the penitentiary lost as much

as \$1,000,000 a year in its operations, but now, under Governor Allen and during the last year of my term, the penitentiary is on a self-sustaining and paying basis.

You find in Louisiana a people enjoying all these improvements; you find there the State universities; you find there that the public schools are now largely supported from the State treasury; you find there that the State university, which was given \$800,000 a year before I became Governor, is now drawing \$2,750,000 per year to carry on its work of education. Yet with it all, you will find that the taxes in Louisiana have been reduced on all property, and now we have voted laws by which, this year, most of our home owners will be relieved from paying any taxes at all on their homes and others will be given back a large part of the taxes which they pay on their homes.

With such great improvements, accompanied by such tax reductions on properties, there is only one other thing that you should notice, and that is that Louisiana is a solvent State with a balanced budget, spending less than it takes in. It has several millions of dollars for the treasury to use for tax-relief purposes this winter. Therefore, that sovereign State and its people will not be subdued or humiliated with the demands and orders of bureaucrats and tin-pot tyrants in Washington, who never have been elected to anything, who never will be elected to anything, and who are taking billions of dollars of the people's money to gobble up in the political practices which they are now using for the ruination of this country.

And now, my friends, this brings me to the last part of my speech. Out of this orgy of chaos, out of this dreary atmosphere of calamity and confusion, what is our hope and our port of safety and security? It will be found in the promise of the President of the United States when he accepted the nomination at the Chicago convention. Prior to the Chicago convention I was the sole author of a plan known as the "share-our-wealth plan." It proposed that none should own too much, and none should own too little. It necessarily required a redistribution of wealth, so that those who had more than they had any business with, should be made to give over to the Government the money and things which the Government would furnish to the people who did not have enough upon which to live. I proposed that plan when I became a member of the United States Senate early in 1932. It would do this: No man would be permitted to own more than a few millions of dollars, and no family would be allowed to have less than a home and reasonable other things so as to live in comfort. No man would have been allowed to make more than from several hundred thousand dollars up to a million dollars in 1 year. No family would have been allowed to earn less than from \$2,000 to \$2,500 per year. The rule is that no man should own more or make more than 100 times what the average family owned or made, and that no family should own less or make less than one-third what the average family owned or made. The further provision was that those persons who reached the age of 60 should be given an adequate pension of somewhere around \$30 to \$40 per month, unless they owned considerable property or had a livable income. Also, my plan contemplated the full payment of the debt to the soldiers; and, finally, the guarantee from the Government of education, even through college, to all children for professional or vocational service in life. No boy or girl would have wanted for the desired education or training in college on account of the poverty of the family. Such was my plan.

It became known as the "share our wealth" plan in later days. Before Mr. Roosevelt was nominated, I had seen to it that he had committed himself to this principle, in the main, and that he had promised to commit himself after his nomination. And so, at the Chicago convention, he appeared and made this pledge, which I quote from his speech:

"Throughout the Nation men and women, forgotten in the political philosophy of the Government of the last years, look to us here for guidance and for more equitable opportunity to share in the distribution of national wealth."

So, ladies and gentlemen, you might now say, as was said before Mr. Roosevelt's election, that he pledged himself to the Huey Long share-our-wealth plan. Since Mr. Roosevelt has taken the office of President, he has opposed every effort to adopt the plan for redistribution of wealth. Time and again have I offered this plan to the Congress. I have offered the old-age pension plan; his administration has caused its defeat. I have offered the plan to pay the soldiers what we owe them; he has caused its defeat. I have offered the plan to educate the children in colleges; he has caused its defeat. I have offered the plan by which all would be assured of homes, and of incomes sufficient to keep them in comfort, and he has caused its defeat.

But lo and behold, with the public roused from coast to coast, and from the Canadian line to the Gulf, Mr. Roosevelt decided that he had to make a gesture the other day. It was the fifth time he had made the gesture, but he made it again. He sent a message to Congress saying that he was for the "share-our-wealth" plan. Immediately I called upon him to assist in passing a bill. What has he done? He sent us a bill already—that is, a bill has come up there, but they have been hiding it ever since—providing for taxes on big fortunes, which they said would yield \$340,000,000 a year. As a matter of fact, it would not yield half that much; but at best their claims were that it would yield \$340,000,000 a year. That was not even to be paid out to the people; it was to go on the deficit of the Government. The entire \$340,000,000 per year, if it had been that much, and it was not, would have been one-tenth of the annual deficit of Roosevelt's administration. If it had not gone on the deficit it would have given everybody \$2.70 a year. In other words, he declared for "share our wealth" and sent us in a bill to Congress that was as much like the "share-our-wealth" plan as a bedbug is like a hotel. And that is about the kind of fodder we get from him every time.

Take the way he gummed up the old-age pension plan we had. I proposed in Congress to give the people who were 60 years old or older from \$30 to \$40 per month, unless they had an income of \$1,000 a year, or unless they owned \$10,000 worth of property. He came in with a plan proposing as if he were going to have a genuine old-age pension plan for the United States. It appropriated \$49,000,000 a year out of the United States Treasury and provided that the States had to match the \$49,000,000, so as to make a total of \$98,-

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000,000. There were over 14,000,000 people in the United States over 60 years old who were entitled to the pension under my plan. The whole \$49,000,000 of the Government, and the whole \$49,000,000 of the States, the entire \$98,000,000, would have given them all about \$7 a year apiece. And that is just the kind of a way the Roosevelt administration has deluded and gummed up and blind-sighted the people of the United States ever since he started out.

I have no faith whatever in the pledges of this administration. Some days ago they made the announcement that they had sent \$1,700,000 to Louisiana to the university there. I warned those people that they had not done any such thing, and that they never would do it. Today they admit themselves that they did not send it, and do not intend to send it.

Such a Government, such lack of dependability, such lack of integrity—the Roosevelt administration—the St. Vitus dance government of the United States of America.

But our hope lies in the ultimate victory for the share-our-wealth plan, none would have too much, but all would have enough.

But, although Mr. Roosevelt has refused to let the share-our-wealth bill become a law, yet the fact that he says what I say and prays for the share-our-wealth plan at least puts him on record to where no man who claims to be for Roosevelt can say other than that "HUEY LONG is right." They say that Mr. Roosevelt has only done this so as to steal my political thunder, or to take the wind out of my sails. Call it a mere imitation of my talk, if you will; call Mr. Roosevelt's gesture for the share-our-wealth plan a counterfeit, if you desire; the fact remains that no one imitates another imitation, and no one counterfeits another counterfeit. If Mr. Roosevelt considers that either HUEY LONG or his share-our-wealth plan is so popular or so good that he must either imitate or counterfeit it for his own sake, then he knows that the genuine plan is considered sound enough, good enough, and popular enough to justify his imitation or counterfeit. In all events, you who would take the word or gesture of Roosevelt, must do honor and add prestige and dignity to the share-our-wealth cause, however insincere Mr. Roosevelt may be.

I ask everyone to join in this move that will mean success to the share-our-wealth plan, and thereby life, liberty, and happiness to all our people.