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MONDAY TUESDAY **OCT. 14-15**

ADVERTISE IN THE ENTERPRISE

The Story of the Constitution
·by CALEB JOHNSON·

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XIII. EXPANDING NATIONAL POWERS

While the war between the states was in progress, almost dictatorial powers had been exercised by the Executive. The President, under the Constitution, was Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy and the whole nation was involved in the war. Many things were done under the stress of the war emergencies for which there was no specific warrant in the Constitution. Among these, for example, was the imposition of a national income tax. This, like the other war emergency measures, was abandoned at the close of hostilities. After the turmoil of the Reconstruction period had subsided, there was general satisfaction with the demonstration that had been given of the flexibility of the Constitution. It had been stretched to cover the emergencies of war and reconstruction; now it had shrunk back to its peace-time functions.

But those functions had become far greater than they were, and were to keep on expanding. A new spirit of nationalism had taken possession of the Government, and in the 20 years from 1878 to 1898 Congress and the Executives, sometimes together and sometimes in opposition to each other, undertook to enlarge Federal powers while the powers of the states were constantly being diminished.

The whole social and economic picture of the nation began, in the 1870's, to change from a system based almost exclusively on agriculture, forestry and mining, to one based primarily on industry. Revolutionary new inventions began to appear. Lines of communications multiplied, the great industrial centers began to develop and their products to be distributed throughout the nation. For the first time the United States began to be an exporter of manufactured goods as well as of agricultural raw products.

Just as new ideas of Government had been developed by the pioneer settlers on the Atlantic Coast in colonial days, so new ideas of the relation of the government to the people began to develop in the pioneer West. As the population of the newly created states grew, their influence in national affairs naturally increased. Before long, pressure from the agricultural West induced the Federal Government to assume authority to regulate railroad communications between the states. There was serious doubt of the Constitutionality of the inter-state commerce act, in the minds of many, but the Supreme Court upheld it as coming within the pre-view of the commerce clause of the Constitution.

But when, in 1893, Congress undertook to enact a new income tax law, the Court held it to be unconstitutional. The West, however, was insistent upon an income tax, and after 20 years of agitation the sixteenth amendment to the Constitution, authorizing Congress to impose a tax, was submitted and ratified in 1913.

Out of the agrarian West also came demands which gradually became irresistable, for other changes in the Constitution.

The Spanish war of 1898 put the finishing touch to the antagonisms between North and South and launched the United States upon a broader nationalistic career. So completely dominant was Federal supremacy that President Theodore Roosevelt, in 1906, did not hesitate to advance the idea that state lines should be wiped out.

The power and authority of the Federal Government spread in directions and to distances which the framers of the Constitution could never have foreseen. We annexed Hawaii under President Cleveland. We took possession of the Philippine Islands, 7,000 miles away across the Pacific, and of Porto Rico; almost at the end of the Civil War we had purchased Alaska from Russia and under the leadership of Theodore Roosevelt we embarked upon the gigantic enterprise of the Panama Canal. Probably not one of the men who sat in the convention of 1787 would have called this imperialistic expansion constitutional, but under the clauses authorizing Congress to regulate commerce with foreign nations and between the states and to provide for the common defense and the general welfare, the Supreme Court held that the documentary basic law of the land was sufficiently flexible to warrant these acts.

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Again— The People Speak
By RAYMOND PITCAIRN
National Chairman Sentinels of the Republic

An event of unusual import to those who would tinker with the United States Constitution has occurred recently in Pennsylvania—the state wherein our National Charter of Liberties was conceived and written.

There, for the first time since recent efforts to remould our Federal Constitution along the lines of the newer political philosophy gained national prominence, the people themselves were given opportunity to say what they thought of that sort of thing.

Emphatically they rejected the idea.

Dominated by the vote from rural districts and the smaller cities, they decided that this was no time to risk the possible writing into fundamental law of various unproven theories now being urged throughout America as a substitute for crystallized experience.

The people of Pennsylvania, of course, voted only on the question of revising their own state constitution. But fundamentally—and despite whatever political spokesmen on either side may claim—some of the principles involved were comparable to those brought into prominence by the nation-wide efforts of certain groups to remould our Federal Constitution into a form more readily influenced by passing fears and passions.

In the response may be read a heartening message of encouragement to all who oppose efforts to scrap certain essential elements of our American system of government in favor of new and untried theories. It is:

That the great body of the people—the men and women who constitute the backbone of America—are not at this time in sympathy with a policy of sudden changes. **They realize that while it was the Declaration of Independence that proclaimed personal Liberty, it is the Federal Constitution that assures it. They do not intend to surrender that guarantee.**

Again—the People speak.

—oo—

About 100,000 autos are junked every month and have been for the last two years.

It is a common saying among fruit growers that a heavy bloom means a light set of fruit.

Florida has 1,158 miles of shoreline and a land area of 54,861 square miles.

Most fatal auto accidents occur between 7 and 8 p. m.

Efforts have been made to stimulate the growth of hair on baldheaded persons by implanting the pituitary glands of sheep.

Ninety per cent of hay fever cases east of the Mississippi river are caused by ragweed, says the public health service.

Michigan's potential daily crude oil output has been increased to more than 50,000 barrels.

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"Planned Economy" is the New Deal's Cloak for an Economic Dictatorship

By Nicholas Roosevelt
For the National Republican Builders, Inc.

When Lewis Douglas, former Budget Director under President Roosevelt, remarked recently that a planned economy is impossible under the American Constitution a number of his old associates scornfully asked why he brought up that subject at all.

The reason is that planned economy underlies much of the New Deal. The phrase still has such an alien sound in American ears that it is worth defining.

"Planned economy is a form of twentieth century paternalism. It implies the planning of national life in the interest of the nation as a whole. It assumes that there is an ascertainable limit to a nation's capacity to consume and to the world's capacity to absorb a nation's surplus. Production is to be adjusted to consumption. This means that those industries and branches of agriculture which today produce too much must reduce their production. Those which produce too little must either increase their output or must be supplemented by imports."

The A. A. A. is part of a planned economy. It starts from the assumption (which happens to be incorrect) that the United States was suffering from over-production (whereas the truth is that it was suffering from under-consumption—from a loss of markets both inside and outside the country). The A. A. A. then decreed that the production of certain commodities should be reduced to conform to the theory of what a balanced economy should be.

Obviously back of a planned economy—as back of the A. A. A.—there must be a plan. Back of the plan there must be planners.

Here is the first complication. The planners, faced with the task of planning the economic life of 125,000,000 people of different occupations, different origins and living under different climatic and economic conditions, must be men of phenomenal intelligence. It is no exaggeration to say that a national economic planning board should include a Socrates, a Solomon, a J. P. Morgan senior, a Henry Ford and an Einstein—not to mention a Jim Farley. These men would then have to inform themselves in detail about the complete economic activities of the entire nation and devise a plan to improve it. That such a task is possible of realization is most unlikely.

Supposing, however, that a perfect plan is devised. It must then be put into effect. This means not only creating a bureaucracy several times larger than the present New Deal army to make known the details and impose the plan, but it also means giving to the government the power to punish chiselers, slackers, non-cooperators and rugged individualists.

This, in turn, implies that the government will have the power not only to dictate to the individual what he may do, but what he must do. In other words it is only step from planning to enforcement, and from enforcement to submission on the part of the individual—submission under fear of punishment.

Why mince words? This is autocracy. This is a form of 20th Century slavery.

When the question is asked, What has this to do with the New Deal? the answer is, "Very much." Under the Bankhead cotton control bill, for example, the government tells the individual farmer how many bales of cotton he may raise and can punish him if he tries to dispose of more than his quota. In the potato control bill the government not only denies the right to raise potatoes to anyone who has not yet raised any and prescribes the exact number of bushels which each farmer may raise, but it threatens with a $1,000 fine or a year in jail not only anyone who sells potatoes illegally but anyone who buys them illegally. In other words a housewife may be thrown into prison if by some mischance she buys a peck of potatoes that have been bootlegged.

This is the stuff the New Deal is made of, and this is part of a planned economy. Is any further argument necessary to show that Mr. Douglas (as usual) is right—and incidentally to suggest why the New Dealers dislike having the subject of a planned economy linked to their plans?

The greatest danger in all this comes from the fact that a planned economy automatically expands as it grows. Crop control, for example, began with wheat, corn and hogs, cotton and tobacco. It has since extended to other grains and got as far as peanuts when someone discovered that land taken out of peanuts was being put into potatoes. Then came the demand for potato control—and control will inevitably be demanded over other vegetables.

What can the Republicans do about it?

Keep hammering at the elemental truth in Lew Douglas's statement. Show that the New Deal rest on a planned economy and a planned economy is simply a polite name for an economic dictatorship. Show that an economic dictatorship, to be effective, must be backed by a political dictatorship. Its very essence is government control, not individual freedom of action. It implies that the individual is the tool of the government, and not that the government is the servant and protector of the individual.

Once in power it is the clear duty of the Republicans to scrap all legislation tending towards the creation of a planned economy. This will be easy enough when the American people realize what a planned economy really is. But before the country rises it must be informed.

One of the services which the National Republican Builders is trying to perform is to help tell the country the truth about what is being done under the New Deal. Do not hesitate to write to the headquarters of the Builders, Room 2017, Lincoln Building, New York City, if there are special questions in connection with these problems which you feel deserve public discussion.

Next week Mr. Roosevelt will discuss "The Ten Billion Dollar Congress."

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